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H A K E S P E A R E

THE TRAGEDIE

of

I V L I V S C Æ S A R

HORACE HOWARD ~~FURNESS~~, JR.

PHILADELPHIA

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THE TRAGEDIE OF IVLIVS CÆSAR

IN MEMORIAM

H. H. F.

Methinks, 'tis prize enough to be his son.

3 Henry VI: II, i, 20.

P R E F A C E

THE earliest text of *Julius Cæsar* is that of the First Folio. It is markedly free from corruptions, and we may almost say that in but one or two instances would an earlier Quarto text be required to render any doubtful readings more sure.

The most notable example is that of the lines: 'Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause Will he be satisfied.'—III, i, 56, 57. This line is quoted by Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries*: 'Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause'; this change in form and Jonson's ridicule of its absurdity seem to point to the existence of a text earlier than that which has come down to us. As the remarks of editors and commentators are given at some length in the notes on this passage, it is unnecessary to recapitulate them individually here. The general feeling is, however, that even had the line ever existed as quoted by Jonson, it is not so widely inconsistent with other grandiloquent speeches of Shakespeare's Cæsar, and, in this case at least, Jonson—to use Drummond's words—loved his jest better than his friend. Another passage wherein an earlier Quarto text might have helped towards a better understanding of the author's intention is in Act IV. scene iii, where Brutus, having told Cassius of Portia's death, denies all knowledge of it when questioned later by Messala, for no purpose, apparently, other than to exhibit his stoic power of self-control under that insupportable and touching loss. RESCH's sagacious conjecture, that the dialogue with Messala is the result of an interpolation of an alternative passage from a player's copy, is a happy solution of the problem, and clears Brutus of the ugly stain of making capital out of the death of Portia.

Other corruptions—which may be classed as purely textual—wherein ingenious editors may frolic in conjecture are, in the present play, pleurably few in number. In the *Appendix* will be found a list of those passages wherein emendations of the Folio text have been adopted in the Cambridge Edition; the small number of these is a striking proof of the purity of the earliest text.

By several of the older editors *Julius Cæsar* is considered as one of Shakespeare's later plays; but the range of dates of composition stretches between 1599 as the earliest, down to and including 1608. Of the thirty commentators who have discussed this question, seven are in favour of 1607; six, in favour of 1601; five, in favour of 1599; three, in favour of 1603; two, for 1600. The remaining five are somewhat non-committal, preferring a date within certain limits, with no more definite assignment. That the two dates, 1601 and 1607—separated by six years—should be thus so closely shared by the larger number of editors—seven for the later date; six for the earlier—seems, at first sight, somewhat odd; the reason is, however, not far to seek: The first editors, beginning with Capell, all accepted the later date, partly on account of the style and general treatment of the tragedy as showing the maturer poet; partly on account of its apparent close relation to *Hamlet*; and it was not until Halliwell in 1865 pointed out a passage in Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, published in 1601, wherein there is a reference to the speeches of Brutus and Mark Antony on the death of Cæsar, and, though Weever does not mention Shakespeare's play, his use of the word 'ambitious' as that of Brutus, and his saying how Mark Antony by his eloquence showed Cæsar's virtues, point pretty clearly to the fact that he had before him the memory of a very striking scene. Whether it were that in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* who shall say? Halliwell himself later was disposed to discount somewhat the value of this piece of external evidence, characterising it as a 'possibility derived from an apparent reference' to Shakespeare's play; but, nevertheless, his discovery turned the tide in favour of the earlier date for the composition, 1601. *The Mirror of Martyrs* was, however, written two years before its publication—Weever says so in his dedication—moreover, Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, among other works of Shakespeare, does not enumerate *Julius Cæsar*; these two facts will account for the year 1599 being accepted by the other editors. It is, I think, well-nigh impossible to assign the date within limits closer than these two years, 1599 to 1601, and, therefore, accept that period as its time of composition. The whole question is, however, purely academic, and whether *Julius Cæsar* were written in 1599 or 1607 can in no way affect our admiration of Antony's oration; the scenes between Brutus and Cassius; or the wonderful dramatic climax.

Shakespeare's indebtedness to Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch for the plot of his tragedy, and for countless details, has been universally admitted. The lives of *Julius Cæsar*, *Marcus*

Brutus, and *Antonius* are so wonderfully blended that a narration of the plot of the play forms a remarkably coherent story; and it is only by seeing the many passages that have been used in its composition that we realise Shakespeare's marvellous ingenuity in dramatic construction. Certain details have been omitted; others given prominence; incidents widely separated are placed in close sequence, and the auditor is now hurried on, now held back. What cares he that actually more than a year elapsed between the murder of Cæsar, the proscriptions of the Triumvirate, and the first battle at Philippi? Or that, in reality, three weeks separated the first encounter at that place from the death of Brutus?

In the *Appendix* will be found a transcript from LEO's facsimile of those portions of North's Plutarch, ed. 1595, on which are based the incidents of the tragedy; throughout the *Commentary* references are, however, made to the passages in SKEAT's volume, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*—this for two reasons, first, Skeat's text is that of the edition of 1603, and it is at times interesting to note the slight verbal changes between the two editions; secondly, for convenience of reference; the chapter divisions as in Skeat's work are entirely absent in the earlier edition.

That Shakespeare consulted the works of other Roman historians is not impossible, but that he made any extensive use of *The Lives of the Cæsars*, by Suetonius, is, I think, doubtful; Philemon Holland's translation did not appear until 1602, which is late if we accept the date of composition as between 1599-1601. Malone's references to Holland's Suetonius are based on his belief in the later date, 1607. With Appian's *Civil Wars* the case is different; of this a translation by Bynniman was made in 1578. Shakespeare has apparently taken certain points in Antony's oration over Cæsar from the harangue as given at length in Appian's account of the funeral. Plutarch mentions the displaying of the blood-stained mantle by Antony and the frenzy of the people, but does not give the substance of the speech. That Appian's report is authentic is not contended—it was written over two hundred years after the event—it is merely what Appian thought Antony should have said. On the same principle Samuel Johnson wrote the Parliamentary Debates, and did not, as he said, allow 'the Whig dogs to have the best of it.'

Satisfactory evidence of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the other Greek historian, Dion Cassius, is, so far, not forthcoming. His *Annals of the Roman People* was but little known in Shakespeare's time; no translation appeared until early in 1700; the work was,

therefore, accessible to those only who could read it in the original Greek.

Too little attention, I think, has been paid heretofore by editors and commentators of the present play to the writings of Cicero—not that Shakespeare has made use of these, but that they contain many valuable hints in regard to contemporary events, and thus furnish a check upon the incidents related by Plutarch. Taken together, Cicero's *Letters* and the *Philippics* give almost a daily record of those troublous times preceding and following the assassination of Cæsar. For example, in Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar* it is said that Decius Brutus was the conspirator who drew Marc Antony out of the way during the murder; in the *Life of Brutus* this office is given to Trebonius; but the question of identity is settled at once by a letter to Trebonius, 2 February, B. C. 43, from Cicero, who, in referring to the assassination, says: 'In fact, for Antony's having been taken out of the way by you, . . . I sometimes feel, though perhaps I have no right to do so, a little angry with you.' (See note on III, i, 33.) Again, Cicero's letter to Atticus, wherein he gives his opinion of the oration by Brutus after Cæsar's death, is an interesting piece of testimony from one who was an acknowledged master of the art of the orator. Cicero's letter, also, to Brutus, offering his sympathy on the death of Portia, is corroboration of Plutarch's statement that her death preceded that of Brutus.

Although, as has been shown, Shakespeare follows where North leads and trusts to his guide for the salient points of his drama, there is a curious discrepancy as regards the character of the protagonist, Julius Cæsar. The reader of North's Plutarch is at once struck with the nobility of the character of Cæsar, the intrepid warrior, astute statesman, and sagacious governor, and although his biographer does not disguise the fact that in his later years Cæsar became vain and arrogant, that side of his character is not given undue prominence. Very different is, however, the Cæsar of Shakespeare. He is a braggart, inflated with the idea of his own importance; speaking of his decrees as of those of a god. The Roman Senate is *his* Senate, and himself like Olympian Jove. In fact, in his life nothing becomes him like the leaving it; his most dignified action is that of his death, with his face muffled in his mantle. Wherefore then did Shakespeare depart thus from his authority? We know, from many references in the other plays, that Julius Cæsar was one in whom Shakespeare ever took a keen interest. In the present tragedy Antony speaks of him as the

noblest man that ever lived in the tide of times; and Brutus, as the foremost man of all this world. The solution of this is found in the fact that Shakespeare is but following the traditional representation of Cæsar as manifested in the writings of his predecessors. The gradual evolution of the braggart Cæsar from its direct prototypes—the Hercules of Seneca, and the Ajax of Sophocles—is the subject of a careful study by H. M. AYRES, the main points of which, so far as they relate to the *Character of Cæsar*, will be found in the *Appendix*.

Although Julius Cæsar apparently held a prominent place as an historic character in Shakespeare's regard, as such he occupies but comparatively a small part in the tragedy which bears his name. The themes of the action are the conflict in the mind of Brutus between two opposing interests—love of country and love of Cæsar as friend and benefactor; his decision to sacrifice that friend upon the altar of his country; and his tragic suicide in ignorance of his complete failure as a patriot. It would almost seem as though Brutus were rightly the titular hero. The bodily presence of Cæsar, it is true, disappears from the scene at the beginning of the third Act, yet thereafter his spiritual presence is omnipresent and brings about the final catastrophe. Antony's prophecy, that Cæsar's spirit shall come forth ranging for revenge, is fulfilled. Brutus recognizes its power at the death of Cassius, and his last words bear witness to his belief that by *his* death alone will that perturbed spirit find rest. This is but the carrying out of the classic idea of tragedy: mortals striving impotently against fate; and Shakespeare, according to his invariable custom, has chosen the most dramatically effective treatment of his material. If any tragedy is to be named from that character which is its dominant force, then this can be called by no name other than *Julius Cæsar*.

The incidents connected with the career of Cæsar, especially his rivalry with Pompey, have been made the subject of dramas by other authors. As early as 1561 there was performed at Whitehall a play entitled *Julius Cæsar*, which is mentioned by COLLIER* as the earliest instance of a subject from Roman History being brought upon the English stage. Not all of these dramas are extant; such of them as have survived are now known in only their printed form; some never even gained a hearing in the theatre; but they one and all bear witness within themselves to the cause of their early deaths: they are unrelievedly tedious. That one which is perhaps the best known, chiefly on account of MALONE's references in his notes on the present play,

* *History of Dramatic Literature*, i, 180.

is *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar*, by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (or *Sterline*, as he himself prints in his title-pages). His tragedy is based upon Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*, and was composed probably in 1604 or 1606, though not published until 1607. It has been lately shown that, in large part, Alexander's work is a translation of a tragedy by Jules Grévin, which, in turn, is based on one in Latin by Muret.* The one or two points wherein Alexander's tragedy coincides with Shakespeare's may be ascribed to the fact that their source of information was identical, namely, Plutarch. Alexander's final and authorised edition of his Tragedy was published, with his other works, in a volume entitled *Recreations with the Muses*, in 1637. A reprint of this is included in the *Appendix* to the present volume.

A work on somewhat the same theme, by an author now unknown, entitled *The Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge*, was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1605, and published in 1607. Its chief claim to notoriety now is that it was the first drama in English, on a classic theme, performed at either of the Universities. It is thoroughly academic in treatment; at no point does it rise above a uniform level of dulness, and one is divided in opinion as to which deserves the more commiseration—the unhappy performers on that occasion or their patient auditors.

George Chapman's Tragedy, of the same title as this Trinity College play, was probably composed some years before its publication in 1631. Like its predecessor, it is academic in form, and is based upon the lives of Cæsar, Pompey, and Marcus Cato as related by Plutarch; but neither in point of poetic style nor in dramatic construction is it worthy of comparison to Chapman's later works.

While, as has been said, the story of Cæsar's life was the first subject from Roman history to be cast in dramatic form for the English stage, Shakespeare's tragedy was the first of all his works to be translated into German, and through which he became first known in Germany. This translation was by Caspar Wilhelm von Borck, who was Prussian envoy in London from 1735 to 1738, its title-page is as follows: *Versuch einer gebundenen Uebersetzung des Trauer-Spiels von dem Tode Julius Cæsar. Aus dem Englischen Werke des Shakespeare.* Berlin, bey Ambrosius Hande—1741.† Ten years before this date Voltaire had composed his tragedy, *La Mort de Césaire*, which he did not hesitate

* H. M. AYRES: *Shakespeare's Jul. Cæs. in the Light of Some Other Versions*, p. 220.

† W. PAETOW: *Die Erste metrische Deutsche Uebersetzung*, passim.

to say was inspired by his having seen Shakespeare's work on the same subject when in London; and his wonder at the deep emotion and interest which it ever excited. Voltaire's work was, however, not produced on the stage until 1735. It was never received with quite the amount of applause which its author thought that it deserved. Thirty years later, while at work on his *Commentaires sur Corneille*, Voltaire appended to that writer's *Cinna* a *literal* translation (as he persisted in calling it) of those parts of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* which dealt also with a conspiracy against a Roman chief-magistrate, in order that his countrymen might comprehend how vastly superior was the work of the nobleman (Corneille) to that of the commoner (Shakespeare). 'If this translation,' says François-Victor Hugo, 'had only been unfaithful it still might have passed muster; but it is disloyal. That Voltaire did not always understand the text of Shakespeare is excusable, but not his absolute falsification of it.'—(*Shakespeare*, x, 463). The whirligig of time has brought in its revenges. Voltaire's Tragedies, dealing with the lives and acts of Julius Cæsar and Brutus—written, be it remembered, to show Shakespeare's inferiority—belong to the past, but the spirit of Shakespeare's Cæsar is mighty yet, and still walks abroad.

Be my thanks here given to Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Librarian of the University of Pennsylvania; to Dr. William J. Taylor and Mr. Charles P. Fisher, Librarian of the College of Physicians; to Mr. George M. Abbot, and his efficient assistants, Mr. D. C. Knoblauch and Mr. John E. Govan, of the Philadelphia Library, one and all, for their unfailing courtesy and attention to many demands.

My most just and severe—albeit, my most tender—critic has passed beyond my inadequate words of gratitude. He to whom I owe the deepest obligations, the inspiration of all my work, is no longer by my side with ever-ready help and never-failing and invaluable counsel. The rest is silence.

H. H. F., JR.

Dramatis Personæ

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Octavius Cæsar,

M. Antony,

M. Æmil. Lepidus,

Cicero.

} *Triumvirs, after the death of Julius*
Cæsar.

5

1. As in Dyce. Om. Ff. First given
imperfectly by Rowe.

5, 6. *M. Æmil. Lepidus...Cicero*
Added by Theob.

3. Octavius Cæsar] NIEBUHR (iii, 87): Cæsar in his will had appointed C. Octavius, the grandson of his sister Julia, heir *ex dodrante*, that is, of three-fourths of his property, after the deduction of all legacies, and his other relatives were to have the remaining fourth. . . . Young C. Octavius was in his nineteenth year when Cæsar was murdered, having been born on the 23d of September, 689. Cæsar had taken an interest in him ever since his return from Spain; whereas before that time he does not appear to have taken any particular notice of him. . . . [He] had been adopted by Cæsar, which is the first instance of an adoption by will that I know in Roman history; afterwards such adoptions are very frequent. . . . If we compare Antony with Octavian, we must admit that Antony was open-hearted; whereas Octavian was made up of hypocrisy: his whole life was a farce. It is well known that on his death-bed at Nola he asked his friends whether he had not played the comedy of his life well? He was an actor throughout; everything he did was a farce, well devised and skilfully executed. The most profound hypocrisy was his greatest talent. In the vicious and profligate life of Antony, on the other hand, there occur some actions which shew good nature, generosity, and even greatness.—TOLMAN (*Introd.*, p. xxxviii): Probably, upon the Elizabethan stage, the same actor took the parts of Cæsar and Octavius, and thus gave outward expression to the spiritual connection of the two rôles.

4. M. Antony] HORN (i, 112): Antony is one of the most perfect portraits that the poet has drawn. His overflowing nature delights in combining the extremes of thought and action with dangerous abilities. He is rash and prudent, brave and sensual, he fears not death, but, a wastrel, seeks every sort of pleasure from quickly flying life. So long as Cæsar lived Antony is but seldom to be blamed—he feels towards Cæsar an absolute love; prefers to be subordinate to him, and is therewith become, so to speak, dependent upon him, a dependence which, however, causes him enjoyment; is it not the mighty Julius who loves him in return? He desires the crown for Cæsar that thus all friction may be avoided; and that, after Cæsar, he can have the highest position, he who seems rather to desire more of the pleasures of life than the highest place. Yet all these particulars are moved to the background as soon as Cæsar is no more. He has lost his only love, and is now in the highest degree dangerous. It is impossible for him to

[4. M. Antony]

subordinate himself to anyone else; least of all to the conspirators, the greater part of whom he values slightly. Brutus alone he regards highly; but he does not love him, the high virtue of the man is uncomfortable to Antony; towards Cassius he has no feeling other than that expressed by Cæsar (I, ii, 217-229), but, at peace in those pleasant-days, he endeavors to place even this thought to one side. It was repugnant to him to regard anyone as repugnant. But with Cæsar dead the thought returns and will not away.—DOWDEN (p. 289): Antony is a man of genius without moral fibre; a nature of a rich, sensitive, pleasure-loving kind; the prey of good impulses and of bad; looking on life as a game in which he has a distinguished part to play, and playing that part with magnificent grace and skill. He is capable of personal devotion (though not of devotion to an idea), and has, indeed, a gift of subordination,—subordination to a Julius Cæsar, to a Cleopatra. And as he has enthusiasm about great personalities, so he has a contempt for inefficiency and ineptitude. Lepidus is to him 'a slight, unmeritable man meet to be sent on errands,' one that is to be talked of not as a person, but as a property. Antony possesses no constancy of self-esteem; he can drop quickly out of favour with himself; and being without reverence for his own type of character, and being endowed with a fine versatility of perception and feeling, he can admire qualities the most remote from his own. It is Antony who utters the eulogy over the body of Brutus at Philippi. Antony is not without an æsthetic sense and imagination, though of a somewhat unspiritual kind: he does not judge men by a severe moral code, but he feels in an æsthetic way the grace, the splendour, the piteous interest of the actors in the exciting drama of life, or their impertinence, ineptitude and comicality; and he feels that the play is poorer by the loss of so noble a figure as that of a Brutus. But Brutus, over whom his ideals dominate, and who is blind to facts which are not in harmony with his theory of the universe, is quite unable to perceive the power for good or for evil that is lodged in Antony, and there is in the great figure of Antony nothing which can engage or interest his imagination; for Brutus' view of life is not imaginative, or pictorial, or dramatic, but wholly ethical. The fact that Antony abandons himself to pleasure, is 'gamesome,' reduces him in the eyes of Brutus to a very ordinary person,—one who is silly or stupid enough not to recognize the first principle of human conduct, the need of self-mastery; one against whom the laws of the world must fight, and who is, therefore, of no importance. And Brutus was right with respect to the ultimate issues for Antony. Sooner or later Antony must fall to ruin. But before the moral defect in Antony's nature destroyed his fortune much was to happen. Before Actium might come Philippi.—MARSHALL (p. 87): Except in the great scene in the Forum, where his speech to the people is perhaps the finest piece of oratory to be found in all Shakespeare, Antony plays no very striking part in the drama. We see him aroused by a sudden ambition from his early career of dissipation, and taking a place in the Triumvirate; and it reminds us of Prince Hal's coming to himself, like the repentant prodigal, when he comes to the throne. But Antony is, morally at least, a slighter man than Henry. His reform lacks the sincerity and depth of the latter's, and he cannot hold the higher plane to which he has temporarily risen. His fall is to be depicted in a later and greater drama, of which he is the hero and not a subordinate actor as here.—OECHELHÄUSER (*Einführungen*, etc., p. 227): Antonius should be represented as a young man, in his thirtieth year (historically he was thirty-seven years old

Brutus,		7
Cassius,		
Casca,		
Trebonius,		10
Ligarius,	} <i>Conspirators against Julius Cæsar.</i>	
Decius Brutus,		
Metellus Cimber,		
Cinna,		14

9. *Casca*] *Caska* Ff throughout.

12. *Decius*] *Decimus* Han.

at the time of Cæsar's assassination), as a man of the world, of noble bearing and handsome features and insinuating manner. In outward appearance he thus offers a contrast to Brutus, upon whose character and task the poet has imprinted that of a noble patriot, as an assassin, stamping the frivolous egoist as the avenger, both characters labouring under tasks in complete contrast to their original natures.

6. *Cicero*] FROUDE (p. 531): In Cicero Nature half-made a great man and left him uncompleted. Our characters are written in our forms, and the bust of Cicero is the key to his history. The brow is broad and strong, the nose large, the lips tightly compressed, the features lean and keen from restless intellectual energy. The loose, bending figure, the neck, too weak for the weight of the head, explain the infirmity of will, the passion, the cunning, the vanity, the absence of manliness and veracity. He was born into an age of violence with which he was too feeble to contend.—J. M. BROWN (p. 67): The only character in the whole play that stands clear of its effects is the prosaic, conceited, lukewarm Cicero. He is the incarnation of the pedant and critic who is dissatisfied with most things and people, but will never follow others into remedying the evils or even lead himself. He is the type of the commonplace man who is ever trying to impress his neighbors with his learning and importance by uttering trite maxims that face both ways, and to seem wise by expressing himself in confidential and futile mystery or in a language not understood by those around him. Like all such busybodies, he is omniscient and cannot bear contradiction or even information. His 'ferret and fiery eyes' gleam out when he is crossed. Brutus will not have him told of the conspiracy, 'For he will never follow anything That other men begin.' At the great crisis in Roman affairs, when the crown was offered to Cæsar, he 'spoke Greek' in order to look wise and yet hide the nothing he had to say; and his following wagged their heads as if they understood it and ranged high above the unlettered crowd. Such a mind would scorn to be surprised at anything in this so commonplace world; he knows too much for even nature to astonish him. And thus in the portentous night before the assassination, when the coldly sceptical soul of Cassius is stirred to passion and defiance, and the prickly humour and cynicism of Casca is awed into superstition, he assumes the most superior indifference and will not commit himself; interpretation either way might be quite mistaken: all he will venture on is that 'it is a strange-disposed time' and that 'this disturbed sky is not to walk in,' remarks of the usual type about the weather. It is such 'men cautious, old feeble carriages,' that along with 'priests and cowards' need oaths to spur them on to redress of wrongs. What other fate was there in revolutionary times for such a

[8. Cassius]

Mr Facing-both-ways, such a 'dish of skimmed milk' as Hotspur would have called him, but to vanish by an ignominious death in the proscriptions?

8. **Cassius**] **PLUTARCH** (*Life of Brutus*, § 22): Cassius would have done Brutus much honour, as Brutus did unto him, but Brutus most commonly prevented him, and went first unto him, both because he was the elder man as also for that he was sickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilful in wars, but otherwise marvellous cholerick and cruel, who sought to rule men by fear rather than with lenity: and on the other side, he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them.—**GERVINUS** (ii, 339): Shakespeare has scarcely created anything more splendid than the relation in which he has placed Cassius to Brutus. Closely as he has followed Plutarch, the poet has, by slight alterations, skilfully placed this character, even more than the historian has done, in the sharpest contrast to Brutus,—the clever, politic revolutionist, opposed to the man of noble soul and moral nature. Roman state-policy and a mode of reasoning peculiar to antiquity are displayed in every feature of this contrast of Cassius to Brutus, as well as in the delineation of the character itself; the nature and spirit of antiquity operated with exquisite freshness and readiness upon the unburdened brain of the poet, unfettered by the schools. . . . According to Plutarch, public opinion distinguished between Brutus and Cassius thus: that it was said that Brutus hated tyranny, Cassius, tyrants; yet, adds the historian, the latter was inspired with a universal hatred of tyranny also. Thus has Shakespeare represented him. His Cassius is imbued with a thorough love of freedom and equality; he groans under the prospect of a monarchical time more than the others; he does not bear this burden with thoughtful patience like Brutus, but his ingenious mind strives with natural opposition to throw it off; he seeks for men of the old time; the new, who are like timid sheep before the wolf, are in abhorrence to him. His principles of freedom are not crossed by moral maxims which might lead him astray in his political attempts; altogether a pure political character, he esteems nothing so highly as his country and its freedom and honour. These principles, if they were not rooted in the temperament, spirit, and character of Cassius, would at all events have been more powerfully supported by them than the same principles would have been by Brutus' more humane, more feeling nature. . . . Throughout with eagle-eye he sees the right means for attaining his ends, and would seize them undeterred by scruples of morality; less irreproachable as a man than Brutus, he is as a statesman far more excellent. Full of circumspection, he is full of suspicion of his adversary; he is very far from that too great confidence in a good cause which is the ruin of Brutus. He possesses the necessary acuteness of judgment and action available only in times of revolution; he knows that it is useless mixing in politics, far less in revolution, unless one is prepared to exchange the tender morality of domestic life for a ruder kind; he would treat tyranny according to its own baseness; he would carry on matters according to the utmost requirements of his own cause, but not with the utmost forbearance towards the enemy; he would not use unnecessary harshness, but he would omit none that was necessary; he would think just as ill of the tyrant as the tyrant would of his adversary; he would, as far as in him lay, turn against him his cunning, his cruelty, and his power; he would go with the flood at the right time, and not, like Brutus, when it was too late. The difference, therefore, between his nature and the character of Brutus comes out on every

[9, Casca]

occasion: Brutus appears throughout just as humanely noble as Cassius is politically superior; each lacks what is best in the other, and the possession of which would make each perfect.—GOLL (p. 43): Cassius, with his mixture of political hatred, with his power to let the one strengthen and excite the other, is the type of one of the groups of which the adherents of revolution consists, the great haters, those who, as Auguste Comte says about the followers of the great French Revolution, are perpetually in a condition of 'chronic rage,' which enables them, whenever they consider the right moment has come, to perform the most horrible actions—the men of whom the anarchists of the present time are the lineal descendants.

9. Casca] STAPPER (p. 365): If it were not a somewhat hazardous conjecture when applied to the most impartial of dramatic poets, one would be inclined to suspect that the type of character to which Casca belongs was a peculiar favourite of Shakespeare's. In the first place, he is a humourist, he has a strong sense of the comedy of human life, and of the nothingness of this world. It is he that relates in a tone of transcendent mockery to Brutus and Cassius, who are not at all in a mood to laugh with him, the great event of the feast of Lupercal, and describes how Antony offered the crown to Cæsar. Brutus is shocked at his levity of tone, and when Casca leaves them he expresses his disapprobation with all the weighty injustice of a stern moralist, who takes everything seriously, and who, as a matter of course, is invariably wrong in his judgments of men. Cassius, who has no obtuseness of this sort, answers that what shocks Brutus in him is only put on, and that he may be safely counted on for any bold or noble enterprise. Casca, when enrolled amongst the conspirators, soon justifies this opinion of him, and is the one to strike the first blow. This mingled good-humour and practical energy, this strength and solidity of character underlying all his merry jests and laughter, cannot but represent not only one of Shakespeare's favourite types, but the special type of his predilection, if we admit, with his most learned commentators, that Henry V., in whom these characteristics are most strongly marked, was his ideal. Casca is, moreover, an aristocrat in true disdainful English fashion. He expresses the most elegant contempt, which is all the more cutting because he speaks without any bitterness and with a smile on his lips, for the folly of the crowd, and for their dirty hands and sweaty night-caps and stinking breath. . . . One last thing to be noticed concerning Casca is the wonderful effect that the prodigies foretelling the death of Cæsar have upon him; they work a complete revolution in his nature, and give a suddenly meditative turn to his usual airiness of tone; his irony is, in reality, only a thin and superficial covering, which falls at the first serious occasion and lets the true nature of the man be seen.—OECHELHÄUSER (*Einführungen*, p. 222): The actor is to take account of a well-calculated hypocrisy in Casca. His loyalty to Cæsar is only assumed; to Brutus also, whose attitude towards Cæsar he does not wholly understand, he expresses himself guardedly, masking his true opinion of the important occurrence he describes under an affected indifference, concealing it by a rough, coarse humor. In such a fashion is the story of Cæsar's refusal of the offered crown to be delivered. His true character is revealed for the first time when he finds himself alone with Cassius during the dreadful night of storm and rain. His mode of expression suddenly changes to the normal tone of a serious man. Cassius happily makes use of this mood in order to enrol him among the conspirators. He is to become its most zealous member, and his hand the first to strike a mortal blow at Cæsar. With that his part is finished.

Popilius Læna,	} <i>Senators.</i>	15
Publius,		
Flavius,	} <i>Tribunes and Enemies to Cæsar.</i>	18
Murellus,		

15, 16. *Popilius Læna...Publius]*
Added by Theob.

15. *Læna]* *Læna* Cap. et seq.
18. *Murellus]* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Cap.
Marullus Theob. et cet.

Casca should be represented as somewhat younger than Brutus, whose school-friend he formerly was. A very expressive power of mimicry should be at his command, and this should be well taken into account in casting the part.—MACCALLUM (p. 286): Plutarch has only two particulars about Casca, the one that he was the first to strike Cæsar and struck him from behind; the other that when Cæsar cried out and gripped his hand, he shouted to his brother in Greek. Shakespeare, as we have seen, summarily rejects his acquaintance with Greek, but the stab in the back sets his fancy to work, and he constructs for him a character and life-history to match. Casca is a man who shares with Cassius the jealousy of greatness—‘the envious Casca,’ Antony described him—but is vastly inferior to Cassius in consistency and manhood. He seems to be one of those alert, precocious natures, clever at the uptake in their youth, and full of a promise that is not always fulfilled: Brutus recalls that ‘he was quick mettle when we went to school’ (I, ii, 318). Such sprightly youngsters when they fail often do so from a certain lack of moral fibre. And so with Casca. He appears before us at first as the most obsequious henchman of Cæsar. When Cæsar calls for Calpurnia, Casca is at his elbow: ‘Peace, ho! Cæsar speaks.’ When Cæsar, hearing the soothsayer’s shout, cries, ‘Ha! who calls?’ Casca is again ready: ‘Bid every noise be still: peace yet again!’ Cassius would never have condescended to that. For Casca resents the supremacy of Cæsar as much as the proudest aristocrat of them all: he is only waiting an opportunity to throw off the mask. But meanwhile in his angry bitterness with himself and others he affects a cross-grained bluntness of speech, ‘puts on a tardy form,’ as Cassius says, plays the satirist and misanthrope, as many others conscious of double dealing have done, and treats friend and foe with caustic brutality. But it is characteristic that he is panic stricken with the terrors of the tempestuous night, which he ekes out with superstitious fancies. It illustrates his want both of inward robustness and of enlightened culture. We remember that Cicero’s remark in Greek was Greek to him, and that Greek was as much the language of rationalists then as was French of the eighteenth century Philosophes. Nor is it less characteristic that even at the assassination he apparently does not dare to face his victim. Antony describes his procedure: ‘Damned Casca, like a cur, behind Struck Cæsar on the neck.’ Yet even Casca is not without redeeming qualities. His humour, in the account he gives of the coronation fiasco, has an undeniable flavour: its very tartness, as Cassius says, is a ‘sauce to his good wit.’ And there is a touch of nobility in his avowal:

‘You speak to Casca, and to such a man,
That is no fltering tell-tale. Hold, my hand:
Be factious for redress of all these griefs,
And I will set this foot of mine as far,
As who goes farthest.’—I, iii, 127–131.

Messala,	} <i>Friends to Brutus and Cassius.</i>	20
Titinius,		
Artemidorus, a Soothsayer.		
<i>A Soothsayer.</i>		
Young Cato.		
Cinna, a Poet.		
<i>Another Poet.</i>		25
Lucilius,	} <i>Servants of Brutus.</i>	30
Dardanius,		
Volumnius,		
Varro,		
Clitus,		
Claudius,		
Strato,		
Lucius,		33

21. Soothsayer] Sophist of Cnidos
Theob.+ of Cnidos, a teacher of
Rhetoric, Cam. ii.
22, 23. A Soothsayer...Young Cato]

Added by Theob.

25. Another Poet] Added by Cap.

26-32. Lucilius...Strato] Added by
Theob.

19. Messala] APPIAN (Bk IV, ch. vi, § 38) says of Messala: 'A young man of distinction [who] fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Cæsar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavius, who made him consul in place of Antony himself, when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavius sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them.'—(Trans. WHITE, vol. ii, 318.)

21. Artemidorus] THEOBALD (Nichol's *Lit. Illust.*, ii, 491): Who told our editors that Artemidorus was a soothsayer? They were thinking, I suppose, of his name-sake, whose critique on Dreams we still have, but did not think that he did not live till the time of Antoninus. Our Poet's Artemidorus, who had been Cæsar's host in Cnidos, did not pretend to know anything of the conspiracy against Cæsar by prescience or prognostication: but he was the Cnidian sophist, who taught that science in Greek at Rome: by which means, being intimate with Brutus and those about him, he got so far into the secret as to be able to warn Cæsar of his danger.

Pindarus, *Servant of Cassius.*

Ghost of Julius Cæsar.

35

Cobler.

Carpenter.

Other Plebeians.

Calphurnia, *Wife to Cæsar.*

Portia, *Wife to Brutus.*

40

34-38. *Pindarus...Other Plebeians*
Added by Theob.

35. *Ghost...Cæsar*] Theob. Om. Cap.
et seq.

36, 37. *Cobler...Carpenter*] Om. Cam.
39. *Calphurnia*] *Calpurnia* Wh.
Cam.+., Rolfe.

40. *Portia*] *Porcia* Theob.+.

39. *Calphurnia*] F. HORN (i, 120): We encounter in this tragedy two women, both alike in the absorbing love for their husbands, on which their characters are founded; and yet—what a difference do we notice in them! Calphurnia lives in Cæsar's life alone, and by night and day it is her joy; but her solicitude for him is, perhaps, at times obtrusive; she wishes to be his sole possessor, and, since he has already done too much, that he undertake nothing further; he must, in short, take care and reserve himself for her alone. She loves him not only as her husband, but almost as a mother loves her child, or as a tenderly domestic wife guards and nurses her helpmate, who, although intellectually greater than she, is still weak and sickly. By a number of portents she is deeply moved to solicitude for Cæsar's safety, and herein we wish to be more lenient than many English critics, who blame, almost harshly, the superstition of this well-meaning woman without remembering that she, poor creature, had not the advantages of their education.—ROLFE (*Port Lore*, vi, 12): No critic or commentator, I believe, has thought Calphurnia worthy of notice, but the reader may be reminded to compare carefully the scene between her and Cæsar with that between Portia and Brutus. . . . The difference in the two women is not more remarkable than that in their husbands' bearing and tone towards them. Portia, with mingled pride and affection, takes her stand upon her rights as a wife—'a woman that Lord Brutus took to wife'—and he feels the force of the appeal as a man of his noble and tender nature must. Calphurnia is a poor creature in comparison with this true daughter of Cato, as her first words to Cæsar sufficiently prove: 'Think you to walk forth? You shall not stir out of your house today.' When a wife takes that tone, we know what the reply will be: 'Cæsar *shall* forth!' Later, of course, she comes down to entreaty. Cæsar, with contemptuous acquiescence in the suggestion, yields for the moment to her weak importunities. When Decius comes in and urges Cæsar to go, the story of her dream and its forebodings is told him with a sneer (could we imagine Brutus speaking of Portia in that manner?), and her husband, falling a victim to the shrewd flattery of Decius, departs to his death with a parting fling at her foolish fears, by which he is ashamed of having been moved.

40. *Portia*] Mrs JAMESON (p. 330): Portia, as Shakespeare has truly felt and represented the character, is but a softened reflection of that of her husband Brutus; in him we see an excess of natural sensibility, an almost womanish tenderness of heart, repressed by the tenets of his austere philosophy: a stoic by profession and in reality the reverse—acting deeds against his nature by the strong force

[40. Portia]

of principle and will. In Portia there is the same profound and passionate feeling, and all her sex's softness and timidity, held in check by that self-discipline, that stately dignity, which she thought became a woman 'so fathered and so husbanded.' The fact of her inflicting on herself a voluntary wound to try her own fortitude is perhaps the strongest proof of this disposition. Plutarch relates that on the day on which Cæsar was assassinated Portia was overcome with terror, and even swooned away, but did not in her emotion utter a word which could affect the conspirators. Shakespeare has rendered this circumstance literally [II, iv]. . . . There is another beautiful incident related by Plutarch which could not well be dramatised. When Brutus and Portia parted for the last time in the island of Nisida, she restrained all expression of grief that she might not shake *his* fortitude; but afterwards, in passing through a chamber in which there hung a picture of Hector and Andromache, she stopped, gazed upon it for a time with a settled sorrow, and at length burst into a passion of tears.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, etc., i, 229): Portia herself mentions her 'once commended beauty'; therefore it would be quite proper to represent her in the present time as a handsome woman, about thirty years old. She is, although well built and intellectual, by no means a masculine woman; of tender nature (according to Plutarch she was sickly), her emotion in the scene with Lucius completely shattered her, and almost fainting she staggered home. In the fourth act we hear that she has killed herself; she could not bear the separation from her husband and the accounts of his ill-success.—HUDSON (*Life, Art*, etc., ii, 238): The delineation of Portia is completed in a few, brief, masterly strokes. Once seen, the portrait ever after lives, an old and dear acquaintance of the reader's inner man. Like some women I have known, Portia has strength enough to do and to suffer for others, but very little for herself. As the daughter of Cato and wife of Brutus, she has set in her eye a pattern of how she ought to think and act, being 'so father'd and husbanded'; but still her head floats merged over the ears in her heart; and it is only when affection speaks that her spirit is hushed into the listening which she would fain yield only to the speech of reason. She has a clear idea of the stoical calmness and fortitude which appears so noble and so graceful in her Brutus; it all lies faithfully reproduced in her mind; she knows well how to honour and admire it; yet she cannot work it into the texture of her character; she can talk it like a book, but she tries in vain to live it. Portia gives herself that gash without flinching, and bears it without a murmur, as an exercise and proof of manly fortitude; and she translates her pains into smiles, all to comfort and support her husband. So long as this purpose lends her strength, she is fully equal to her thought, because here her heart keeps touch perfectly with her head. But, this motive gone, the weakness, if it be not rather the strength, of her woman's nature rushes full upon her; her feelings rise into an uncontrollable flutter, and run out at every joint and motion of her body; and nothing can arrest the inward mutiny till affection again whispers her into composure, lest she spill something that may hurt or endanger her Brutus. O noble Portia!—STAPPER (p. 370): Portia as she appears in Plutarch is, I think, an even finer and more interesting character to study than she is in Shakespeare. The poet has undoubtedly enriched the historian's account with the more vivid life of the drama, and has given more force to her words, more distinctness to her actions, but he could add no further feature of any importance to her character. History furnishes a complete and finished portrait of Portia, to which poetry may give a warmer

SCENE, <i>For the three first Acts, and beginning of the Fourth in Rome: For the remainder of the Fourth near Sardis; for the Fifth in the Fields of Philippi.</i>	41 44
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41-44. and beginning...*Philippi*.] at *Rome*: afterwards, at an *Isle* near *Mulina*; at *Sardis*; and *Philippi*. Theob.+.

glow and richer colouring, but which in its essential lines it can never improve. It is only fair that this should be openly and clearly stated, that Plutarch may have the full credit of his victories in a most unequal combat, in which it would seem that his highest success could only consist in not being entirely beaten. But not only does the poet's rendering not surpass his model, but it seems to me to fall a little short of it, and to leave out some of its beauties, which apparently belong peculiarly to the form of narrative and refuse to be transplanted into dramatic regions. It requires all the wooden inflexibility of a systematic admiration not to regret the absence in Shakespeare's tragedy of the beautiful scene in which Brutus and Portia take leave of each other at Elea.

THE TRAGEDIE OF IVLIVS CÆSAR.

Actus Primus. Scœna Prima.

*Enter Flavius, Murellus, and certaine Commoners
ouer the Stage.*

5

Flavius.

Hence: home you idle Creatures, get you home:
Is this a Holiday? What, know you not

8

1. TRAGEDIE] TRAGEDY F₃F₄.

3. Actus Primus. Scœna Prima]
Act I. Scene i. Rowe.

SCENE. Rome. Rowe. a Street in
Rome Theob. et seq. (subs.)

4, 5. Enter Flavius...the Stage]
Ff, Cam.+ Enter a Rabble of Citi-
zens: Flavius and Murellus driving
them. Capell. Enter Flavius, Marul-
lus, and a body of Citizens. Collier,

Hal. Enter Flavius, Marullus, and a
rabble of Citizens. Malone et cet.

4. Murellus] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Cap.
Marullus Theob. et cet.

Murellus, and...] Marullus, a Car-
penter, a Cobbler, and... Jennens.

Commoners] Plebeians Han.

5. ouer...Stage] Om. Pope et seq.

8. *Holiday*] *Holy-day* F₄, Rowe.

1. *The Tragedie*] GILDON (p. 377): This Play or History is call'd *Julius Cæsar*, tho' it ought rather to be call'd Marcus Brutus; Cæsar is the shortest and most inconsiderable part in it, and he is kill'd in the beginning of the Third Act. But Brutus is plainly the shining and darling character of the Poet; and is to the end of the Play the most considerable Person. If it had properly been call'd *Julius Cæsar* it ought to have ended at his Death, and then it had been much more regular, natural, and beautiful. But then the Moral must naturally have been the punishment or ill Success of Tyranny.—STEEVENS: It appears from Peck's Collection of divers curious historical Pieces (appended to his *Memoirs, &c.*, of Oliver Cromwell), p. 14, that a Latin play on this subject had been written: *Epilogus Cæsaris interfecti, quomodo in scenam prodiiit ea res, acta, in Ecclesia Christi, Oxon. Qui Epilogus a Magistro Ricardo Eedes, et scriptus et in proscenio ibidem dictus fuit*, A. D. 1582. Meres, whose *Wit's Commonwealth* was published in 1598, enumerates Dr Eedes among the best tragic writers of that time.—MALONE: From some words spoken by Polonius in *Hamlet*, I think it probable that there was an English play on this subject before Shakespeare commenced as a writer for the stage. Stephen Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, mentions a play entitled *The History of Cæsar and Pompey*. William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Sterline, wrote a tragedy on the story and with the title of *Julius Cæsar*. It may be presumed that Shakespeare's play was posterior to his; for Lord Sterline, when he composed his *Julius*

[1. The Tragedie of Iulivs Cæsar]

Cæsar, was a very young author, and would hardly have ventured into that circle within which the most eminent dramatic writer of England had already walked. The death of Cæsar, which is not exhibited, but related to the audience, forms the catastrophe of his piece. In the two plays many parallel passages are found, which might, perhaps, have proceeded only from the two authors drawing from the same source. However, there are some reasons for thinking the coincidence more than accidental. A passage in *The Tempest*: 'The cloud-capped towers,' etc., IV, i, 152, seems to have been copied from one in *Darius*, another play of Lord Sterling's, printed at Edinburgh in 1603. His *Julius Cæsar* appeared in 1607, at a time when he was little acquainted with English writers; for both these pieces abound with scotticisms, which, in the subsequent folio edition, 1637, he corrected. But neither *The Tempest* nor *Julius Cæsar* of our author was printed until 1623. It should also be remembered that our author has several plays founded on subjects which had been previously treated by others. Of this kind are *King John*, *Rich. II.*, 1 *Henry IV.*, 2 *Henry IV.*, *Henry V.*, *Rich. III.*, *Lear*, *Ant. & Cleo.*, *Meas. for Meas.*, *Tam. of Shr.*, *Mer. of Ven.*, and, I believe, *Timon* and 2 and 3 *Hen. VI.*, whereas no proof has hitherto been produced that any contemporary writer ever presumed to new-model a story that had already employed the pen of Shakespeare. On all these grounds it appears more probable that Shakespeare was indebted to Lord Sterling than that Lord Sterling borrowed from Shakespeare. If this reasoning be just, this play could not have appeared before the year 1607. I believe it was produced in that year. [See *Appendix: Date of Composition*, MALONE. The reference, in the foregoing note, to a play *The History of Cæsar and Pompey*, mentioned by Gosson in his *Schoole of Abuse*, has been repeated by subsequent editors. It was, however, HALLIWELL, in 1864 (Folio ed., *Introd.*), who gave the correct reference, as Gosson's second pamphlet: *Plaies Confuted in Five Actions*, to which Collier (*Introduction* to the Shakespeare Society's edition of *The Schoole of Abuse*, p. vii) assigns the date of the 'autumn of 1581, or spring of 1582.' The passage to which Malone refers is as follows: 'So was the history of Cæsar and Pompey, and the play of the Fabii at the Theatre, both amplified there, where the Drummes might walke, or the pen ruffle.'—*English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes*: Roxburghe Library; ed. W. C. Hazlitt; p. 188. —ED.]—COLLIER (*Introd.*, p. 5): It is a new fact [1842], ascertained from an entry in Henslowe's *Diary*, 22nd May, 1602, that Anthony Munday, Michael Drayton, John Webster, Thomas Middleton, and other poets were engaged upon a tragedy entitled *Cæsar's Fall*. The probability is that these dramatists united their exertions in order without delay to bring out a tragedy on the same subject as that of Shakespeare, which, perhaps, was then performing at the Globe Theatre with success. Malone states that there is no proof that any contemporary writer 'had presumed to new-model a story that had already employed the pen of Shakespeare.' He forgot that Ben Jonson was engaged upon a *Richard Crookback* in 1602; and he omitted, when examining Henslowe's *Diary*, to observe that in the same year four distinguished dramatists, and 'other poets,' were employed upon *Cæsar's Fall*. [In a foot-note Collier remarks that Lord Sterling's [*sic*] *Julius Cæsar* was first printed in 1604, which date may be accounted for, he thinks, by the popularity of Shakespeare's tragedy about 1603, and, therefore, this 'date is of consequence.' Of this earlier date Malone appears to have been unaware.]—UPTON: The real length of time in *Julius Cæsar* is as follows: About the middle of February, A. U. C.

[1. The Tragedie of Iulivs Cæsar]

709 [B. C. 44], a frantic festival, sacred to Pan, and called *Lupercalia*, was held in honor of Cæsar, when the regal crown was offered to him by Antony. On the 15th of March in the same year he was slain. November 27, A. U. C. 710, the triumphers met at a small island, formed by the river Rhenus, near Bononia, and there adjusted their cruel proscriptions. A. U. C. 711 Brutus and Cassius were defeated near Philippi.—BATHURST (p. 79): This play does not contain so much of high poetical passages, delicate descriptions, nor tender touches of feeling as often occur in many of Shakespeare's plays; but then it has very little that is not quite easy to understand; it is full of active business; of spirit in the dialogue; contains a good deal of dignity without being stiff or tiresome, and very considerable expression of character; besides, the extraordinary merit of one long speech, that of Antony to the people, which alone would be sufficient to attract us to the play. Shakespeare in this play, as in some others, was taken out of his usual turn and taste by founding a play strictly upon history. This makes him more regular.

3. **Actus Primus**] OECHSELHÄUSER (*Einführungen*, i, 234): 'The First Act takes place in an open square decorated with statues and memorials, a temple or a palace with a colonnade in the distance. Cæsar's train, both in its entrance and exit, passes across the stage diagonally, or goes along a raised street, or viaduct winding downwards. Over this way Cinna rushes during the storm. The greatest care is to be taken to render this dreadful night as realistic as possible.—VERITY: The value of this scene is twofold: (1) It indicates the feeling of Rome towards Cæsar; among the official classes he has jealous enemies, with the crowd he is popular. (2) It illustrates the fickleness of the crowd, a point of which so much is made on the occasion of Antony's great speech. Also the reference to the *Lupercalia* fixes the time of the action of the play at its opening.—F. C. KOLBE (*Irish Monthly*, Sept., 1896, p. 511): The power of the people is a force external to the action of the play, yet it underlies and determines that action; in such cases it is Shakespeare's habit to begin the play with the underlying force, as, e. g., the Ghost in *Hamlet*, the Witches in *Macbeth*, and the storm in *The Tempest*. The mob then, thus shouting for Cæsar, is confronted by the Tribunes, who remind them of their love for Pompey, and chide them for cheering the man who comes in triumph over Pompey's blood. . . . It is the first muttering of the storm against Cæsar; and the spirit of the storm is the veiled figure of the Nemesis of Pompey, justifying the conspiracy that is to be. It is the beginning of the dip of the wave of public opinion which curls in continuous motion throughout the play,—it is crested with Cæsar's triumph, sinks to its trough at Cæsar's death, and rises once more crested with Cæsar's revenge.

4. **Murellus**] THEOBALD: I have, upon the authority of Plutarch, &c., given to this tribune his right name, *Marullus*.

4. **Flavius, Murellus**] FRANCIS GENTLEMAN, author of the *Dramatic Censor*, has written a number of comments, for the most part laudatory, on passages and scenes of the stage arrangement of *Julius Cæsar* as given in Bell's *British Theatre*. On the present line Gentleman remarks: 'Though ludicrous characters appear very incompatible with tragedy, yet the mob, in this historical piece, are natural, justifiable, and exceedingly well supported; several characters, to reduce an enormous multiplicity and insignificance of some, are judiciously blended with others; particularly those of *Flavius* and *Marullus*, in the first scene, are thrown into *Casca* and *Decius Brutus*.'—The wisdom of a change which reduces the multi-

[4. Flavius, Murellus]

plicity of characters at the expense of consistency is certainly questionable. The indignant speech of Marullus, beginning: 'Wherefore rejoice? What conquest brings he home?' l. 40 et seq., is utterly unlike any other speech which Shakespeare has assigned to Casca. A casual comparison of this speech, in verse, with Casca's humorous account, in prose, of the offering of the crown to Cæsar will show that the same character could not consistently deliver both. Again, in Bell's arrangement, it is Decius Brutus who bids Casca 'disrobe the images,' and later in the scene, when Casca is speaking with Brutus and Cassius, it is Casca who tells them Flavius and Marullus 'are put to silence' for this same deed. The retention of this is, perhaps, merely an oversight on the part of the adapter; if so, it was not noticed by Mrs INCHBALD, who has the same assignment of characters and speeches as has Bell.—ED.—MARK HUNTER: Note that the tribunes of the people are no longer demagogues as they are in *Coriol.* They have not the slightest personal sympathy or relationship with the 'people.' The 'people' again, as is obvious in this first scene, are thoroughly monarchical in sentiment. They have not the smallest desire to be 'free' in the conspirators' sense. Thus, even before we hear of the conspiracy, we see that such is bound to prove futile.

4. *certain Commoners*] KNIGHT (*Studies*, etc., p. 411): Shakespeare, in the opening scene of *Jul. Cæs.*, has marked very distinctly the difference between the citizens of this period and the former period of *Coriolanus*. In the first play they are a turbulent body. They would revenge with their pikes: the wars would eat them up. In *Jul. Cæs.*, on the contrary, they are 'mechanical'—the carpenter or the cobbler. They 'make holiday to see Cæsar, and to rejoice in his triumph.' The speech of Marullus, the Tribune, brings the Rome of the hour vividly before us. It is the Rome of mighty conquests and terrible factions. Pompey has had his triumphs, and now the men of Rome 'Strew flowers in his way, That comes in triumph over Pompey's blood.'—JUSSERAND (*Literary History*, etc., iii, 258): In this play, as in *Coriol.*, one of the most minutely described personages, if it can be so called, is the People. Shakespeare, who belongs to his time, not to ours, has no tenderness for the people; he depicts with great complacency their exigencies, their credulity, their ignorance, their fits of irresistible but transient ferocity, their contradictions, their violent exaggerations, everything, in fact, that history has ever reproached them with. And as history repeats itself, and as Shakespeare's knowledge of the human heart was marvellous, he seems at times to divine traits unknown then, and which modern researches have discovered in the past; or, at other times, to describe the most tragic incidents of recent revolutions. On that point, from the beginning of his career to the end, Shakespeare never varied; his scornful disposition remained the same; the people who follow Jack Cade in *Henry VI.* are the same as those who now applaud Brutus and Antony, exile Coriolanus, and proclaim Laertes king to console him for the death of his father slain by Hamlet.—A. H. TOLMAN (*Introd.*, p. xliii): In the plays of *Jul. Cæs.* and *Coriol.* Shakespeare is not following Plutarch when he represents the common people of Rome as too fickle, too ignorant, too subject to demagogues, to deserve the slightest respect. Coriolanus tells the populace: 'He that depends Upon your favours swims with fins of lead, And hews down oaks with rushes.'—I, i, 183. It seems clear that the evil smell of the very crowds which thronged his theater and helped to make him rich was most distasteful to the sensitive player-poet. . . . We need to remember that Shakespeare as a dramatist

(Being Mechanicall) you ought not walke
 Vpon a labouring day, without the signe
 Of your Profession? Speake, what Trade art thou?

10

was concerned entirely with what the common people were in his own time, and had been in the past.

[you ought not walke] WRIGHT: In all other cases in which 'ought' occurs in Shakespeare it is followed by *to*. Both constructions are found. For instance, in the later Wicliffite version of *Genesis*, xxxiv, 31: 'Symeon and Leuy answeriden, Whether thei oughthen mysuse oure sistir'; where some manuscripts read 'to mysuse.' Again, in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (ed. 1577), ii. 1006a: 'But the Lord Henry Percy L. Marshall, . . . came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not come at that time.' The earlier construction appears to have been with *to*. Dr Morris (*English Accidence*, § 303) states that *owe* as an auxiliary verb first appears in *Laghamon's Brut*. If this be the case, it is instructive to observe that in the earlier recension of the poem (ed. Madden, i, 262) we find 'and that that heo aghen me to ghelden,' and that they ought to yield to me; while in the later the line stands thus, 'and hiȝ that hahte ghelden' = and they ought yield that. . . . On the other hand, we find in the earlier recension, when the word is more strictly used as an auxiliary (ii, 276): 'and swa thu aghest Hengest don' = and so thou oughtest do to Hengest. In the last-quoted example 'aghest' is the present tense, but ought, though properly, 1st, is used also as a present, like *wot* and *must*. On this irregularity in the use of the infinitive, with or without *to* after auxiliary or quasi-auxiliary verbs, Dr Guest remarks (Philological Society's Proceedings, ii, 227): 'Originally the *to* was prefixed to the gerund, but never to the present, infinitive; as, however, the custom gradually prevailed of using the latter in place of the former, the *to* was more and more frequently prefixed to the infinitive, till it came to be considered as an almost necessary appendage of it. . . . The *to* is still generally omitted after the auxiliaries and also after certain other verbs, as *bid*, *dare*, *see*, *hear*, *make*, &c. But even in these cases there has been great diversity of usage.' The following early instances of the omission of *to* are taken from Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik*, and the *Wörterbuch* which accompanies his *Allenglische Sprachproben*: 'I oughthe ben hyere than she'—*Piers Ploughman* (ed. T. Wright), l. 936; 'With here bodies that aghte be so free'—*Robert of Gloucester* (ed. Hearne), i, p. 12; 'And glader ought his freend ben of his deth'—Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, l. 3053. Milton imitated the construction in *Paradise Lost*: 'And not divulge His secrets, to be scann'd by them who ought Rather admire.'—Bk, viii, 73, 74.

10, 11. without the signe Of your Profession] WARD says (i, 425) that Shakespeare here 'applies a police-law, originating in the mediæval distinction of guilds, to Roman citizens,' thus using the present passage to show that 'Shakespeare's acquaintance with Roman history was slender.'—WRIGHT, on the other hand, notes that 'it is more likely that Shakespeare had in his mind a custom of his own time than any sumptuary law of the Romans.'—MARSHALL, after quoting Wright, says: 'It is evident that there is no reference here to the mediæval guilds; as the next speech but one, that of Marullus, shows us that what the Tribune meant was not that the mechanics should wear any special badge or *sign*, but merely the usual working dress of their trade or occupation; in short, that they had no right to be in holiday, or, as we should say, in their Sunday clothes, on a working day.'—MISS PORTER and MISS CLARKE discern a reference here to the Sumptuary

[10, 11. without the signe Of your Profession]

Laws, particularly to that prescribing the wearing of a woollen cap on Sundays and holidays by all persons 'above six years, except ladies, knights, and gentlemen,' which law was repealed in 1597.—[But does not Flavius mention specifically that they should wear the sign of their profession upon a labouring day? He does not recognise the present occasion as a festival. I am inclined to agree with Marshall that this line does not refer to any regulation of the mediæval guilds. The following account of these associations is abridged from TOULMIN-SMITH'S exhaustive monograph on this subject (issued by the Early English Text Society) and Herbert's *History of the Livery Companies of London*: The mediæval guilds, or gilds, were originally mutual benefit or protective societies, and took their names from characters either from the Bible or offices of the church, *e. g.*, The Gild of the Holy Spirit, the Gild of St. Peter, or of St. Paul. The members paid a small entrance fee and a sum annually. Fines were also exacted for non-attendance at meetings or infraction of the rules. The general fund was used for the help of the poorer brethren during illness, or payment of funeral expenses. The various trades were quick to understand the advantage of such fraternities, and the transition from the gild to the trade-union was accomplished. In the regulations and by-laws of gilds and trade-unions there is not, as far as I have been able to discover, any mention prescribing a form of dress or badge to be worn on all occasions, though mention is made of certain hoods or gowns which are to be worn on the feast of a gild's patron saint. They were not, however, distinctive of the profession of the gild or trade-union. Later these trade-unions were merged into twelve companies representing the principal trades of the time, such as, the Merchant Tailors; the Masons; the Skinners; the Stationers, etc., and to them was granted each a royal charter with the right to wear certain liveries on festival occasions. These liveries were not typical of the various companies, but were merely uniforms to distinguish the members of one company from another. Neither in the charter nor in the by-laws is it made compulsory to wear this livery except on certain holidays or festivals. It is, I think, quite evident that the speech of Flavius cannot, therefore, refer to this custom, since he mentions the fact that the sign of the profession must be worn upon a laboring day. Referring now to the question of a Sumptuary Law: Such laws were first issued in the time of Edward III., and related not to the particular form of costume which the different classes should wear, but to the cost of the material. Every one was limited, according to his rank, in the cost. If there were any clause, which there is not, in these Sumptuary laws making it obligatory that artisans wear a distinctive dress it would furnish a valuable piece of internal evidence to determine the date of composition of *Jul. Cæs.*, as all such laws were repealed in the first year of James I. (1603), and it is hardly probable that Shakespeare would have referred to an unpopular law which was no longer in force. In the 22nd year of Henry VIII. (1531) there was passed an act relating to vagrants wherein it was stated that : 'if any man or woman being whole & mightie in bodie, & able to labour, having no land, master, nor using any lawful merchandise, craft or mysterie, whereby hee might get his living . . . be vagrant, & can give no reckoning how he doeth lawfully get his living: that then it shalbe lawful to the Constables, and all other the kings officers . . . to arrest the sayd vagabonds,' etc. (Rustal: *English Statutes*, 1594). Then follows the form of punishment for such vagrants. This Act remained in force until the 39th year of Elizabeth (1597), when it was reissued, with many changes in phraseology. The clause in regard to

Car. Why Sir, a Carpenter.

12

Mur. Where is thy Leather Apron, and thy Rule?
What dost thou with thy best Apparell on?

You sir, what Trade are you?

15

Cobl. Truly Sir, in respect of a fine Workman, I am
but as you would say, a Cobler.

Mur. But what Trade art thou? Answer me directly.

Cob. A Trade Sir, that I hope I may use, with a safe
Conscience, which is indeed Sir, a Mender of bad soles. 20

Fla. What Trade thou knowest? Thou naughty knowest,
what Trade? 22

12. *Car.*] 1 *Pleb.* Hanmer. 1 *C.*
Capell. 1 *Cit.* Malone et seq. (subs.)

15. *You sir,*] F₃F₄. *You sir* F₂. *You,*
Sir,—Theob. Warb. Dyce, Sta.
—*You, Sir,* Johns. Var. '73. *You, sir*
Cap. et cet.

16, 10, 23, 27. 20. *Cob.*] 2 *Pleb.*
Hanmer. 2 *C.* Capell. 2 *Cit.*
Malone et seq. (subs.)

20. *soles*] *soles* F₃. *soles* F₄, Rowe+,
Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing.
soles Knt et cet.

21. *Fla.*] *Mur.* Capell. Mar. Jen-
nens. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing.
Dyce, Wht. Hal. Cam.+.

Trade thou] *trade, thou* Rowe et
seq.

the vagrant's inability to give an account of his means of livelihood does not appear; and there is added one relating to players of interludes and stage-players, who are not under the patronage of some nobleman, classing them among vagabonds and vagrants. Such an act would naturally be humiliating to all players, and it is possible that to this Shakespeare has made Flavius refer. The evidence is, it must be admitted, slight and, at best, but circumstantial. On the other hand, there is no evidence whatever to support the view that there is here a reference either to the laws of the Trade-gilds or to the Sumptuary Laws.—ED.]

11–15. *art thou . . . are you*] For other examples of this use of 'thou' and 'you,' see, if needful, ABBOTT §§ 232–234.

20. *Mender of bad soles*] MALONE: Fletcher has the same quibble in his *Women Pleased*: 'If thou dost this (mark me, thou serious sower), . . . If thou dost this, there shall be no more shoe-mending; Every man shall have a special care of his own sole.'—[Act IV, sc. i. Compare also: 'Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, IV, i, 123.—ED.]

21. *Fla. What Trade*] CAPELL (ii, 96): The mistake made in this speech's assignment is evinced by the immediate reply to it, the reply to that reply, and what proceeds from this speaker. Short as is the part of these tribunes, they have different characters; Marullus is grave and severe and no relisher of evasions and quibbles: the first with which the cobbler regales him puts him out of humour, his second increases it, and a third endangers a storm; but that Flavius—who is somewhat gentler disposed, and a better decypherer, interposes a question that puts a stop to evasions, but not to quibbling, for that goes on as before; but not clear as before, if former copies are kept to, who read 'withall' [l. 31] in one word, and with no point to it; what the speaker would now say in that sentence is this: that he meddled not with this or that matter particularly, but with *all* in which the awl had concern.—KNIGHT: We doubt whether it is correct to assume that only

Cobl. Nay I befeech you Sir, be not out with me: yet 23
if you be out Sir, I can mend you.

Mur. What mean st thou by that? Mend mee, thou 25
fawcy Fellow?

Cob. Why fir, Cobble you.

Fla. Thou art a Cobler, art thou?

Cob. Truly fir, all that I liue by, is with the Aule: I 30
meddle with no Tradefmans matters, nor womens mat-
ters; but withal I am indeed Sir, a Surgeon to old shooes:
when they are in great danger, I recouer them. As pro-
per men as euer trod vpon Neats Leather, haue gone vp-
on my handy-worke.

Fla. But wherefore art not in thy Shop to day? 35
Why do'st thou leade these men about the streets?

Cob. Truly fir, to weare out their shooes, to get my 38
felfe into more worke. But indeede fir, we make Holy-

24. *if you be*] *if you should be* Ktly.

25. *Mur.*] *Flav.* Theobald, Han.
Warb. Sing. Ktly.

mean st thou] *meanest thou* Cap.
Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Dyce, Sta.

28. *Cobler*] *cobbler, then* Quincy (MS).

29. *with the*] *the* Rowe, +, Cap.
(Errata).

30. *Tradesmans*] *tradesmen's* Warb.
trade, —man's Farmer, Var. '78, '85.

trades, man's Sta. conj.
womens] *womans* Ff. *woman's*

Rowe, +, Varr. Ran.

31. *withal* I] Wh. i. *withall* I F₂F₃.
withal, I F₄, Rowe. *with-all*, I Pope, +.
with all. I Cap. Var. '73, Ran. Knt,
Coll. Hal. Sing. ii, Ktly, Huds. *with*
awl. I Farmer, Jen. et cet.

33. *Neats Leather*] *Neats-Leather*
F₃F₄.

34. *handy-worke*] *handy worke* Ff.

36. *do'st*] *doſt* F₃F₄.

37, 38. *Truly fir...worke*] Mnemonic
Warb.

one should take the lead; whereas it is clear that the dialogue is more natural, certainly more dramatic, according to the original arrangement, where Flavius and Marullus alternately rate the people, like two smiths smiting on the same anvil.

25. *mean st thou by that*] STEEVENS: Perhaps this, like all the other speeches of the Tribunes (to whichever of them it belongs), was designed to be metrical, and originally stood thus, 'What mean'st by that? Mend me, thou saucy fellow?' —[COLERIDGE (*Notes*, p. 131) suggests the same omission and arrangement.]

29, 30. *I meddle . . . matters*] BRENTANO says (p. cxxxix): 'Sometimes the richer craftsmen withdrew from their poorer brethren into separate gilds, as, for instance, the Shoemakers from the Cobblers, the Tanners from the Shoemakers.'

30, 31. *no Tradesmans matters . . . but withal*] MALONE: Where our author uses words equivocally, he imposes some difficulty on his editor with respect to the mode of exhibiting them in print. Shakespeare, who wrote for the stage, not for the closet, was contented if his quibble satisfied the ear. I have, with the other modern editors, printed here *with awl*, though in the First Folio we find 'withal'; as in a preceding speech *bad soals*, instead of 'bad soules.'

37, 38. *Truly sir . . . But indeede*] DELIUS: The Cobbler, with the jocular

day to see *Cæsar*, and to reioyce in his Triumph.

Mur. Wherefore reioyce?

40

What Conquest brings he home?

What Tributaries follow him to Rome,

To grace in Captiue bonds his Chariot Wheels?

You Blockes, you stones, you worfe then fenslesse things:

O you hard hearts, you cruell men of Rome,

45

Knew you not *Pompey* many a time and oft?

40, 41. As one line Rowe et seq.

46. *you* ye Var. 73.

41. *Conquest*] *conquests* Pope ii.

Pompey ... oft] *Pompey? ... oft*

43. *Wheels?*] *Wheels* F₃.

Rowe ii et seq.

subtlety of the clown, makes a distinction between 'truly' and 'indeed,' as though there were two meanings.—WRIGHT, after referring to the foregoing note, says: 'I think the Cobbler had no more meaning in using them than Master Slen-der had, and that certainly is not much. Shakespeare frequently puts such petty expletives into the mouth of his uneducated characters. See *Merry Wives*, I, ii, 322-326.'

39. his Triumph] WRIGHT: Cæsar had returned from Spain, where he had defeated the sons of Pompey at the battle of Munda, 17th March, B. C. 45. . . This triumph took place in the beginning of October, and as it was for a victory over Pompey's sons it makes the reproaches of Marullus more pointed. Shakespeare, not caring for dates, has placed the triumph at the time of the Lupe- calia, which was held 15 February, B. C. 44.

40. Wherefore reioyce] CAMPBELL (*Life & Writings*, etc., p. lix): It is evident from the opening scene of *Jul. Cæs.* that Shakespeare, even dealing with classical subjects, laughed at the classic fear of putting the ludicrous and sublime into juxta-position. After the low and farcical jests of the saucy Cobbler the eloquence of the Roman Tribune, Marullus, 'springs upwards like a pyramid of fire.' . . . It can be no exaggeration to say that these lines are among the most magnificent in the English language. They roll over my mind's ear like the lordliest notes of a cathedral organ, and yet they succeed immediately to the ludicrous idea of a cobbler leading a parcel of fools about the streets, in order to make them wear out their shoes and get himself into more work.

41, 42. home . . . Rome] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 114): In quoting *Ant. & Cleo.*, I, ii, 189, 190, 'many our contriving friends in Rome Petition us at home,' I observed, 'Pronounce "Rome" as usual, *Room*'; this removes the jingle between 'Rome' and 'home.' *Coriol.* V, iii, 172: 'so we will home to Rome And die among our neighbors.' Here, too, the same pronunciation obviates the jingle; as it does the rhyme in *Jul. Cæs.*, I, i, [41, 42]. Was this the ordinary pronunciation down to the beginning of the present century? (I learnt it at school.) In Heber's *Palestine* it must be *Room*, *auribus postulantibus*: 'When Tiber slept beneath the cypress gloom, And silence held the lonely woods of Rome.' . . . 'But heavier far the fetter'd captive's doom! To glut with sighs the iron ear of Rome.' Read the poem continuously, and it will be evident. Tait's *Magazine*, x, p. 444: "'I say, that if he was in Room"—Every one—Kemble himself—said "*Room*" in those days—"if he was in Room,"' &c. [See I, ii, 172.]

Haue you climb'd vp to Walles and Battlements, 47
 To Towres and Windowes? Yea, to Chimney tops,
 Your Infants in your Armes, and there haue fate
 The liue-long day, with patient expectation, 50
 To see great *Pompey* passe the streets of Rome:
 And when you saw his Chariot but appeare,
 Haue you not made an Vniuerfall shout,
 That Tyber trembled vnderneath her bankes
 To heare the replication of your founds, 55
 Made in her Concaue Shores?
 And do you now put on your best attyre?
 And do you now cull out a Holyday? 58

48. *Windowes?*] *windows*, Rowe et seq.

54, 56. *her...her*] *his...his* Rowe,+,
 Cap. Var. '78, Ran. *her...his* Var. '85.

56-61. *Made...Be gone*] Five lines,

ending: *now ... now ... now ... Rome ... Be gone* Han.

56. *Shores*] *Sh'oles* F₂.

58. *a Holyday*] *a Holy-day* F₃. an
Holy-day F₄, Rowe,+.

54. *her bankes*] STEEVENS: As Tyber is always represented by the figure of a man, the feminine gender is improper. Milton says that 'the river of bliss . . . Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream.'—[*Paradise Lost*, iii, 358.] But he is speaking of the water, and not of its presiding power or genius.—MALONE: Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, frequently describes the rivers of England as females, even when he speaks of the presiding power of the stream. Spenser, on the other hand, represents them, more classically, as males.—To this note by Malone Steevens replies that 'The presiding power of some of Drayton's rivers were females; like *Sabrina*, &c.' For several examples where rivers are spoken of as feminine in the *Polyolbion*, see *First Song*, lines 506-546.—WRIGHT notes that in Shakespeare where a river is not personified it is neuter, *e. g.*, 'Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds'—*King John*, III, i, 23; and *2 Hen. IV.*: IV, iv, 127, and adds: 'In Drayton's *Polyolbion* the rivers are mostly feminine. But in the *Seventeenth Song* the Thames, the king of rivers, is masculine, as he is to this day; and Spenser's description of the marriage of the Thames and Medway (*Faerie Queene*, IV, 11), the Medway being the bride, shews that in this respect the usage is not uniform.'

56. *Made . . . Concaue Shores*] CRAIK (p. 141): An imperfect line (or hemistich, as it is commonly called), but prosodically regular so far as it goes, which is all we have a right to look for. The occasional use of such shortened lines would seem to be, at least in dramatic poetry, one of the proper and natural prerogatives of blank verse, according well, as it does, with the variety of pause and cadence which makes the distinctive charm of verse of that form. But, apparently, it need not be assumed, as is always done, that the fragment must necessarily be in all cases the beginning of a line. Why should not the poet be supposed sometimes, when he begins a new sentence or paragraph in this manner, to intend that it should be connected, in the prosody as well as in the meaning, with what follows, not with what precedes? A few lines lower down, for instance, the words 'Be gone' might be either the first foot of the verse or the last.

And do you now strew Flowers in his way,
That comes in Triumph ouer *Pompe*, *as* blood? 60

Be gone,
Runne to your houses, fall vpon your knees,
Pray to the Gods to intermit the plague
That needs must light on this Ingratitude.

Fla. Go, go, good Countrymen, and for this fault 65
Assemble all the poore men of your fort;
Draw them to Tyber bankes, and weepe your teares
Into the Channell, till the lowest streame 68

60. comes in] comes to Rome in Han.	62. your knees] you knees Var. '78
61, 62. Be gone ... knees] One line	(misprint).
Ktly.	65. this] that Theob. ii, + (—Var.
61. Be gone.] Be gone— Rowe, +.	'73).
Be gone; Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.	67. Tyber bankes] Tyber bank Rowe,
Be gone! Knt et seq.	Popc. Tyber's bank Theob. ii, +.

59, 60. his way, **That comes]** ABBOTT (§ 218): That is, in the way of him that comes. [Other passages, wherein the genitive of the pronoun 'stands as the antecedent of a relative,' at. given.]

50. **Pompeyes blood]** HERFORD: That is, his son, Cneius, who had fallen in the battle of Munda, the immediate occasion of Cæsar's Triumph. That 'blood' has this special reference is shown by Plutarch's emphatic statement, which Shakespeare clearly had in view, that this triumph was peculiarly offensive to the Romans 'because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown.'

63. **intermit]** WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 65) quotes this line as an instance of the inaccurate use of the word 'intermit' for *remit*; adding that 'in this case the inaccuracy seems rather to have originated in a slight degree of carelessness.'—The word is not used elsewhere by Shakespeare.—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Intermit*. v¹. i. †c.) gives four examples, extending from 1563 to 1692, wherein this word is used in the sense of 'To omit, leave out, pass over, let slip,' which is, perhaps, the meaning as used in the present line. It is marked by Murray as obsolete in this sense.—ED.

67. **weepe your teares]** WRIGHT: This transitive use of 'weep' is not common. See *Love's Labour's*, IV, iii, 33: 'Thou shinest in every tear that I do weep.' [SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) also quotes: 'Purple tears that his wound wept.'—*Ven. & Ad.*, 1054; 'May have a tomb of orphan's tears wept on 'em.'—*Hen. VIII.*: III, ii, 399; besides other examples, such as to *weep seas*, to *weep blood*.—ED.]

67, 68. **weepe . . . till the lowest streame**, etc.] JUSSERAND (*Literary Hist.*, etc., iii, 342): Sometimes those luminous rays with which natural objects are aureoled in Shakespeare's eye, distort the contours and destroy proportions. Such is the case, for instance, when it is a question of sighs or tears. Those signs of emotion scarcely ever offer themselves to the dramatist's imagination save under the guise of floods and storms. The Romans risk causing the Tiber to overflow with their tears; Richard II. spoils the harvest with his sobs and sighs. Juliet is 'a bark, a sea, a wind'; her tears, old Capulet explains, are the sea, her body is the

Do kisse the most exalted Shores of all.

Exeunt all the Commoners. 70

See where their bafest mettle be not mou'd,
They vanish tongue-tyed in their guiltineffe :
Go you downe that way towards the Capitoll,
This way will I : Disrobe the Images,

74

70. all the] Ff, Cam.+, Om. Rowe
et cet.

Commoners] Ff, Cam.+. Citi-
zens Capell et cet.

71. where] Ff. *where* Theob.+.

whér Dyce, Sta. *whether* Cam.+. Quincy MS. *wher* Han. et cet.

71. *their*] *that* Quincy MS.

72. *tongue-tyed*] *tongue-ty'd* F₃F₄.

bark, her sighs are the wind. Laertes does not weep over drowned Ophelia: 'Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia, And therefore I forbid my tears.' Romeo roams abroad before sunrise: 'With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew, Adding to clouds more clouds with his deep sighs.' The habit is a settled one; the poet reverts to it almost mechanically; his heroes feel they have never said enough, they try to outdo each other; Richard II. proposes a competition in weeping: '—To drop them [tears] still upon one place, Till they have fretted us a pair of graves Within the earth.' Mere child's play, thinks Queen Elizabeth in *Rich. III.*; as for herself, she will 'send forth plenteous tears to drown the world.' It may be appropriate to recall that such exaggerations were frequent in the romances then in vogue. In the *Diana* of Montemayor a shepherd causes the grass to grow in a meadow, and the water surrounding an island to rise, by the abundance of his tears.

69. **Do kisse**] CRAIK (p. 142): In this we have a common archaism, the retention of the auxiliary, now come to be regarded, when it is not emphatic, as a pleonasm enfeebling the expression, and consequently denied alike to the writer of prose and to the writer of verse. It is thus in even a worse predicament than the separate pronunciation of the final *ed* in the preterite indicative or past participle passive. In the age of Shakespeare they were both, though beginning to be abandoned, still part and parcel of the living language, and instances of both are numerous in the present play. The modern forms probably were as yet completely established only in the spoken language, which commonly goes before that which is written and read, in such economical innovations.

71. **where**] GUEST (p. 58): We have one of the best proofs of the elision [of the final syllable] in the further corruptions such words have undergone, *ov'r* became *o'er*, *ev'r* *ere*, *olk'r* *or*, *whelk'r* *wher*; and in those dialects which are so intimately connected with our own, as almost to make part of the same language, we find these letters similarly affected. Thus, in the Frisic *faer* is *father*, *moar* is *mother*, *broer* is *brother*, *foer* is *fodder*. With a slight change in the orthography, we find the same words in the Dutch. This seems to point clearly to a similar cause of corruption in all these dialects. The elision of the vowel I believe to have been the first step. [Compare also V, iv, 35: 'And see where Brutus be alive or dead.']

74. **Disrobe the Images**] According to Plutarch, '—there were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down'—ed. Skeat, p. 96. Suetonius says: '—one of the crowd put upon a statue of him a laurel crown, with

If you do finde them deckt with Ceremonies.

75

Mur. May we do so?

You know it is the Feast of Lupercall

Fla. It is no matter, let no Images

Be hung with *Cæsars* Trophees : Ile about,

And driue away the Vulgar from the streets ;

80

So do you too, where you perceiue them thicke.

These growing Feathers, pluckt from *Cæsars* wing,

Will make him flye an ordinary pitch,

Who else would soare aboue the view of men,

And keepe vs all in seruile fearefulnesse.

Exeunt.

85

75. *Ceremonies*] *ceremony* Wh. i.

a white ribbon tied round it, and the tribunes of the commons, Epidius Marullus and Cæsetius Flavius, ordered the ribbon to be taken away, and the man to be carried to prison.'—Cap. lxxix.

75. *deckt with Ceremonies*] R. G. WHITE: It can hardly be necessary to remark, ceremoniously or pompously decorated. [See *Text. Note.*] The Folio has 'with ceremonies,' which has been hitherto retained, with the explanation that 'ceremonies' means here religious ornaments or decorations [thus Warburton and Malone]. But such a use of the word is illogical and unprecedented. The word in the Folio is merely *ceremonie* with the superfluous *s* so constantly added in books of its period.—CRAIK (143): By ceremonies must here be meant what are afterwards in l. 79 called 'Cæsar's trophies,' and are described in I, ii, 306 as 'scarfs' which were hung on Cæsar's images. No other instance of this use of the word, however, is produced by the commentators.—WRIGHT, after citing the two passages, also referred to by Craik, in which mention is made of 'Cæsar's trophies' and the 'scarfs,' thinks, with Malone, that 'ceremonies' must here be 'regarded as denoting marks of ceremonious respect'; and compares: 'His ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he appears but a man,' *Hen. V.* IV, i, 109. Wright adds to this: 'In a passage from Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i, 114, given in Richardson's Dictionary, "ceremony" is used loosely, not only of outward observance, but of the things whereby such observance was shown. "And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the crosse with the image Jesu Christ therupon? And he answered: We haue no such custome. Wherupon I coniectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction, they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. . . . For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their religion. And therefore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat." In Du Cange one of the meanings given to "Ceremonia" is *Victima hostia*, showing that the concrete sense had become attached to the word.'—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Ceremony*. †4. *concr.*): An external accessory or symbolical 'attribute' of worship, state, or pomp. [Besides the present line Murray quotes] 1581 Sidney *Apol. Poetrie* (*Arb.*) 47: Aeneas . . . carrying away his religious ceremonies. *Meas. for Meas.*, II, ii, 59: 'No ceremony that to great ones 'longs, Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword, The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe Become them with one half so good a grace As mercy does.'

37. *the Feast of Lupercall*] For a description of the rites attending this

[Scene II.]

Enter Cæsar, Antony for the Course, Calphurnia, Portia, Decius, Cicero, Brutus, Cassius, Casca, a Soothsayer: after them Murellus and Flavius.

3

SCENE II.] Pope et seq.

The Same. A publick Place. Rowe.

1. Enter Cæsar...] Enter in solemn procession, with Musick, &c., Cæsar... Rowe. Enter in procession with trumpets and other music, Cæsar... Coll. ii, iii (MS).

1, 2. Decius] Decimus Hanmer, Ran.

1, 4, 6, 12. Calphurnia] Calpurnia

Wh. Cam. +, Rolfe.

2. Casca, a...] Casca and a... Hanmer. Casca, &c., a great crowd following; Soothsayer in the Crowd. Capell et seq. (subs.)

2, 3. after...Flavius] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Jen. Var. '78, '85. Om. Theob. et cet.

3. Murellus] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Cap. Marullus Theob. et cet.

Roman festival, see Smith: *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. *Lupercalia*. The time of its celebration was the 15th of February.

83. Will make him flye, etc.] CRAIK (p. 144): A modern sentence constructed in this fashion would constitute the 'him' the antecedent to the 'who,' and give it the meaning of the person generally who (in this instance) 'else would soar,' etc., or whoever would. But it will be more accordant with the style of Shakespeare's day to leave the 'him' unemphatic, and to regard 'Cæsar' as being the antecedent to 'who.' Compare: 'Two mighty eagles fell, and there they perched, Gorging and feeding from our soldiers' hands; Who to Philippi here consorted us.'—V, i, 94.

83. pitch] That is, the highest flight of a hawk or falcon.

1. Antony for the Course] —that day [the Feast of Lupercal] there are divers noblemen's sons, young men (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern them), which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferula: persuading themselves that, being with child, they shall have good delivery; and so, being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child. . . . Antonius, consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course.'—Plutarch: *Cæsar*, cap. xli (p. 96, ed. SKEAT).

1. Calphurnia] R. G. WHITE: The Folio has Calphurnia here and wherever the name occurs; yet the needful correction has not hitherto been made, although the name of Cæsar's wife was *Calpurnia*, and it is correctly spelled throughout North's Plutarch, and although no one has hesitated to change the strangely perverse 'Varrus' and 'Claudio' of the Folio to 'Varro' and 'Claudius', or its 'Anthony' to 'Antony' in this play and in *Ant. & Cleo*. I am convinced that in both 'Anthony' and 'Calphurnia' *h* was silent to Shakespeare and his readers.—[ELLIS, speaking of the pronunciation during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, says (pt i, p. 316): 'There is no reason for supposing *p*, *ph*, *qu* to have been anything but *p*, *f*, and *kw*.'—ED.]—WRIGHT: Calpurnia was the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, married to Cæsar B. C. 59. She was his fourth wife, the other three being Cossutia, Cornelia, and Pompeia.

1, 2. Decius] STEEVENS: This person was not *Decius*, but *Decimus Brutus*.

Cæs. *Calphurnia.*

Cæs. Peace ho, *Cæsar* speaks.

5

Cæs. *Calphurnia.*

Calp. Heere my Lord.

Cæs. Stand you directly in *Antonio's* way,
When he doth run his course. *Antonio.*

Ant. *Cæsar.* my Lord.

10

Cæs. Forget not in your speed *Antonio*,
To touch *Calphurnia* : for our Elders say,
The Barren touched in this holy chace,
Shake off their sterile curse.

14

5. [Musick ceases. Cap. Mal. Steev.
Varr.

8. Antonio's] Ff, Rowe, Ktly. Antonio's] Pope et cet.

9, 11. Antonio] Ff, Rowe, Ktly. Antonio Pope et cet.

10. Cæsar] Om. anon. ap. Cam.

13. touched] touchèd Dyce.

14. sterile] F₂. sterill F₃. sterile Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds. Col. iii.

steril F₄ et cet.

curse] course Rowe ii, Pope, Eian.

The poet (as Voltaire has done since) confounds the characters of *Marcus* and *Decimus*. *Decimus Brutus* as the most cherished by Cæsar of all his friends, while Marcus kept aloof, and declined so large a share of his favors and honors as the other had constantly accepted. Velleius Paterculus, speaking of *Decimus Brutus*, says: 'For, though he had been the most intimate of all his [C. Cæsar's] friends, he became his murderer, and threw on his benefactor the odium of that fortune of which he had reaped the benefit. He thought it just that he should retain the favors which he had received from Cæsar, and that Cæsar, who had given them, should perish.—Bk ii, cap. lxiv, [p. 475, trans. WATSON. Steevens quotes also from Thomas May's *Supplement* to Lucan's *Pharsalia* two passages in which Decimus Brutus is referred to as among the closest of the friends of Cæsar.]—FARMER: Shakespeare's mistake of *Decius* for *Decimus* arose from the old translation of Plutarch.—MALONE: In Holland's translation of Suetonius, 1606, which I believe Shakespeare had read, this person is likewise called Decius Brutus.—R. G. WHITE: This mistake is not in the spelling of a name, but the identity of a person, and is one into which the poet was led by his authority, North's Plutarch. Therefore it should not be corrected.

8. Antonio's] STEEVENS: The old copy generally reads 'Antonio,' 'Octavio,' 'Flavio.' The players were more accustomed to Italian than Roman terminations, on account of the many versions from Italian novels, and the many Italian characters in dramatic pieces formed on the same originals.—[The form *Antonio* occurs but four times throughout the play. In all other instances the name is given either as *Marke Antony* or *Antony*. *Octavio* occurs twice, and *Labio* and *Flavio* but once each.—ED.]

13, 14. The Barren . . . sterile curse] See note on l. 1; extract from Plutarch.—F. SCHÖNE (p. 17, foot-note): It has been thought that Cæsar here shows himself childishly superstitious. . . . But what Shakespeare wishes clearly to indicate is Cæsar's anxiety for an heir to his power and the establishing of a dynasty. That he was not actually superstitious is shown shortly after by his

- Ant.* I shall remember, 15
 When *Cæsar* fayes, Do this ; it is perform'd.
Cæf. Set on, and leaue no Ceremony out.
Sooth. *Cæsar.*
Cæf. Ha? Who calles?
Cask. Bid euery noyse be still : peace yet againe. 20
Cæf. Who is it in the preffe, that calles on me?
 I heare a Tongue shriller then all the Musicke
 Cry, *Cæsar* : Speake, *Cæsar* is turn'd to heare.
Sooth. Beware the Ides of March.
Cæf. What man is that? 25
Br. A Sooth-fayer bids you beware the Ides of March.

16. *Do this*] As quotation Knt, Coll.
 Dyce, Wh. Hal. Cam.+, Huds.

17. [Musick; and the procession
 moves. Capell.

20. [Musick ceases. Capell.

20, 21. *againe.* *Cæf. Who...* *Cæs.*
Again! (as sep. line) *Who...* or all of ll.

20, 21 continued to *Cæsar* Sta. conj.

23. *Cæsar: Speake,* *Cæsar.* *Speak;*
 Pope,+, Dyce, Sta. *Cæsar!* *Speak*
 Han. Coll. Wh. Hal. Ktly, Cam.+,
 Huds.

26. *bids you*] *bids* Cap.

curt dismissal of the soothsayer, who bids him beware of the Ides of March, calling him merely 'a dreamer.'—[WRIGHT says, however, that *Cæsar*, 'though a professed free-thinker, was addicted to superstition'; and cites, in support of this, Merivale: *History of the Romans*, etc., ii, 446, 7; see also note on II, i, 219.]

17. **Ceremony**] WRIGHT: The scanning of this line shows that Staunton was wrong in maintaining that Shakespeare pronounced the first two syllables of 'ceremony' as *cere* in *cerecloth*.—[Although Walker's *Criticisms* did not appear until 1860, the same date of publication as Staunton's *Shakespeare*, yet it was written several years before that date, and as Walker has quite an article on the subject of this pronunciation of 'Ceremony' (vol. ii, p. 73), he should, I think, be given the priority; he has furnished many examples of its pronunciation as a tri-syllable from Shakespeare and from other writers.—ED.]

18. **Sooth. Cæsar**] VERITY: This incident strikes the note of mystery. The strangeness of this unknown voice from the crowd, giving its strange warning, creates an impression of danger. In Plutarch the warning is more precise; here the vague sense of undefined peril inspires greater awe.

20. **Cask. Bid . . . againe**] WRIGHT: There is no need for any change in the arrangement [see *Text. Notes*], as the whole suits well with the officious character of Casca.

26. **A Sooth-sayer . . . March**] COLERIDGE (*Notes*, etc., p. 131): If my ear does not deceive me, the metre of this line was meant to express that sort of mild philosophic contempt characterizing Brutus even in his first casual speech. The line is a trimeter, each *dipodia* containing two accented and two unaccented syllables, but variously arranged.—CRAIK (p. 144): That is, It is a sooth-sayer, who bids. It would not otherwise be an answer to *Cæsar*'s question. The omission of the relative in such a construction is still common.—[WRIGHT acknowledges that such omissions are common, but adds that the present line 'does

Cæs. Set him before me, let me see his face. 27

Cass. Fellow, come from the throng, look vpon *Cæsar*.

Cæs. What sayst thou to me now? Speak once againe.

Sooth. Beware the Ides of March. 30

Cæs. He is a Dreamer, let vs leaue him : Passè.

Sennet. Exeunt. Manet Brut. & Cass.

Cass. Will you go see the order of the course?

Brut. Not I.

Cass. I pray you do. 35

Brut. I am not Gamefom: I do lacke some part

Of that quicke Spirit that is in *Antony* :

Let me not hinder *Cassius* your desires ;

Ile leaue you.

Cass. *Brutus*, I do obserue you now of late : 40

28. *Cass.*] Casca. Johns. Var. '73.

29. *thou*] *thon* F.

31. *Dreamer*] *Dreamer* F₁F₁.

32. *Sennet*] Senate. F. Om.
Rowe,+. Musick. Cap.

Exeunt...& *Cass.*] Ff {*Manet*
F₂F₄), Rowe, Pope. Exeunt *Cæsar*
and *Train*. Theob.+, Varr. Ran.

Exeunt all but *Bru.* and *Cass.* Cap.
et cet.

33. SCENE III. Pope, Han. Warb.
Johns. Jen.

34. *Not I.*] *Not I.* F₃.

39. *Ile leaue you*] Om. Seymour.

40. *you now*] Om. Steev. conj.

not seem to be an instance.' ABBOTT (§ 460) suggests that *metri gratia*, 'beware,' be shortened by the omission of the prefix. CAPELL'S reading (see *Text. Notes*) is, perhaps, preferable.—ED.]—SCHWARTZKOPF (p. 324): It is noteworthy that it is Brutus who immediately repeats the soothsayer's warning words to Cæsar. And they are to be heard again by both, as we see later. To one as a warning which, heeded, could have been his salvation; to the other as a magnetic attraction towards the assassin's dagger.

32. *Manet Brut. & Cass.*] KNIGHT (*Studies*, p. 114): The leading distinctions between these two remarkable men, as drawn by Shakespeare, appear to us to be these: Brutus acts wholly upon principle; Cassius partly upon impulse. Brutus acts only when he has reconciled the contemplation of action with his speculative opinions; Cassius allows the necessity of some action to run before and govern his opinions. Brutus is a philosopher; Cassius is a partisan. Brutus, therefore, deliberates and spares; Cassius precipitates and denounces. Brutus is the nobler instructor; Cassius the better politician. Shakespeare, in the first great scene between them, brings out these distinctions of character upon which future events so mainly depend. Cassius does not, like a merely crafty man, use only the arguments to conspiracy which will most touch Brutus; but he mixes with them, in his zeal and vehemence, those which have presented themselves most strongly to his own mind.

40. *Brutus, I do obserue*, etc.] WRIGHT: In Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius arose from their contest for the prætorship, which Cæsar assigned to Brutus. This, too, was one of the causes of Cassius'

I haue not from ^{thy}your eyes, that gentleneſſe 41
 And ſhew of Loue, as I was wont to haue :
 You beare too ſtubborne, and too ſtrange a hand
 Ouer your Friend, that loues you.

Brut. Cassius, 45
 Be not deceiu'd : If I haue veyl'd my looke,
 I turne the trouble of my Countenance
 Meerely vpon my ſelfe. Vexed I am
 Of late, with paſſions of ſome difference,
 Conceptions onely proper to my ſelfe, 50
 Which giue ſome ſoyle (perhaps) to my Behauiours :
 But let not therefore my good Friends be greeu'd
 (Among which number *Cassius* be you one)
 Nor conſtrue any further my neglect,
 Then that poore *Brutus* with himſelfe at warre, 55
 Forgets the ſhewes of Loue to other men.

Cassi. Then *Brutus*, I haue much miſtook your paſſion,
 By meanes whereof, this Breſt of mine hath buried 58

44. *Friend*] *Friends* Ff, Rowe, Pope.

loues] *love* F₄, Rowe, Pope.

48. *Vexed*] *Vexèd* Dyce.

51. *Behauiours*] *Behaviour* Rowe, +

(—Johns. Var. '73).

54. *further*] *farther* Pope ii, Theob.

Warb. Johns. Var. '73, Coll. Wh. i,

Hal.

personal animosity against Cæsar, and the first step in the plot for his assassination was the reconciliation of Cassius and Brutus.

43. *strange*] JOHNSON: That is, *alien, unfamiliar*, such as might become a stranger.

49. *passions of some difference*] JOHNSON: That is, with a fluctuation of discordant opinions and desires.—STEEVENS: Compare '—thou hast set thy mercy and thy honour At difference in thee.'—*Coriol.*, V, iii, 201.—MALONE: A following line may prove the best comment on this: 'Than that poor Brutus, with himself at war,' l. 55.

57. *passion*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v., III, 6): Any kind of feeling by which the mind is powerfully affected or moved; a vehement, commanding, or overpowering emotion; in psychology and art, any mode in which the mind is affected or acted upon (whether vehemently or not), as ambition, avarice, desire, hope, fear, love, hatred, joy, grief, anger, revenge.

58. *By meanes whereof*] CAPELL (l. 97): That is, by means of mistaking; but what was Cassius' mistake? Wherein lay it? Why, in thinking that his friend's 'passion,' what he appear'd to suffer, proceeded from his concern for the public; which thought of his he calls a *thought of great value*, a *worthy cogitation*; and then enters upon his sounding in terms that show it premeditated, and a manner more artificial than is consistent with real friendship; which the poet does not attribute to him or make a part of his character, and that in order to difference him from the open and honest Brutus.

Thoughts of great value, worthy Cogitations.

Tell me good *Brutus*, Can you see your face?

60

Brutus. No *Cassius* :

For the eye sees not it selfe but by reflection,

By some other things.

Cassius. 'Tis iust,

And it is very much lamented *Brutus*,

65

60. *face*] eye Upton (Obs., p. 237).

himself: F₄.

61-63. *No Cassius...other things*] Two lines, ending: *selfe...things* Rowe et seq.

63. *By*] from Pope, +, Ran. of Sta. conj.

62. *it selfe*] *himselfe* F₁. *himself*, F₂.

things] *thing* Walker (Crit. i, 243), Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Coll. iii.

60. **Can you see your face**] J. HUNTER: Cassius is now proceeding to move Brutus to conspiracy. Observe how artfully he employs the considerations of his affection for Brutus; of the respect in which Brutus is held by others, and in which he should hold his own honour; of the republican principles which Brutus cherishes; and of his being a descendant of that Brutus who drove Tarquin from the throne; and then observe the result which manifests itself in the speech: 'That you do love me,' etc.

62. **the eye sees not it selfe**] STEEVENS: So, Sir John Davies (*Nosce Teipsum*, 1595): 'Is it because the Mind is like the Eye (Through which it gathers knowledge by degrees), Whose rays reflect not but spread outwardly, Not seeing itself, when other things it sees?' [p. 48, ed. Arber].—[Steevens quotes also a passage from Marston's *Parisilaster* which contains this same idea; and MALONE gives another from Davies' second part of *Nosce Teipsum*, which is, perhaps, more nearly parallel to the present line in *Julius Caesar*: 'Mine eyes which see all objects nigh and far, Look not into this little world of mine; Nor see my face, wherein they fixed are' (p. 51, ed. Arber).—CRAIK compares 'Nor doth the eye itself, That most pure spirit of sense, behold itself'—*Tro. & Cress.*, III, iii, 105, 106—and adds: 'It may be worth noting that these lines appear only in the two original quarto editions of the play (1609), and are not in any of the Folios.'—ED.]

62, 63. **by reflection . . . other things**] CRAIK (p. 150): The 'other things' must apparently, if we interpret the words with reference to their connection, be the reflectors or mirrors spoken of by Cassius. Taken by itself, however, the expression might rather seem to mean that the eye discovers its own existence by its power of seeing other things. The verse in the present speech is ingeniously broken up in the original edition [by the colon after 'Cassius' and the comma after 'reflection']. It may still be suspected that all is not quite right, and possibly some words have dropped out. 'By reflection, by some other things' is hardly Shakespeare's style. It is not customary with him to employ a word which he finds it necessary thus to attach immediately to amend, or supplement, or explain by another.—WRIGHT, referring to the foregoing note by Craik, says: 'I do not see why "by," in the sense of *by means of*, does not give a very good meaning, even if we connect it closely with reflection.'—[More reliance might be placed upon the punctuation of the Folio were we sure that it was from Shakespeare's own hand. Wright's interpretation, based upon the removal of the printer's comma, shows how needless the latter point is.—ED.]

That you haue no such Mirrors, as will turne 66
Your hidden worthinesse into your eye,
That you might see your shadow :

I haue heard,
Where many of the best respect in Rome, 70
(Except immortall *Cæsar*) speaking of *Brutus*,
And groaning vnderneath this Ages yoke,
Haue wish'd, that Noble *Brutus* had his eyes.

Bru. Into what dangers, would you
Lead me *Cassius* ? 75
That you would haue me seeke into my selfe,
For that which is not in me ?

Caf. Therefore good *Brutus*, be prepar'd to heare : 78

66. *Mirrors*] *mirror* Walker (Crit. i,
243), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

68, 69. *That...heard*] One line Rowe,
Pope, Theob. Han.+.

73. *eyes*.] *eyes*— Johns.

74, 75. *Into...Cassius*] One line Rowe
et seq.

74. *dangers*] *daungers* F₂.

69, 70. **I haue heard . . . best respect in Rome**] BOISSIER (p. 301): The conspirators were but little over sixty in number, but they had all Rome for their accomplice. 'All the honest men,' said Cicero (*Philip*, ii, 12), 'in so far as they could, have killed Cæsar. Some wanted the means, others the resolution, several the opportunity; no one wanted the will.'

71. **speaking of Brutus**] MARK HUNTER: The repetition of '*Brutus*' immediately afterwards is by no means natural or graceful. I believe the '*Brutus*' in l. 72 caught the printer's eye, and he substituted it for some other word.

73. **Haue wish'd . . . Brutus had his eyes**] DELIUS: That is, the Romans mourned the fact that Brutus did not see, and wished that he might but use the eyes nature had given him in order to recognise the needs of the times.—WRIGHT: I should rather suppose that '*his*' was written carelessly for *their*, as if what precedes had been '*Many a one . . . hath wish'd*,' etc. The speakers wished Brutus to see himself as they saw him, and to recognize his own importance at such a crisis. This seems to be the whole point of Cassius' appeal. Of course, 'to have one's eyes' does occur, in the sense in which Delius takes it, in other passages of Shakespeare; as, for instance: 'Nay, indeed, if you had your eyes, you might fail of the knowing me.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, II, ii, 79. Again: 'If you saw yourself with your eyes, or knew yourself with your judgment.'—*As You Like It*, I, ii, 185.

78. **Therefore good Brutus**] CRAIK (p. 151): The eager, impatient temper of Cassius, absorbed in his own one idea, is vividly expressed by his thus continuing his argument as if without appearing to have even heard Brutus' interrupting question; for such is the only interpretation which his '*therefore*' would seem to admit of.—[Craik is doubtless right regarding the impetuous temper of Cassius, but in the present instance is his interpretation of '*therefore*' the only one? does not '*therefore*' here introduce the answer to the foregoing question? Brutus asks: Why do you ask me to search within myself for something which does not exist? Cassius replies: Since you yourself cannot, after seeking, find it, *therefore* be pre-

And since you know, you cannot see your selfe
 So well as by Reflection; I your Glasse,
 Will modestly discouer to your selfe
 That of your selfe, which you yet know not of.
 And be not iealous on me, gentle *Brutus* :
 Were I a common Laughter, or did vse
 To stale with ordinary Oathes my loue

82. *you yet*] *yet you* F₃F₄, Rowe, +, Steev. Varr. Sing. i.
 Varr. Ran. Cap. 84. *Laughter*] *talker* Kinnear (p. 363).
 83. *on*] *of* Rowe, +, Varr. Mal. Ran. *lover* Herr (p. 7). *laughter* Rowe et seq.

pared to have me tell you 'That of yourself, which you yet know not of' (l. 82).—ED.]—MARK HUNTER: It is plain that Cassius' vehemence, his outspoken envy, do not and cannot appeal to a person of Brutus' temperament, and that Brutus' more philosophic doubts can win no sympathy from Cassius. He does not understand them. Thus Brutus scarcely seems to hear all that Cassius says to him, and Cassius attends to nothing that Brutus says save where it seems to coincide with his own thoughts.

83. *on me*] For examples of 'on' meaning *of*, see Shakespeare *passim*.

84. *a common Laughter*] CRAIK (p. 153): The necessity or propriety of [Rowe's] change is, perhaps, not so unquestionable as it has been generally thought. Neither word seems to be perfectly satisfactory. 'Were I a common laughter' might seem to derive some support from the expression of the same speaker in IV, iii, 126: 'Hath Cassius lived to be but mirth and laughter to his Brutus?'—HEATH (p. 435): Seward, in his notes on Beaumont and Fletcher (Note 10 of the *Faithful Shepherdess*), thinks ['laughter'] 'a stronger word to express a low buffoon than *laughter*. But he seems to have misunderstood the drift of the poet; a low buffoon, who is commonly laughed at, is not the idea he intended, but one who, without regard to friendship or any other consideration, abuses the confidence of his friends in order to expose them to the laughter of the first company he comes into.—HUDSON: 'Laughter' may possibly be right in the sense of *laughing-stock*. Some one has proposed 'a common lover' [see *Text. Notes*]; and so, I have hardly any doubt, we ought to read. This would make *common* emphatic, and give it the sense of *indiscriminate* or *promiscuous*; which quite accords with the context.—WRIGHT: I do not feel quite certain that the Folio reading may not be correct, 'laughter' being used in the sense of *laughing-stock*. Whether Cassius were a common buffoon or a common butt, he would be equally untrustworthy; but he appeals here to what Brutus knows of his habits of speech.—MISS PORTER and MISS CLARKE: Rowe's change . . . is a misrepresentation of the meaning. Cassius means to say: 'were I an object of laughter, as a man like Antony is,' his whole conversation glancing at Antony as standing for all Brutus is opposed to. . . . 'Antony,' says Plutarch, 'was laughed at. For he would further every man's love and . . . not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved.' Cassius says, therefore, that he is not given, like Antony, to 'fawn on men, and hug them hard, And after scandal them.'—[MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) does not apparently give any example of the use of 'laughter' in the sense of the *object laughed at*.—ED.]

85. *To stale*] JOHNSON: That is, to invite *every new protestor* to my affection by the *stale* or allurements of *customary oaths*.—HUDSON: 'To stale' a thing is to *make*

To every new Proteſter : if you know, 86
 That I do fawne on men, and hugge them hard,
 And after ſcandall them : Or if you know,
 That I profeſſe my ſelfe in Banquetting
 To all the Rout, then hold me dangerous. 90

Flouriſh, and Shout.

Bru. What meanes this Showing?
 I do feare, the People chooſe *Cæſar*
 For their King.

Caffi. I, do you feare it? 95
 Then muſt I thinke you would not haue it ſo.

Bru. I would not *Caffius*, yet I loue him well :
 But wherefore do you hold me heere ſo long?
 What is it, that you would impart to me? 99

86. *Proteſter*] Ktly here marks an in. Cap. Jen.
 omiſſion. 92-95. *What meanes...feare it?* Two

89. *my ſelfe*] Om. Ff. lines, ending: *People...feare it?* Rowe et

91. *Flouriſh, and Shout*] Shout with- ſeq.

it common or ſtale by indifcriminate uſe. Compare: 'Out of uſe and ſtaled by other men,' IV, i, 43.—[R. G. WHITE accepts JOHNSON'S explanation; but that given by HUDSON ſeems preferable, and has been generally followed.—ED.]

88. *ſcandall*] CRAIK (p. 153): We have loſt the verb 'ſcandal' altogether, and we ſcarcely uſe the other form, to *ſcandalize*, except in the ſenſe of Helleniſtic *ſkandalizo*, to ſhock, to give offence. Both had formerly alſo the ſenſe of to defame or traduce.

91. *Flouriſh, and Shout*] MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 190): All through the converſation between Brutus and Caſſius the ſhoutiug of the mob reminds of the ſcene which is at the moment going on in the Capitol, while the converſation is interrupted for a time by the returning proceſſion of Cæſar. In this action behind the ſcenes, which thus mingles with the main incident, Cæſar is committing the one fault of his life: this is the fault of 'treason,' which can be juſtified only by being ſucceſſful and ſo becoming 'revolution,' whereas Cæſar is failing, and deſerving to fail from the vacillating hesitation with which he ſins. Moreover, unfavourable as ſuch incidents would be in themſelves to our ſympathy with Cæſar, yet it is not the actual facts that we are permitted to ſee, but they are further diſtorted by the medium through which they reach us—the cyniciſm of Caſca which belittles and diſparages all he relates.

97. *I loue him well*] FERRERO (ii, 312, *foot-note*): The affection and intimacy between Cæſar and Brutus have been much exaggerated. It muſt be remembered that from Pharsalia down to Cæſar's return from Spain they can only have been together for quite a ſhort time, during 47 in the Eaſt; afterwards Cæſar went to Africa and Brutus ſpent the whole of 46 as Governor of Cisalpine Gaul. When Caius returned to Rome Cæſar had already left for Spain.

If it be ought toward the generall good,
 Set Honor in one eye, and Death i'th other,
 And I will looke on both indifferently :
 For let the Gods so speed mee, as I loue
 The name of Honor, more then I feare death.

100. *ought* *auht* Theob. et seq.101. *i'th* *i'th'* F₃F₄ et seq.102. *both* *death* Warb. Theob. Han.
Quincy MS.

100. If it be ought toward] CRAIK (p. 154): All that the prosody demands here is that the word 'toward' be pronounced in two syllables; the accent may be either on the first or on the second. 'Toward' when an adjective has, I believe, always the accent on the first syllable in Shakespeare; but its customary pronunciation may have been otherwise in his day when it was a preposition, as it is here. Milton, however, in the few cases in which he does not run the two syllables into one, always accents the first. And he uses both 'toward' and *towards*.—WRIGHT: When 'toward' is a preposition I find only the following lines in which the accent could be placed on the last syllable: 'Toward that shade I might behold address.'—*Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 92; 'And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, V, i, 5; 'T'ward Peloponnesus are they come.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, III, x, 31. But even in these lines such an accentuation is not necessary, and, as it is contrary to Shakespeare's usage and also to analogy, I believe it to be wrong.

100. the generall good] VERITY: This is the keynote of the action of Brutus. He is influenced by 'no personal cause': what he believes to be the 'common good to all' is his sole motive—as Antony himself allows (V, v, 83, 84).

102. And I . . . on both indifferently] Warburton: What a contradiction to this are the lines immediately succeeding! If he lov'd Honour more than he fear'd Death, how could they be both indifferent to him? Honour thus is but in equal Balance to Death, which is not speaking at all like Brutus; for, in a soldier or any ordinary pretension, it should always *preponderate*. We must certainly read: 'I will look on *Death* indifferently.' What occasion'd the corruption, I presume, was the transcriber's margining; the adverb 'indifferently' must be applied to two things *oppos'd*. But the use of the word does not demand it; nor does Shakespeare always apply it so. In the present passage it signifies *neglectingly*; without *fear* or *concern*. And so Casta afterwards again in this Act employs it: 'And dangers are to me indifferent,' i. e., I weigh them not; am not deterred on the score of danger.—JOHNSON: Warburton has a long note on this occasion, which is very trifling. When Brutus first names 'honour' and 'death,' he calmly declares them *indifferent*; but as the image kindles in his mind, he sets *honour* above *life*. Is not this natural?—UPTON (*Crit. Obs.*, p. 293): That is, whatever comes in competition with the general good, will weigh nothing; death and honour are to me things of an *indifferent* nature; but, however, I freely acknowledge that, of these indifferent things, honour has my greatest esteem, my choice and love; the very name of honour I love, more than I fear even death.—HEATH (p. 435): I entirely concur in Warburton's emendation. . . . What appears decisive in this point is the causal particle 'for,' which introduces the two following lines, and the express declaration which Brutus therein makes of the superior influence which the love of honour had with him beyond the fear of death.—CAPELL (i, 97): Here the editor must play

[102. And I will looke on both indifferently]

the recanter; and repent him that a reading of his three predecessors had not a place in his text; for, notwithstanding all the plausible reasons that have been urged for the old one [by Upton], a more intent examen of the passage at large has convinc'd him it will not proceed rightly without reading as they do—*death* for 'both': 'And I will look on death indifferently, or with indifference,' *i. e.*, unconcern. The subjoin'd assertion of Brutus concerning 'honour' contradicts the equality which the old reading sets up between that and *death*; and his friend's declaration that what he had to impart to him, his *story's subject*, was 'honour,' is every whit as repugnant to the reading of elder copies and of this copy after them. For what sensible man would urge a topic from 'honour' to one who had just told him that 'honour' had no weight with him when put in balance with 'good,' the *good of the general*.—COLERIDGE (*Notes*, p. 132): I prefer the old text. There are here three things—the public good, the individual Brutus' honour, and his death. The latter so balanced each other that he could decide for the first by equipoise; nay,—the thought growing,—that honour had more weight than death. That Cassius understood it as Warburton is the beauty of Cassius as contrasted with Brutus.—CRAIK (p. 154): What Brutus means by saying that he will look upon Death and Honour indifferently, if they present themselves together, is merely that, for the sake of the honour, he will not mind the death, or the risk of death, by which it may be accompanied; he will look as fearlessly and steadily upon one as upon the other. He will think the honour to be cheaply purchased even by the loss of life; that price will never make him falter or hesitate at clutching such a prize. He must be understood to set honour above life from the first; that he should ever have felt otherwise for a moment would have been the height of the unheroic.—WRIGHT: Warburton ought to have remembered the clause in the prayer for the Church Militant: 'that they may truly and indifferently administer justice.'—L. F. MOTT (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1897, p. 160): The difficulty which both Johnson and Coleridge have felt seems to have been occasioned by their failure to perceive that Brutus is here punning on the word 'honor,' which means not only personal integrity, but also high rank, dignity, distinction. In this latter sense we find it, for example, in the *Mer. of Ven.*: 'O, that estates, degrees and offices Were not derived corruptly, and that clear honour Were purchased by the merit of the wearer! . . . How much low peasantry would then be glean'd From the true seed of honour! and how much honour Pick'd from the chaff and ruin of the times.'—II, ix, 142. A score of further examples might be cited, but I content myself with one from *Cymb.*: '—of him I gathered honour Which he to seek of me, again perforce, Behoves me keep at utterance.'—III, i, 70. According to the interpretation here advanced, Brutus' meaning might be stated thus: In matters concerning the public good, I will take indifferently high position or death, for I love my personal integrity more than I fear death. The probability of this explanation is increased by the fact that the same play upon the word 'honor' is found in another of Shakespeare's dramas: 'Meantime receive such welcome at my hand As honour without breach of honour may Make tender of to thy true worthiness.'—*Love's Labour's Lost*, III, i, 170. I have been unable to find either of these puns upon 'honor' in *Wurth's Wortspiel bei Shakspeare*.—MARK HUNTER: Brutus looks at honour and death together; death has become a necessary condition or consequence of honour, and, since that is so, Brutus loves the one as well as the other; the love of honour has taken away the fear of death. We may, therefore, paraphrase the whole: If

Cassi. I know that vertue to be in you *Brutus*, 105
 As well as I do know your outward fauour.
 Well, Honor is the subiect of my Story :
 I cannot tell, what you and other men
 Thinke of this life : But for my single seife,
 I had as lief not be, as liue to be 110
 In awe of such a Thing, as I my selfe.
 I was borne free as *Cæsar*, so were you,
 We both haue fed as well, and we can both
 Endure the Winters cold, as well as hee.
 For once, vpon a Rawe and Gustie day, 115
 The troubled Tyber, chafing with her Shores,
Cæsar saide to me, Dar'st thou *Cassius* now
 Leape in with me into this angry Flood,
 And swim to yonder Point? Vpon the word, 119

109. *for*] Om. Ff.

115-125. Mnemonic Warb.

115. *chafing*] *chafing* F₂F₃.*her*] *his* Rowe, +, Varr. Ran.117. *saide*] *saies* F₂F₃. *says* F₄,
Rowe, +.117-119. *Dar'st...Point?*] Ff, Rowe,

Pope, Warb. As quotation Theob.

Johns. Var. '73, Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh.

Hal. Cam. +, Huds. In Italics Han.

et cet.

the thing be for the public good, even though it cost me my life, I will do it, for the cause of honour is more to me than the fear of death.

105. *Cassi. I know that vertue*, etc.] F. GENTLEMAN (ap. Bell, p. 10): Tho' this speech of Cassius is unusually and, perhaps, blameably long, yet there is such an exquisite variety of expression and richness of description that the actor must be very deficient of capability who does not entertain, if not strike, in it; however, we think attention would be greatly strengthened, and the actor's powers much relieved, if a couple of lines were given to Brutus after the words: 'Did I the tired Cæsar,' [l. 131].—[The above note, with its patronising suggestion of a dramatic improvement, is here given merely to show the attitude of the majority of the early critics and adapters toward Shakespeare.—Ed.]

110. *I had . . . as liue to be*] SHUCKBURN (iv, 244) calls attention to the similarity of thought in this and the following passage in a letter written by Brutus to Cicero in B. C. 43, wherein the writer is speaking of Octavius: 'The one and only thing—you say—that is demanded and expected of him is that he consent to the safety of those citizens, of whom the loyalists and the people have a good opinion. What? If he doesn't consent, shall we not be safe? And yet it is better not to be than to be by his favour.'—[The original reads: 'Quid? si nolit, non erimus? Atqui, non esse, quam esse per illum præstat.'—ed. LeMaire, iii, 683.—Ed.]

116. *her Shores*] For the feminine gender as applied to rivers, see note on I, i, 55.

117-119. *Dar'st thou . . . to yonder Point*] MALONE: Shakespeare probably recollected the story which Suetonius has told of Cæsar's leaping into the sea when he was in danger by a boat's being overladen, and swimming to the next ship with his *Commentaries* in his left hand. (Holland's Translation, ed. 1606, p.

Accoutred as I was, I plunged in, 120
 And bad him follow : so indeed he did.
 The Torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it
 With lusty Sinewes, throwing it aside,
 And stemming it with hearts of Controuersie.
 But ere we could arriue the Point propos'd, 125
Cæsar cride, Helpe me *Cassius*, or I sinke.
 I (as *Æneas*, our great Ancestor,
 Did from the Flames of Troy, vpon his shoulder
 The old *Anchyses* beare) so, from the waues of Tyber
 Did I the tyred *Cæsar* : And this Man, 130
 Is now become a God, and *Cassius* is

- | | |
|--|---|
| 120. <i>Accoutred</i>] <i>Accounted</i> Ff.
<i>plunged</i>] <i>plungèd</i> Dyce. | 125. <i>ere</i>] <i>e're</i> F ₄ .
126. <i>Helpe...sinke</i>] Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Warb. As quotation Theob. Johns. |
| 121. <i>bad</i>] Ff, Rowe, Pope i, Han.
Cap. <i>bid</i> Pope ii, Theob. Warb. Johns. | Var. '73, Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. Hal.
Cam.+ , Huds. In Italics Han. et cet. |
| Var. '73. <i>bade</i> Var. '78 et seq.
122. <i>we</i>] <i>he</i> Pope ii. | 130. <i>tyred</i>] <i>tirèd</i> Dyce. |

26.) So also *ibid.*, p. 24: 'Were rivers in his way to hinder his passage, cross over them he would, either swimming, or else bearing himself upon blowed leather bottles.'—[Plutarch also relates this story of Cæsar's swimming, 'holding diuers books in his hand,' and if this anecdote be not due to Shakespeare himself, Plutarch is, I think, more likely than Suetonius to have furnished it.—Ed.]

125. *arriue the Point*] STEEVENS quotes as another example of the use of 'arrive' without the preposition: '—the powers that the queen Hath raised in Gallia, have arriv'd our coast.'—3 *Hen. VI.* V, iii, 8.—ABBOTT (§ 198) also quotes the above and the present passage as the only two wherein 'arrive' is thus used, although several others are given wherein the preposition is omitted after a verb of motion.—Ed.

127. *I (as Æneas)* CRAIK (p. 159): This commencement of the sentence, although necessitating the not strictly grammatical repetition of the first personal pronoun, is in fine rhetorical accordance with the character of the speaker, and vividly expresses his eagerness to give prominence to his own part in the adventure. Even the repetition (of which, by the way, we have another instance in this same speech) assists the effect. At the same time, it may just be noted that the 'I' here is not printed differently from the adverb of affirmation in 'I, and that tongue of his,' l. 140.

129. *The old . . . of Tyber*] CRAIK (p. 160) suggests that the redundant syllables in this line typify the efforts and emotion of Cassius. [It is, however, to be remembered that proper nouns, particularly at the end of a line, are not always strictly metrical.—Ed.]—DELIUS compares: 'As did Aeneas old Anchises bear, So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders.'—2 *Hen. VI.* V, ii, 62.

130, 131. *this Man . . . God*] HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 230): [Cassius] overflows with mocking comparisons, and finds his pastime in flouting at Cæsar as having managed, by a sham heroism, to hoodwink the world. And yet the Poet makes Cæsar characterize himself very much as Cassius, in his splenetic temper,

A wretched Creature, and must bend his body,
If *Cæsar* carelessly but nod on him. 132

He had a Feauer when he was in Spaine,
And when the Fit was on him, I did marke 135

134. *Feauer* \ *Feaher* F₂.

describes him. Cæsar gods it in his talk, as if on purpose to approve the style in which Cassius mockingly gods him. This, taken by itself, would look as if the Poet sided with Cassius; yet one can hardly help feeling that he sympathised rather in Antony's great oration. And the sequel, as we have seen, justifies Antony's opinion of Cæsar. Thus, it seems to me, the subsequent course of things has the effect of inverting the mockery of Cassius against himself; as much as to say, 'You have made fine work with your ridding the world of great Cæsar: since your daggers pricked the gas out of him, you see what a grand humbug he was.'

132. **Creature**] For many examples wherein 'creature' is pronounced as a trisyllable, see WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 19.

134. **He had a Feauer**, etc.] VOLTAIRE, in a note on this passage in his translation, says: 'All these incidents which Cassius recounts resemble a discourse made by a mountebank at a fair. It is natural, yes; but it is the naturalness of a man of the populace who is conversing with his crony in a pot-house. Not thus did the great men of the Roman republic talk.'—*Theatre de Corneille*, ii, 272. [An efficacious antidote to the virulence of the foregoing is supplied by the following remarks by Trevelyan on Macaulay's attitude towards the Roman dramas of Shakespeare: 'He knew that what Shakespeare could teach him about human nature was worth more than anything which he could have taught Shakespeare about Roman history and Roman institutions. He was well aware how very scanty a stock of erudition will qualify a transcendent genius to produce admirable literary effects; and he infinitely preferred Shakespeare's Romans, and even his Greeks, to the classical heroes of Ben Jonson, and Addison, and Racine, and Corneille, and Voltaire. Of the conversation in the street between Brutus and Cassius, Act I, sc. ii, Macaulay says [in a marginal note]: "These two or three pages are worth the whole French drama ten times over."—edition 1908, p. 704.—ED.]—T. R. GOULD (p. 151): [J. B. Booth's] description of Cassius and Cæsar swimming in the Tiber on that 'raw and gusty day,' and of Cæsar's sickness were especially noteworthy. Booth's vivid portraiture recreated the event. He touched the arm of Brutus; leaned, but without undue familiarity, upon his shoulder. In the line: 'His coward lips did from their color fly' Cassius, by a subtle reversion of the common phrase, the color fled from his lips, implies a sarcasm on Cæsar's quality as a soldier. Booth illustrated the meaning by a momentary gesture, as if carrying a standard. The movement was fine, as giving edge to the sarcasm, but pointed to a redundancy of action which sometimes appeared in this great actor's personations.

135. **I did marke**] Appian says that Cæsar appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain on his departure after the Ilberda campaign in B. C. 49 (Bk II, ch. vi, § 43), and, according to Shuckburgh (iii, 173), on Cæsar's second invasion of Spain Caius Cassius refused to accompany him, and spent that winter, B. C. 45, at Brundisium. Plutarch does not refer to an attack of fever in his account of Cæsar in Spain; he says, however, that it was at Corduba that Cæsar had the falling sickness. The present incident is, therefore, an invention of Shakespeare.—ED.

How he did shake : Tis true, this God did shake, 136
 His Coward lippes did from their colour flye,
 And that fame Eye, whose bend doth awe the World,
 Did loofe his Lustre : I did heare him grone :
 I, and that Tongue of his, that bad the Romans 140
 Marke him, and write his Speeches in their Bookes,
 Alas, it cried, Giue me some drinke *Titinius*,
 As a sicke Girle : Ye Gods, it doth amaze me,
 A man of such a feeble temper should
 So get the start of the Maiesticke world, 145

138. *bend*] *beam* Daniel (Sh. Notes, p. 70).

139. *his*] *its* Pope, +, Cap.

140. *bad*] *bade* Theob. ii, +, Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i.

141. *write*] *writ* F₃F₄.

142. *Alas*] '*Alas!*' Sta.

Giue...Titinius] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Warb. As quotation Theob. Johns. Var. '73, Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. Hal. Cam. +, Huds. In Italics Han. et cet.

137. *lippes* did . . . *flye*] **WARBURTON**: A plain man would have said the *colour fled from his lips*, and not his lips from their colour. But the false impression was for the sake of as false a piece of wit: a poor quibble, alluding to a coward flying from his colours.—**WHITER** (p. 107): Warburton has discovered the association which had escaped the author; who, indeed, intended no quibble, but was himself entangled by the similitude of *colour* and 'colours.' This introduced to him the appropriate terms of 'coward' and 'fly'; and thus, under the influence of such an embarrassment, it was scarcely possible to express the sentiment in a form less equivocal than the present. Let me add likewise another circumstance, which might operate in suggesting this military metaphor, that the cowardice of a *soldier* is the subject of the narrative.—**WRIGHT** quotes Warburton's note and adds: 'No doubt; but Shakespeare does not always say what a plain man would have said.'

138. *bend*] **MURRAY** (*N. E. D.*, s. v. sb⁴. I. 3) quotes the present line as the only example of 'bend' in the sense of 'an inclination of the eye in any direction, glance.'—**SCHMIDT** (*Lex.*) furnishes several examples of the verb 'to bend' as applied to the act of looking.

139. *his Lustre*] For a philological account of the use of the personal possessive pronoun 'his' in place of the neuter pronoun, see **MURRAY**, *N. E. D.*, s. v. *Its*.

139. *I did heare him grone*] **MARK HUNTER**: Cassius shows himself wanting in tact, or true judgment of character, in addressing such arguments as these to a man of Brutus' disposition and philosophy. Brutus was the last man 'to spurn at' Cæsar for shivering and turning pale when a fever was on him. But Cassius has no craft or cunning, save such as suggests the simple artifice of throwing papers in different hands through Brutus' windows. He influences others only by the energy and earnestness of his character.

145. *get the start*, etc.] **WARBURTON**: This image is extremely noble: it is taken from the Olympic games. 'The majestic world' is a fine periphrasis for the *Roman empire*: their citizens set themselves on a footing with kings, and they called their dominion *Orbis Romanus*. But the particular allusion seems to be to the known

And beare the Palme alone.

146

Shout.

Flourish.

Bru. Another generall shout?

I do beleeeue, that these applauses are

For some new Honors, that are heap'd on *Cæsar*.

150

Cassi. Why man, he doth bestride the narrow world

Like a Colossus, and we petty men

Walke vnder his huge legges, and peepe about

To finde our selues dishonourable Graues.

Men at sometime, are Masters of their Fates.

155

The fault (deere *Brutus*) is not in our Starres,

But in our Selues, that we are vnderlings.

157

147. Shout. Flourish] Shout again.

Pope, + (sometimes Warb.).

Some

Capell. Shout. Jen.

time F₃F₄, Var. '73 et cet.

151-171. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

155. *Fates*.] *fates*: Rowe et seq.

155. *some time*] F₂. *some times* Rowe,

story of Cæsar's great pattern, Alexander, who, being asked whether he would run the course at the Olympic games, replied: 'Yes, if the racers were kings.'—*MATONE*: That the allusion is to the prize allotted in games to the foremost in the race is very clear. All the rest existed, I apprehend, only in Warburton's imagination.—[To Coleridge we are indebted for the happy and veracious phrase: 'the idealess, but thought-swarving Warburton.'—*ED.*]

148. *Another . . . shout*] *J. HUNTER*: This hemistich and the one preceding do not together form the usual metrical line; it is, as it were, regardless of the former, and represents the interruption occasioned by the shouting.

151. *man*] *WRIGHT*: Cassius grows more familiar as Brutus is more moved.

151. *he doth bestride*, etc.] *FERRERO* (ii, 306): One of the greatest mistakes made by all historians of Cæsar is the assertion that after Pharsalia and Thapsus he was practically omnipotent, sole master of the republic and of the Roman world. In truth, he was nothing of the kind. Sulla had saved the whole Empire from imminent destruction and rescued an entire class of citizens from political extinction. Cæsar had not emerged triumphant from a revolution; he had merely happened to win in a civil war brought about in a peaceful and peace-loving country through the rivalry of two political cliques. He had neither the prestige to inspire one-tenth of the terror or admiration of Sulla, nor an army on whose fidelity he could rely, nor a body of supporters united in their aims and ideals. On the contrary, discord was making way among his adherents and the solid block of his party showed new fissures every day. Antony himself had refused to obey him in paying for Pompey's goods which he had bought by auction, and was spreading threats and invectives against his leader broadcast through Rome. It was even whispered that he had made attempts to hire an assassin.

156, 157. *The fault . . . we are vnderlings*] *J. M. BROWN* (p. 69): It is one of the most striking facts about these great tragedies that their writer should have taken so little trouble to make their merits and their authorship known. Once only does he struggle against this paralysis that is creeping over his hold of the prizes of existence. And the feebleness of the effort is apparent when we see

Brutus and *Cæsar* : What should be in that *Cæsar* ? 158
 Why should that name be founded more then yours ?
 Write them together : Yours, is as faire a Name : 160
 Sound them, it doth become the mouth awell :
 Weigh them, it is as heauy : Coniure with 'em,
Brutus will start a Spirit as soone as *Cæsar*.
 Now in the names of all the Gods at once,
 Vpon what meate doth this our *Cæsar* feede, 165
 That he is growne so great ? Age, thou art sham'd.
 Rome, thou hast lost the breed of Noble Bloods.
 When went there by an Age, since the great Flood,
 But it was fam'd with more then with one man ?
 When could they say (till now) that talk'd of Rome, 170
 That her wide Walkes incompast but one man ?

158. *Cæsar*:] *Cæsar*. Rowe. *Cæsar*!
 Pope, +, Huds.

160. *Yours, is*] *yours'* Walker (Vers.
 98).

161. *afwell*] *as well* Ff.

162. *with 'em*] *with 'em man*, F₃F₄.
with them Cap. Var. Mal. Ran. Steev.
 Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll. Hal. Ktly, Huds.

163. [Shout. Jen. Mal. Steev. Varr.
 Sing. Knt.

171. *Walkes*] Ff, Rowe i, Mal. Steev.
 Varr. Sing. i, Huds. *Walls* Rowe ii
 et cet.

incompast] *incompass'd* Theob.
 et seq. *one man?*] *one?* F₃.

that he puts a sentiment into the mouth of Cassius as an argument to stir Brutus up to conspiracy: 'The fault, dear Brutus,' etc. There is no heart in this utterance. All his poetry, all his imagination is on the side of fatalism; he feels that the reward of human honour and glory and fame are not worth the infinite toil and struggle, the pettiness and injustice that men apply in order to attain them.

158. *What should be*] That is, *what might there*, or *what could there, be*; see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 325.

158. *What should be . . . Cæsar*] BOAS (p. 462): Such an argument is an unconscious *reductio ad absurdum* of Cassius' own theory, and it is needless to say that, from a historical point of view, this decidedly primitive conception of democracy is curiously inapt on the lips of a Roman of the first century B. C. With Cassius' passionate conviction of the divine right of republicanism, he sees in Cæsar's ascendancy nothing but a proof of the degeneracy of the times.

163. *Spirit*] R. G. WHITE: Here 'spirit' is doubtless meant to be pronounced as a monosyllable, and perhaps should be so printed.

163. *as soone as Cæsar*] JENNENS: It is said [l. 246] that the people shouted thrice; but we have no direction in any edition for any more than two shouts. This seems the most proper place for the third shout, which I look upon to be the occasion of the sudden apostrophe: 'Now in the name,' etc.

168. *the great Flood*] That of Deucalion and Pyrrha; WRIGHT compares: 'Marcus is proud; who, in a cheap estimation, is worth all your predecessors since Deucalion.' *Coriol.*, II, i, 102.

171. *Walkes*] CRAIK (p. 172): Despite the critical canon which warns us against easy or obvious amendments, it is impossible not to believe that we have a

Now is it Rome indeed, and Roome enough

172

misprint here, [see *Text. Notes*]. What Rome's 'wide walks' may mean is not obvious; still less, how she could be encompassed by her 'walks,' however wide.—STAUNTON: The original 'wide walkes,' *i. e.*, *spacious bounds*, ought not to be displaced. 'It happened therefore in rogation weeke that the clergie going in solemne procession a controversie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits which the one side claimed and the other denieu.'—Holinshead: *Description of Britaine*, p. 57.—WRIGHT [referring to Staunton's note]: It is more probable that *Walle*s was corrupted into 'Walkes' by the transcriber or printer from 'talk'd' in the previous line; for it is not likely that Shakespeare would have used a word which produced such a disagreeable assonance, while on other grounds it is inappropriate. Milton could say with reference to the garden of Eden: 'But if within the circuit of these walks In whatsoever shape he lurk,' *Paradise Lost*, iv, 586; for walks in this sense are proper to a pleasure ground; but they are out of place in a description of Rome, and the word 'encompass'd,' which follows, points to *walls* as the true reading.—PERRING (p. 355): On a question of euphony not every ear will hear alike. All I can say is, that, if these lines jar, there are scores of jarring lines to be found in Shakespeare. We will grant that *walls* would in all probability have been preferred by a prose writer; but 'walks,' which is the rarer word, strikes me as of more exquisite fancy, more picturesque and poetical, true topographically, and even more appropriate here, because it admits of a more comprehensive span. For the walls of Rome did not include all the inhabitants of Rome; there were plenty of habitations outside as well as inside the old Servian ramparts; but the 'circuit of the walks' (to introduce Milton's significant phrase)—the outlying pleasure grounds which environed the metropolis; the vast ring of groves and parks and gardens in which the citizens were wont to walk abroad and refresh themselves—these contained within their compass *all* the inhabitants of Rome, and to insinuate that but one man could be found within *them* was monstrous, startling, invidious. There is an allusion in this very play to a portion of these 'walks'—those which Caesar bequeathed to the Roman people—'Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,' III, ii, 258. . . . 'Walks' is entitled to the place on the ground that it is supported by the *Folios*, besides having distinct claims of its own to recommend it. *Walls* reads to me poor and tame in comparison with it.

172. **Rome . . . and Roome**] DYCE (*Gloss.*, s. v. *Rome*) quotes: 'That I have room with Rome to curse a while,' *King John*, III, i, 180, and besides the present passage, two others in which occurs the same play on the words, namely, *The Tragedie of Nero*, 1607, sig. F verso; and Hawkins' *Apollo Shroving*, 1626, p. 88. He also gives an example from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, *The Colonies*, p. 130, ed. 1641, wherein *Rome* is made to rhyme with *tomb*. In regard to a passage in 3 *Hen. VI.*: 'Rome shall remedy this. Roam thither then,'—III, i, 51, Dyce says (ad. loc.): 'This may, perhaps, be considered as one of the proofs that Shakespeare was not the author of this play.'—ELLIS (pt iii, p. 925), after quoting the foregoing remarks by Dyce, adds: 'But the existence of the pun shows that the old Chaucerian (*oo*) of *Roome* was still known though the final *e* was dropped. . . . To these [examples given by Dyce] we may add Shakespeare's own rhymes: *Rome, doom*, *Lucrece*, 715; *Rome, groom*, *Ib.*, 1644. Bullokar also writes (*Ruum*). It is, however, certain that both pronunciations have been in use since the middle of the sixteenth century. *Ruum* may still be heard [1867], but it is antiquated; in Shakespeare's time it was a fineness and an innovation, and it is therefore surprising that

When there is in it but one onely man.

173

O! you and I, haue heard our Fathers say,

There was a *Brutus* once, that would haue brook'd

Th'eternall Diuell to keepe his State in Rome,

176

173. *When...man.*] In margin Pope,
Hart.

176. *eternall*] *infernal* Grey (ii, 172),
Johns. conj.

Bullokar adopted it.—EARLE (p. 148): No doubt [the pronunciation of Rome as *Room*] is the phantom of an old French pronunciation of the name, bearing the same relation to the French *Rome* that *boon* does to the French *bon*. But what is odd about it is that in Shakespeare's day the modern pronunciation (like *room*) was already heard and recognised, and that the double pronunciation should have gone on till now, and it should have taken such a time to establish the mastery of the latter. The fact probably is that the *room* pronunciation has been kept alive in the aristocratic region, while the rest of the world has been saying the name as it is generally said now. *Room* is said to have been the habitual pronunciation of the late Lord Lansdowne; not to instance living persons.—WRIGHT adds to the foregoing examples from *Lucrece*, l. 1851, and says: 'A similar equivoque is found in *Mer. of Ven.*, III, v, 44: "It is much that the Moor should be more than reason."' [See also note by WALKER, I, i, 42.]

175-177. *There was a Brutus . . . as a King*] STAFFER (p. 344): Here begins the tragedy in the soul of Brutus. He hated tyranny, but he loved Cæsar. Shakespeare has passed Plutarch's hint over in silence as to Brutus being Cæsar's own son, not considering any complication of emotion of this kind necessary to the dramatic interest, and wishing to preserve the tragedy in purer and more ideal regions by not allowing the conscience of his hero to be disturbed by the too obtrusive pleadings of a love enforced by the ties of nature.

175. *a Brutus once*] STEEVENS: That is, Lucius Junius Brutus.

176. *eternall Diuell*] GREY (ii, 172) conjectures that we should here read *infernal devil*; Johnson likewise makes this suggestion.—STEEVENS: I would continue to read 'eternal devil.' L. J. Brutus (says Cassius) would as soon have submitted to the perpetual dominion of a dæmon, as to the lasting government of a king.—WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 62): The following [is an instance] of an inaccurate use of words in Shakespeare, some of them owing to his imperfect scholarship (imperfect, I say, for he was not an *ignorant* man even in this point), and others common to him with his contemporaries. 'Eternal' for *infernal*: 'But this eternal blazon must not be'—*Hamlet*, I, v, 21; 'Some eternal villain, Some busy and insinuating rogue'—*Othello*, IV, ii, 130. And this, I think, is its meaning, '—O proud Death! What feast is toward in thine eternal cell'—*Hamlet*, V, ii, 375. [Walker also quotes the present line in *Jul. Cæs.*] This seems to be still in use among the common people. In two tales of Allan Cunningham's (*Ollier's Miscellany* and *London Magazine*) I observe the exclamation, 'Eternal villain!' I need scarcely notice the Yankee '*ternal*.—WRIGHT: Johnson is undoubtedly right. In truth, Shakespeare uses 'eternal' without the least intention of expressing his belief in the continued existence of the impersonation of evil, but probably to avoid coming under the operation of the Act of James I, 'to restrain the abuses of players' in the use of profane language. . . . On the other hand, *infernal* occurs in *Much Ado*, 2 *Hen. IV*, and *Tit. And.*, all of which were printed in 1600.—MARK HUNTER: Though an alteration may have been made in the MS after the passing of the

As easily as a King.

177

Bru. That you do loue me, I am nothing iealous :

What you would worke me too, I haue some ayme :

How I haue thought of this, and of these times

180

I shall recount heereafter. For this present,

I would not so (with loue I might intreat you)

Be any further moou'd : What you haue said,

I will consider : what you haue to say

I will with patience heare, and finde a time

185

Both meete to heare, and answer such high things.

Till then, my Noble Friend, chew vpon this :

Brutus had rather be a Villager,

Then to repute himselfe a Sonne of Rome

Vnder these hard Conditions, as this time

190

Is like to lay vpon vs.

Cassi. I am glad that my weake words

Haue strucke but thus much shew of fire from *Brutus*.

Enter Cæsar and his Traine.

Brn. The Games are done,

195

And *Cæsar* is returning.

Cassi. As they passe by,

Plucke *Caska* by the Sleeue,

And he will (after his sowe fashion) tell you

What hath proceeded worthy note to day.

200

179. *ayme*] *aim* of Ktly conj. (Exp. p. 307).

180. *thought*] *though* F.

186. *Both*] *But* Rowe ii.

things] *thing* Rowe i.

187-191. *Till then...vpon vs*] Transposed to follow l. 330 in Bell's Edit.

190. *these*] *such* Rowe, +, Cap. Jen. Varr. Ran. *those* Craik conj.

192, 193. *I am...from Brutus*] Lines end: *glad...shew...Brutus* Walker (Crit. iii, 244).

193. SCENE IV. Pope, + (—Var. '73), Jen.

194. *Enter...Traine*] After l. 196 Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Huds. After l. 200 Dyce, Sta. Cam. +.

Act of 1605, it is difficult to conceive why, if it be not an 'abuse in players' to speak of the devil, it should be an abuse to style him *infernal*.

178. *nothing iealous*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives numerous examples of 'nothing' used adverbially, in the sense of *not at all*. And s. v., 'Jealous (3): suspiciously fearful, doubtful.' Schmidt quotes the present line with other passages, wherein 'jealous' is used with much the same meaning as here.

187. *chew vpon this*] JOHNSON: That is, consider this at leisure, *ruminate* on this.

193. *Haue strucke . . . fire*] WRIGHT: Brutus' emotion was like Ajax's wit, of which Thersites says: 'It lies as coldly in him as fire in a flint'—*Tro. & Cress.*, III, iii, 257. Compare IV, iii, 122, 123.

Bru. I will do so : but looke you *Cassius*, 201
 The angry spot doth glow on *Cæsars* brow,
 And all the rest, looke like a chidden Traine ;
Calphurnia's Cheeke is pale, and *Cicero*
 Lookes with such Ferret, and such fiery eyes] 205
 As we haue seene him in the Capitoll
 Being croft in Conference, by some Senators.

Cass. *Caska* will tell vs what the matter is.

Cæs. *Antonio.*

Ant. *Cæsar.* 210

202. glow] hlow F₂. blow F₃F₄, 207. by] with Rowe, Pope, Han.
 Rowe i. Senators] Senator Walker (Crit.
 204. Calphurnia's] Calpurnia's Wh. i, 244), Dyce ii, iii.
 Cam.+ , Rolfe. 209. Antonio] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Ktly.
 207. croft] cross'd Cap. et seq. Antonius Pope et cet.
 Conference] conf'rence Pope, + 210. Cæsar.] Cæsar? Theob. Warb.
 (—Var. '73). Johns.

204. *Cicero*] WRIGHT: This portrait of Cicero is from Shakespeare's own imagination.—[Dion Cassius, in a speech purporting to have been delivered by Cicero before the Senate, gives many reasons for the orator's anger on this occasion, and among others: 'The Lupercalia would not have missed its proper reverence, but you [Antony] disgraced the whole city at once,—not to speak a word yet about your remarks on that occasion. Who is unaware that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly. . . . You remember the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the style of his behavior when he had ascended it. But when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one King of the Romans in the Roman Forum, close to the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the entire people and the entire senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what most outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what action, however revolting, will he refrain?'—Bk xlv, §§ 30, 31.]

205. *Ferret . . . fiery eyes*] Topsell, in his description of the Ferret, says: 'The eyes small but fiery, like red-hot iron, and therefore she seeth most easily in the dark.'—p. 171.—ED.

207. *Senators*] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 244): The interpolation of an s at the end of a word—generally but not always a noun substantive—is remarkably frequent in the Folio. Those who are conversant with the MSS of the Elizabethan Age may, perhaps, be able to explain its origin. Were it not for the different degree of frequency with which it occurs in different parts of the Folio—being comparatively rare in the Comedies (except perhaps in *The Winter's Tale*), appearing more frequently in the Histories, and becoming quite common in the Tragedies—I should be inclined to think it originated in some peculiarity of Shakespeare's handwriting [See also *Rich. III.*: III, vii, 232; and *Macbeth*, III, i, 81, this ed., where the above note by Walker is also given, and is here repeated on account of its interest and importance.—ED.]

Cæs. Let me haue men about me, th't are fat, 211
 Sleeke-headed men, and such as sleepe a-nights :
 Yond *Cassius* has a leane and hungry looke,
 He thinkes too much : such men are dangerous.

Ant. Feare him not *Cæsar*, he's not dangerous, 215
 He is a Noble Roman, and well giuen.

Cæs. Would he were fatter ; But I feare him not : 217

211-231. Mnemonic Warb.	<i>Yond'</i> Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt,
211. [To <i>Ant.</i> apart. Johns. Var. '73,	Coll. Wh. i, Ktly, Hal. Huds.
Jen.	214, 215. <i>dangerous</i>] <i>dangerous</i> F ₁ .
212. <i>a-nights</i>] F ₂ , Rowe, +. <i>a nights</i>	217. <i>Would</i>] <i>'Would</i> Warl. Johns.
F ₃ F ₄ . <i>o' nights</i> Cap. et seq.	Cap. Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing.
213. <i>Yond</i>] <i>Yon</i> Cap. Varr. Ran.	Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Huds.

211. *men . . . that are fat*] *Cæsar* also had *Cassius* in great jealousy, and suspected him much; whereupon he said on a time to his friends, "What will *Cassius* do, think ye? I like not his pale looks." Another time when *Cæsar's* friends complained unto him of *Antoni*us and *Dolabella*, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them again, "As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads," quoth he, "I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carrion-lean people, I fear them most," meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*.—*Plutarch, Cæsar*, p. 97, ed. Skcat. See also *Ibid.*, *Brutus*, p. 111; and *Marcus Antonius*, p. 163.

212. *such as sleepe a-nights*] Dr SIGISMOND (*Jahrbuch*, xviii, p. 157): In the *Life of Marcus Cato* it is said that those slaves who had had a good night's sleep were more to *Cato's* liking than those who were dull from wakefulness, because he thought the former would be in a better humor. The import of sound sleep as an indication of a good disposition, of which Shakespeare's *Cæsar* makes mention, does not appear either in the *Life of Cæsar* or *Antony*; it is found only in the *Life of Cato*.

216. *well giuen*] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v., *given* 2): Used predicatively: Inclined, disposed, addicted, prone. 1535. Stewart: *Cron. Scot.*, II, 692: 'How *Duncane* was crounit King of Scotland and was weill gevin.'

217. *Would he . . . feare him not*] WARBURTON: Ben Jonson, in his *Bartholomew's Fair*, 1614, unjustly sneers at this passage, in Knockham's speech to the Pig-woman: 'Come, there's no malice in these fat folks; I never fear thee, an I can scape thy lean Moon-calf here.' [Page 412, ed. Gifford, where the Editor has the following: 'This passage is adduced as another proof of Jonson's malignity, it being an evident sneer at those lines in *Julius Cæsar*: "Let me have men," etc. Who can doubt it? And when he personified Envy in the lean *Macilente*, it is equally clear that he intended to ridicule those which immediately follow them: "Yon *Cassius* hath a lean and hungry look," etc. It may, indeed, be urged that *Macilente* appeared many years before *Julius Cæsar*; but that plea is always invalidated in Jonson's case. Seriously, it would seem as if the commentators thought no one before Shakespeare had discovered that fat people were commonly good humoured! Admitting, however, this important observation to be beyond the reach of Jonson (though it is found in his *Catiline* and elsewhere), it will not even then follow that he sneers at our great poet in adopting it. The fact is, that the lines in question are taken from North's translation of *Plutarch*, an author with whom Jonson was intimately acquainted, and assuredly little likely

Yet if my name were lyable to feare, 218
 I do not know the man I should auoyd
 So foone as that spare *Cassius*. He reades much, 220
 He is a great Obseruer, and he looks
 Quite through the Deeds of men. He loues no Playes,
 As thou dost *Antony* : he heares no Musicke ;
 Seldome he smiles, and smiles in such a fort
 As if he mock'd himselfe, and scorn'd his spirit 225
 That could be mou'd to smile at any thing.
 Such men as he, be neuer at hearts ease, 227

218-231. Mnemonic Pope.

226. *thing*.] *thing*, F₃F₄.

to ridicule. Shakespeare has merely put the sentiment (which was familiar to every man, woman, and child in the kingdom) into good verse [the passage from Plutarch quoted]. We shall probably now hear no more of "old Ben's malignity" in this instance.]

218. **my name . . . to feare**] CRAIK (p. 177): In the case of Cæsar the name was even more than the representative and most precise expression of the person; it was that in which his power chiefly resided, his renown. Every reader of Milton will remember the magnificent passage: "—with him enthroned Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things, The consort of his reign; and by them stood Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name Of Demogorgon."—*Paradise Lost*, ii, 964.—WRIGHT quotes the foregoing and adds: 'But in this case it was the "name" of Demogorgon that was dreaded, and, therefore, the "name of Demorgogon" is something more than a mere periphrasis.'

220-226. **He reades . . . at any thing**] OECHELHÄUSER (*Einführungen*, i, 221): The key to the correct representation of the character of Cassius lies in these words of Cæsar; they give to the actor the frame for the dramatic picture, with which all his future words and deeds should harmonise.

221. **a great Obseruer**] WRIGHT: In consistency with this, Cassius describes himself as having carefully watched the bearing of Brutus towards himself.

223. **he heares no Musicke**] THEOBALD: This is not a trivial Observation, nor does our Poet mean barely by it that Cassius was not a merry, sprightly man; but that he had not a due Temperament of Harmony in his Composition; and that, therefore, Natures so uncorrected are dangerous. He has finely dilated on this Sentiment in his *Merchant of Venice*: 'The man, that hath no music in himself, And is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds, Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and Spoils,' V, i, 83-85.—COLERIDGE (*Notes*, p. 132): O Theobald! what a commentator wast thou, when thou wouldst affect to understand Shakespeare, instead of contenting thyself with collating the text! The meaning here is too deep for a line tenfold the length of thine to fathom. [At the risk of being thought presumptuous in criticising our greatest Shakespearean critic it may be asked, whether the above is not too severe? All that Theobald has said is little more than a paraphrase; and that there is a somewhat similar passage in the *Mer. of Ven.* Possibly the malign influence of Pope and his followers was the cause for Coleridge's attitude towards Theobald. It will, however, be noticed that Coleridge has not attempted any elucidation whatever.—Ed.]

Whiles they behold a greater than themselves,
And therefore are they very dangerous. 228

I rather tell thee what is to be fear'd, 230

Then what I feare : for alwayes I am *Cæsar*.

Come on my right hand, for this eare is deafe,

And tell me truely, what thou think'st of him. *Sennit.*

Excunt Cæsar and his Traine.

Cask. You pul'd me by the cloake, would you speake 235
with me ?

228. *Whiles*] *Whilst* Rowe, +.

233. *Sennit.*] *Ff.* Sennet. Sing. ii,
Cam. +. Om. Rowe et cet.

234. *Traine.*] *Ff.* Train. Manent
Brutus and Cassius: Casca to them.
Theob. Warb Johns. Varr. Ran.
Train. Manent Brutus, Cassius and

Casca. Han. Jen. Train: Casca stays.
Cap. Train: Casca stays behind.
Mal. et cet.

235. *cloak,*] *cloak.* Johns.

236. SCENE V. Pope, + (—Var. '73),
Jen.

232. this eare is deafe] V^RRIGHT: This, like Cicero's ferret eyes, is a touch of Shakespeare's own.—ROSSI (p. 174): Does Cæsar here pretend an actual deafness? Certainly not. It seems to me that what he really means to say is: If you are of my party and wish to be attended to, get on the right side of me.—SCHWARTZKOFF (p. 315): Cæsar's deafness is not only an attribute of human frailty, but also a symbol of that obstinacy which is deaf to all warnings; it does not wish to hear.—G. WHERRY (*Notes & Queries*, X, xi, 243) says in regard to Cæsar's deafness: 'It is possible that attacks of giddiness, associated with Ménière's disease of the ear, may have been mistaken for Epilepsy. . . . It is unlikely that aural vertigo was understood at that time.'—[As Wright observes, Cæsar's deafness is an 'invention of Shakespeare'; no other reference, however, to this deafness is again made. Is there not some special reason for its mention? Does not Casca say that Cæsar is but lately recovered from an epileptic fit? A temporary deafness was recognized in Shakespeare's day as one of the effects of an epileptic seizure: 'But we may know whether it [an epileptic fit] come from the right or left side of the head most: By this, either the sight of one eye is more obscured, or the hearing more thick with the noise of the head on that side; or if the right or left side be more dull' (Riverius, 1658, vol. i, p. 30). Hippocrates (trans. F. Adams, ii, 836) also speaks of epilepsy affecting the right or left side; although he does not mention the auditory nerves specifically, it may be, I think, inferred that they are also included. Finally, in our own day, E. H. SIEVEKING (*On Epilepsy*, etc., 1858, p. 4) says: 'It has appeared to me that the *left side* is the one most frequently affected.'—The italics are mine. Shakespeare is again triumphant and stands pre-eminent as a keen observer of facts; it is the *left* ear which, with Cæsar, is temporarily deaf.—ED.]

234. *Excunt Cæsar*] HAZLITT (*Char. of Sh.*, p. 37): We know hardly any passage more expressive of the genius of Shakespeare than this [lines 195-234]. It is as if he had been actually present, had known the different characters, and what they thought of one another, and had taken down what he heard and saw, their looks, words, and gestures, just as they happened.

Bru. I *Caska*, tell vs what hath chanc'd to day 237
That *Cæsar* lookes so fad.

Cask. Why you were with him, were you not?

Bru. I should not then aske *Caska* what had chanc'd. 240

Cask. Why there was a Crowne offer'd him; & being offer'd him, he put it by with the backe of his hand thus, and then the people fell a shouting.

Bru. What was the second noife for?

Cask. Why for that too. 245

Cassi. They shouted thrice: what was the laft cry for?

Cask. Why for that too.

Bru. Was the Crowne offer'd him thrice?

Cask. I marry was't, and hee put it by thrice, euerie time gentler then other; and at euery putting by, mine 250
honest Neighbors showted.

Cassi. Who offer'd him the Crowne?

Cask. Why *Antony*.

Bru. Tell vs the manner of it, gentle *Caska*.

Caska. I can as well bee hang'd as tell the manner of 255

240. *had*] *hath* Steev. Varr. Sing. Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Var. '03, Var. Coll. Hal. Huds. '21, Sing. Knt, Hal. Ktly, Huds.

243. *a shouting*] *a' shouting* Cap. *a-shouting* Dyce, Cam.+, Coll. iii.

237. *hath chanc'd*] Compare: 'And bring us word . . . How everything is chanc'd.'—V, iv, 36.

251. *honest Neighbors*] WRIGHT: *Casca* uses the word 'honest' with a tone of patronising contempt, as Leonato in *Much Ado*, addressing Dogberry: 'What would you with me, honest neighbor?'—III, v, 1.

255. *Caska. I can as well, etc.*] Mrs MONTAGU (p. 256): It is not improbable the poet might have in his eye some person of eminence in his days who was distinguished by such manners [as *Casca's*]. Many allusions and imitations which please at the time are lost to posterity, unless they point at transactions and persons of the first consequence. Whether we approve such a character on the stage or not, we must allow his narration represents the designs of *Cæsar's* party, and the aversion of the Roman people to that royalty which he affected; and it was right to avoid engaging the parties in more deep discourse, as Shakespeare intended, by a sort of historical process, to show how Brutus was led on to that act to which his nature was averse.—VERITY (p. 211): It is always instructive to note how in parts where a conversational, not tragic or poetical, effect is desired, verse gives place to prose, and *vice versâ*; and how characters which are viewed in a wholly tragic or poetical light normally use verse alone. Thus in this scene, while *Casca* gives his description in prose, Brutus and Cassius make their comments and questions in verse; and *Casca* himself speaks entirely in verse at his next appearance, where the interest is purely tragic, and his own inner character is revealed under stress of the agitation roused by the storm.

it: It was meere Foolerie, I did not marke it. I sawe 256
Marke Antony offer him a Crowne, yet 'twas not a
 Crowne neyther, 'twas one of these Coronets: and as I
 told you, hee put it by once: but for all that, to my thin-
 king, he would faine haue had it. Then hee offered it to 260
 him again: then hee put it by againe: but to my think-
 ing, he was very loath to lay his fingers off it. And then
 he offered it the third time; hee put it the third time by, 263

256. *was*] *were* Ff.

262. *loath*] *loth* Pope, +, Cap. Varr.
 Mal. Knt, Dyce, Wh. i, Huds.

255, 256. *manner of it*] DELIUS: Brutus uses 'manner' in the sense of *way, fashion*, but Casca, in that of *proper deportment, politeness*, in contrast to the following phrase, 'mere foolery.'—[WRIGHT thinks there is no evidence of an equivocal use of the word 'manner' by Casca; but I am inclined to agree with Delius that there is a double meaning, though not quite in the way in which Delius takes it. Bradley (*N. E. D.*, s. v., *manner* 2.) thus defines the phrase: 'The manner of: the state of the case with respect to (a person, thing, or event); the character, disposition, or nature of.' Brutus asks how the offering of the crown was done, but Casca pretends to misunderstand, and says that he can as well be hanged as tell what were Cæsar's and Antony's actual dispositions in the affair; he goes on to say that he paid but little attention, as it was mere foolery, that is, he thought that neither of them were really serious. Without some such explanation of Casca's use of the word 'manner,' is not his assertion that he could not tell what had actually occurred contradicted by the circumstantial account which follows? 'Manner' is used, perhaps, in this same sense by Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, where Sogliardo, in attempting to describe the customary meeting of Puntarvolo and his wife, says finally: 'Faith, I remember all, but the manner of it is quite out of my head.'—II, i. (ed. Gifford, p. 56).—ED.]

256. *I did not marke it*] J. HUNTER: There is probably here a playful introduction to the mention of Antony's name.

256, 257. *I sawe Marke Antony, etc.*] STAFFER (p. 330): Shakespeare was not to be imposed upon by this apparent love of the Roman people for liberty, the shallowness of which at this time he truly divined: his account of the scene in the Forum is an admirable instance of the sovereign authority with which poetry, as Bacon has so splendidly pointed out, corrects history, not by falsifying its spirit, but by rendering it more at one with ideal truth. The wonderfully vivid account full of grim humour, given by Casca, of Cæsar's refusal of the crown lets us plainly see that the cheering of the populace had nothing solid, nor even intelligent, about it, and that if Cæsar had been only bold enough to set the crown upon his head, the same rabble that applauded his respect for the law would have been equally ready to applaud his violation of it.

262. *he was very loath*] 'Mark Antony, his colleague in the consulship, a man always ready for any daring deed, had excited a strong feeling against him by placing on his head, as he was sitting in the Rostrum at the festival of Pan, a royal diadem, which Cæsar, indeed, pushed away, but in such a manner that he did not seem offended.'—Velleius Paterculus, II, lvi.—ED.

and still as hee refus'd it, the rabblement howted, and
 clapp'd their chopt hands, and threw vppe their sweatie 265
 Night-cappes, and vttered such a deale of stinking
 breath, becaufe *Cæsar* refus'd the Crowne, that it had
 (almost) choaked *Cæsar*: for he swooned, and fell
 downe at it: And for mine owne part, I durst not laugh,
 for feare of opening my Lippes, and receyuing the bad 270
 Ayre.

Cassi. But soft I pray you: what, did *Cæsar* swoond?

Cask. He fell downe in the Market-place, and foam'd
 at mouth, and was speechlesse.

Brut. 'Tis very like he hath the Falling sicknesse. 275

264. *howted*] F₂F₃, *houted* F₄, Rowe,
 Pope, Theob. Warb. Cap. *shouted*
 Han. Coll. Sta. *hooted* Johns. et cet.

265. *chopt*] *chopped* Mal. Steev. Varr.
 Sing. Hal. Cam.+, Huds. *chapped*
 Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. Sta.

268. *swooned*] Ff. *sounded* Cam.+.
swooned Rowe et cet.

272. *you: what,*] *you. What?* Johns.

you? What? Var. '73. *you: What?*
 Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing.
 Knt. *you. What!* Coll. Wh. i, Hal.
 Ktly, Huds.

272. *swoond*] Ff, Cam.+. *swoon*
 Rowe et cet.

275. *like he*] Ff, Coll. i, ii. *like, he*
 Rowe, Pope. *like,—he* Dyce, Sta.
like; he Theob. et cet. (subs.)

264. *howted*] WRIGHT: This was clearly a cry of applause, as in l. 251, and not disapprobation. In other places where *hoot* occurs it is spelt sometimes *hoot* and sometimes 'howt,' so that no argument can be derived from this. Most probably the initial letter was broken off in the printing. [See *Text. Notes*.]

275. 'Tis very like he hath] The need of some sort of punctuation after the word 'like' has been felt by the majority of editors, as will be seen by referring to the *Text. Notes*, and while the Folio reading gives a sufficiently sensible meaning, the separation of the two parts of the sentence by a semicolon—Theobald's reading—is certainly preferable, since, as WRIGHT says: 'This infirmity of *Cæsar*'s must have been well known to Brutus.'—ED.

275. *Falling sicknesse*] WRIGHT: This is the rendering of the French *mal caduc* of Amyot's translation which North followed. Cotgrave gives: '*Epilepsie*. The falling sicknesse, or foule evill. *Epileptique*. That hath the falling sicknesse.' —HALFORD (p. 71): Epilepsy has this peculiarity about it, that the patient who is afflicted, though an object of terror and of pity to those who witness his struggles under a fit, yet, by the mercy of heaven, he himself is unconscious of the frightful attack. He sleeps after his frame has been convulsed from head to foot, and awakens unaware of all that has passed—'himself again.' Repeated fits, however, at length weaken the faculties; his memory suffers decay, his judgment becomes unsound, derangement follows, and this alienation of mind degenerates at last into idiocy. I do not say that this is the course of all epilepsies. Many attacks of epilepsy are symptomatic only of some irritation in the alimentary canal, or of some eruptive disease about to declare itself, or of other occasional passing ills. So far Julius *Cæsar* was epileptic; and so far it has been said was Mahomet also. . . . But the attacks were of no consequence in deteriorating his masculine mind.—

Cassi. No, *Cæsar* hath it not : but you, and I , 276
And honest *Caska*, we haue the Falling sicknesse.

Cask. I know not what you meane by that, but I am
sure *Cæsar* fell downe. If the tag-ragge people did not
clap him, and hisse him, according as he pleas'd, and dis- 280
pleas'd them, as they vse to doe the Players in the Thea-
tre, I am no true man.

Brut. What said he, when he came vnto himselfe ?

Cask. Marry, before he fell downe, when he perceiu'd
the common Heard was glad he refus'd the Crowne. he 285
pluckt me ope his Doublet, and offer'd them his Throat
to cut : and I had beene a man of any Occupation, if I
would not haue taken him at a word, I would I might
goe to Hell among the Rogues, and so hee fell. When
he came to himselfe againe, hee said, If hee had done, or 290
said any thing amisse, he desir'd their Worships to thinke
it was his infirmitie. Three or foure Wenches where I 292

279. tag-ragge] tag rag F₄.

281. v/c] used Theob. + (—Han.).

284. Marry] Mary F₂.

285. Heard] Herd F₄.

287, 302. and I] Ff, Rowe. if I Pope,

Han. An' I Theob. Warb. Johns.

Var. '73. an I Cap. et cet.

288. at a] at his Han.

290. If] F₁.

290-292. If...infirmitie] As quotation

Theob. Warb. In Italics Johns. Var.

'73.

C. A. SMITH (*Poet Lore*, vi, 466): The true explanation [of Shakespeare's allusion to the falling sickness], though hitherto overlooked, lies, I am convinced, in the nature of epilepsy itself. The Latin name for it was *morbus comitialis*, so called because of its ominous nature; the meetings of the *comitia* were dissolved the moment any one was seen to fall in the throes of this dreaded disease. Here is evidently the clew, for Shakespeare is trying to show that *Cæsar*'s fortune is waning, that the gods as well as men have conspired against him. Thus he would have us see in epilepsy one of those 'portentous things' that point with fatal finger to the Ides of March and the costly blood that is then to be shed.

277. And honest *Caska*, etc.] CRAIK (p. 180): The slight interruption to the flow of this line occasioned by the supernumerary syllable in '*Caska*' adds greatly to the effect of the emphatic 'we' that follows. It is like the swell of the wave before it breaks.

282. no true man] MALONE: That is, no honest man. The jury still are styled good men and true.

286-292. his Doublet . . . his infirmitie] HUDSON quotes, from Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*, the passage which doubtless gave to Shakespeare the hint for this incident in *Caska*'s description: "—*Cæsar* rising departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet-collar, making his neck bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, "that his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it." Notwithstanding it is reported, that afterwards to excuse his folly, he imputed it to

flood, cryed, Alasse good Soule, and forgaue him with 293
all their hearts : But there's no heed to be taken of them;
if *Cæsar* had stab'd their Mothers, they would haue done 295
no lesse.

Brut. And after that, he came thus fad away.

Cask. I.

Cassi. Did *Cicero* say any thing ?

Cask. I, he spoke Greeke. 300

293. *Alasse...Soule*] In Italics Cap.
Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing.
Ktly. As quotation Knt, Coll. Dyce,
Wh. Hal. Sta. Cam.+ , Huds.

293. *Soule, and*] Ff. *soul* and Cap.
Jen. *soul*—and Rowe et cet.
295. *stab'd*] *stabl'd* F₂F₃. *stabb'd*
F₄.

his disease, saying, "that their wits are not perfit which have this disease of the falling evil, when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sudden dimness or giddiness." (ed. Skeat, p. 95).—WRIGHT: No doubt on the stage Julius Cæsar appeared in doublet and hose, like an Englishman of Shakespeare's time. [North or, perhaps, Amyot is, I think, responsible for the anachronism; the original reads: 'ἀπαγαγόντα τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ἱμάτιον,' that is, *taking off the covering from his throat*.—ED.]

287. **a man of any Occupation**] JOHNSON: Had I been a mechanic, one of the plebeians to whom he offered his throat.—MALONE: Compare: "—you that stood so much Upon the voice of occupation."—*Coriol.*, IV, vi, 97.—R. G. WHITE: Does not 'a man of any occupation' here mean *a man of action, a busy man*?—WRIGHT: Johnson's explanation is, no doubt, part of the meaning, but not the whole. The phrase appears to have a secondary sense: Had Casca not been an indolent trifler, but what would now be called a practical man, a man of business, prompt to seize an opportunity when it occurred. All the way through the dialogue he plays upon the double meaning of words, and here he seems to glance at a meaning which may have been given to 'occupation' from its etymology.

300. **he spoke Greeke**] HORN (i, 116): Hardly any incident in the Roman tragedy is so interesting as this, and perfectly intelligible is the question of Cassius: how did Cicero behave? The answer, 'he spoke Greek,' gives us in three words the complete character of Cicero; it is, moreover, quite evident that this could have been said only in regard to the Cicero of that period, when he was not more advanced in years. He has not sufficient force of character to decide definitely, before a change of opinion takes place; and he does not wish to express a decided opinion easily comprehensible, in order that he may always be free in case the affair at first seemed more clear and easy. It is not so much timidity as an artistic foresightedness; it is not for him now to speak with the common people, nor should so eccentric a character as Casca understand him. If Shakespeare could have read and studied all Cicero's collected writings in the original, never, in my opinion, would there have offered itself a phrase more characteristic than 'he spoke Greek.'—SKOTTOWE (ii, 228): Casca's reply may not unfairly be ascribed to the passage which relates that Cicero was commonly called 'the Grecian, and scholer, which are two words which the artificers (and such base mechanically people at Rome) have ever at their tongue's end.' (Plutarch: *Life of Cicero*, p. 86r). The poet has

Cassi. To what effect?

301

Cask. Nay, and I tell you that, Ile ne're looke you i'th' face againe. But those that vnderstood him, fini'd at one another, and shooke their heads: but for mine owne part, it was Greeke to me. I could tell you more newes too: *Murrellus* and *Plauus*, for pulling Scarffes off *Cæsars* Images, are put to silence. Fare you well. There was more Foolerie yet, if I could remember it.

305

Cassi. Will you suppe with me to Night, *Caska*?

310

Cask. No, I am promis'd forth.

Cassi. Will you Dine with me to morrow?

Cask. I, if I be aliue, and your minde hold, and your Dinner worth the eating.

Cassi. Good, I will expect you.

315

Cask. Doe so: farewell both.

Exit.

Brut. What a blunt fellow is this growne to be?

He was quick Mettle, when he went to Schoole.

318

303. *i'th'* *i'the* Var. '78, '85, Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll. Sta. Hal. Cam.+.

306. *Murrellus*] *Murellus* Ff, Cap. *Marullus* Theob. et cet.

307. *Images*] *Imags* F₂.

313. *your*] *my* Walker (Crit. iii, 245).

314. *worth*] *be worth* Rowe, + (—Var. '73).

318. *quick Mettle*] *quick mett'l'd* Cap. conj. *quick metal* Walker (Crit. iii, 245).

judiciously enough made the unlettered Casca endeavor to convert Cicero's love of Greek into a subject of contempt: such a reproach from the attic mind of Brutus, or from the lips of Cassius, who 'read much,' would have been ridiculous, to say nothing of it as a violent deviation from the spirit of his authority.—SKEAT (p. xix.): In Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* there is a passage worth notice in connection with his speaking Greek: 'And it is reported also, that Apollonius, wanting the Latin tongue, he did pray Cicero for exercise sake to declame in Greeke. Cicero was well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and euery man praised him one after another. Howbeit Apollonius, all the while Cicero spoke, did neuer show any glad countenance; and, when he had ended, he stayed a great while, and said neuer a word. Cicero misliking withall, Apollonius at length said unto him: "As for me, Cicero, I doe not only praise thee, but more then that I wonder at thee; and yet I am sorie for pore Grece, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely gifts and honours left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the Romaines."—p. 861, ed. 1612.

305. *it was Greeke to me*] WRIGHT: Casca's ignorance of Greek was affected, for in the description of Cæsar's assasination, Plutarch says: 'Cæsar . . . cried out in Latin: "O traitor Casca, what dost thou?" Casca, on the other side, cried in Greeke, and called his brother to help him.'—(ed. Skeat, p. 119).

Cassi. So is he now, in execution
 Of any bold, or Noble Enterprize, 320
 How-euer he puts on this tardie forme :
 This Rudeneffe is a Sawce to his good Wit,
 Which giues men stomacke to digest his words
 With better Appetite.

Brut. And so it is : 325
 For this time I will leaue you :
 To morrow, if you please to speake with me,
 I will come home to you : or if you will,
 Come home to me, and I will wait for you.

Cassi. I will doe so : till then, thinke of the World. 330
Exit Brutus.

Well *Brutus*, thou art Noble : yet I see,
 Thy Honorable Mettle may be wrought
 From that it is dispos'd : therefore it is meet,
 That Noble mindes keepe euer with their likes : 335
 For who so firme, that cannot be seduc'd ?
Cæsar doth beare me hard, but he loues *Brutus*. 337

320. *Enterprize*] *Enteprize* F₂.
 323. *digest*] *digest* F₁F₄.
 324. *Appetite*] *Appetites* Ff, Rowe,
 Pope, Han.
 325, 326. *And...you*] Ff, Wh. i. One
 line Rowe et cet.
 329. *to me*] *with me* Var. '03, '13.

332. *thou art Noble...see,*] *thou art:*
Noble...see, F₂. *thou art noble...see*
 Rowe, Pope, Han. Jen. Knt.
 333. *Mettle*] *Mettall* F₂. *Metal* F₁F₄.
 334. *that*] *what* Pope, + (—Han.).
it is] Sing. Dyce, Sta. Ktly,
 Cam.+. *tis* F₂. *'tis* F₁F₄ et cet.
dispos'd] *disposed to* Ktly.

321. *tardie forme*] WRIGHT: That is, this appearance of sloth. For this peculiar use of the adjective, compare I, ii, 14: 'sterile curse'; IV, ii, 10: 'familiar instances'; and : 'Thou by thy dial's shady stealth mayst know,' *Sonnet*, lxxvii, 7, where 'shady stealth' is almost equivalent to *stealing shadow*.

330. *thinke of the World*] WRIGHT: That is, of things in general; or it may mean think of the world in which we live, the present state of affairs. The expression is obscure. [May Cassius not mean, 'Think of the present situation and do not be lost in thoughts regarding your self'? This is practically the same exhortation with which he begins his address; to which Brutus had answered that if Cassius had aught towards the general good, he should impart it to him at once. Compare: 'Thou seest the world,'—V, v, 29.—ED.]

333, 334. *Mettle . . . that it is dispos'd*] JOHNSON: The best *metal* or *temper* may be worked into qualities contrary to its original constitution.

334. *that it is*] For other examples of the omission of the relative, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 244.

337. *Cæsar doth beare me hard*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v., *bear*, vb, 16): *To bear hard, heavy, or heavily* (Latin, *aegre ferre*): to endure with a grudge, take

If I were *Brutus* now, and he were *Cassius*,
He should not humor me. I will this Night,

338

339. *He...humor*] *Cæsar...love* Han.

(a thing) ill or amiss, have ill will to, have a resentment against; so *to bear upon the spleen*. [The present line quoted. Compare II, i, 239; III, i, 180.]—J. W. HALES (*Academy*, 30 June, 1877): Another instance of this phrase occurs in *The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*. Says Cromwell: 'Good morrow to my lord of Winchester; I know You bear me hard about the Abbey lands.'—IV, ii. [See *Appendix: Date of Composition*—Fleay.]

338, 339. If I were . . . humor me] WARBURTON: This is a reflection on Brutus's ingratitude; which concludes, as is usual on such occasions, in an encomium on his own better conditions. 'If I were Brutus' (says he), 'and Brutus, Cassius, he should not cajole me as I do him.' To '*humour*' signifies here to turn and wind him by inflaming his passions.—CAPELL (i, 90): That is, should not play upon me; work upon my affections by friendship,—the shews of it,—and so bias my principles. The soliloquy sets out with this thought that Brutus had been 'wrought' upon; a thing inferr'd by the speaker from the little 'fire' that his words had struck out of him; then follows the sentiment about selection of company, and to that is link'd the present assertion—that were the persons of he and Brutus exchange'd, he had either not consorted with Cæsar, or his commerce and demonstrations of love had not influenc'd him. The whole passage is liable to be misapprehended, and this part of it specially from uniting 'He' in these words with one immediately next it, instead of a remoter in l. 337, which is, in truth, its associate. [That is, the 'He' of l. 339 refers to Cæsar; not to Brutus.]—HEATH (p. 435): Mr Seward, . . . in his notes on Beaumont and Fletcher, vol. iv, pp. 178, 179, thus explained this part of [the soliloquy]: If Brutus and I were to exchange situations, so that I were Brutus, and he Cassius, Cæsar should not, by the demonstrations of his friendship and affection, cajole me out of my principles. Mr Seward's whole note very well deserves the reader's attention.—[Dr. JOHNSON, without referring to Seward, gives this same interpretation, and although the date of Johnson's Shakespeare, 1765, is later than Seward's Beaumont and Fletcher, it is not, I think, likely that Johnson had read all of Seward's notes. The two works may have been written contemporaneously.—ED.]—CRAIK (p. 184): Warburton's remark that the words convey a reflection on Brutus's ingratitude, seems unfounded. It is rather Brutus's simplicity that Cassius has in his mind. It would be more satisfactory, however, if other examples could be produced of the use of the verb 'to humour' in the sense assumed. Johnson appears to have quite mistaken the meaning of the passage.—J. HUNTER: To make [Johnson's interpretation] admissible, the text should simply have been: If I were Brutus now, he should not humour me. Cassius means that he would continue attached to Cæsar; for there was this distinction between Brutus and Cassius, that the former hated *royalty*, and the latter hated *Cæsar*.—HUDSON: It is somewhat in doubt whether the 'He,' l. 339, refers to Brutus or to Cæsar. If to Brutus, the meaning, of course, is, he should not play upon my humours and fancies as I do upon his. And this sense is, I think, fairly required by the context. For the whole speech is occupied with the speaker's success in cajoling Brutus, and with plans for cajoling and shaping him still further.—WRIGHT: Warburton's interpretation appears to be the correct view, because Cassius is all along speaking of his own influence over Brutus, not-

In feucrall Hands, in at his Windowes throw, 340
 As if they came from feucrall Citizens,
 Writings, all tending to the great opinion
 That Rome holds of his Name: wherein obscurely
Cæsars Ambition shall be glanced at.
 And after this, let *Cæsar* feat him sure, 345
 For wee will shake him, or worfe dayes endure.
Exit. 347

342. *Writings*] *Writlings* F.344. *glanced*] *glanced* Dyce. *glanc'd*
Coll. ii.343. *Name:*] *Name.* Pope.

withstanding the difference of their characters, which made Cæsar dislike the one and love the other.—*VERITY*: Cassius sees that his words have had some effect in stirring Brutus against Cæsar: he knows that Cæsar is the friend of Brutus; and he wonders that Brutus should suffer himself to be influenced against his friend. Cassius regards things from a personal standpoint: personal friendship or enmity is sufficient motive with him; whereas Brutus would not allow personal feelings either for or against Cæsar to affect him, if he thought that the good of Rome required of him some service. Johnson's interpretation implies that Cæsar humours Brutus in such a way as to make him neglect his duty to his country. But the whole drift of the play is opposed to such a conception of the character of Brutus: he is the last man in the world 'to forget principles'—as Cassius knew.—*MACMILLAN*: Cassius is not as high-minded as Brutus. He is somewhat unscrupulous in his use of means, and his conduct is no doubt partly influenced by personal feelings of envy. But he is not a villain conscious of his villainy like Richard III. and Iago. He really has a high opinion of his uprightness, and regards himself as a true patriot.—*MARK HUNTER*: I am of opinion that the pronoun 'he' *must* refer to Cæsar. . . . The controversy, however, is practically decided by a reference to the passage in Plutarch upon which this speech is undoubtedly based. Cassius's friends prayed Brutus 'to beware of Cæsar's sweet enticements, and to fly his tyrannical favours: the which they said Cæsar gave him, not to honour his virtue, but to weaken his constant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow' (ed. Skeat, p. 111).—*MACCALLUM* (p. 278): Probably Cassius is making the worst of his own case, and is indulging that vein of self-mockery and scorn that Cæsar observed in him. (This explanation is offered with great diffidence, but it is the only one I can suggest for what is perhaps the most perplexing passage in the play, not even excepting the soliloquy of Brutus.) But, at any rate, the lurking sense of unworthiness in himself and his purpose will be apt to increase in such a man his natural impatience of alleged superiority in his fellows. He is jealous of excellence, seeks to minimise it, and will not tolerate it. . . . It is now resentment of pre-eminence that makes Cassius a malcontent. Cæsar finds him 'very dangerous' just because of his grudge at greatness; and his own avowal that he 'would as lief not be as live to be in awe' of a thing like himself, merely puts a fairer colour on the same unamiable trait. He may represent republican liberty and equality, at least in the aristocratic acceptance, but it is on their less admirable side.—[Capell's interpretation, that the sentence, 'He should not humor me,' etc., refers to Cæsar, is the one accepted by the present Ed.]

[Scene III.]

Thunder, and Lightning. Enter Casca, 1
and Cicero.

Cic. Good euen, *Casca* : brought you *Cæsar* home?
Why are you breathlesse, and why stare you so ? 4

SCENE III.] Cap. et seq. Scene continued. Ff, Rowe. SCENE VI. Pope, + (—Var. '73), Jen. Act II, Scene i. Warb. conj. (Nichols' Lit. Illust., ii, 492).

1. Enter Casca,] Enter from opposite sides, Cicero and Casca, Capell,

Mal. Steev.

1. Casca,] Casca with his sword drawn, Rowe, +, Cap.

2. and Cicero.] and Cicero meeting him. Theob. Warb. Johns. Varr. Ran.

4. *breathlesse*,] Ff, Rowe, +, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *breathless?* Cap. et cet.

Scene III.] DANIEL (*Time Analysis*, etc., p. 108) marks this scene, opening at about midnight, as the beginning of the second day of the action of the Tragedy.

1, 2. Enter Casca, and Cicero] LLOYD (*Essays*, p. 509): There is no aid for the character of Casca in Plutarch beyond the significant fact that he was chosen to be the first to raise his hand against Cæsar, and is scarcely heard of otherwise. Shakespeare turns him to admirable use in the storm scene so wondrously imitative, where he is placed at equal distance between Cicero, ambiguously contemptuous respecting omens, as busied in thought with the business of the house he lifts his draggled toga from the splashing street, and Cassius, baring his bosom to the thunderstorm, and free from superstition as Cicero, yet associating the horrors of the fiery night with the idea of his enemy and all his acts.

3. brought you Cæsar home] JOHNSON: That is, did you attend Cæsar home? [SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) furnishes many examples of 'bring' in the sense of *to accompany*, *to conduct*.]—MACMILLAN (*Intro.*, xlix.): Historically there should be an interval of a month between scenes ii. and iii. [This line], taken in connection with what goes before, is naturally understood to mean 'home from the Lupercalia.' Further in the preceding scene Casca had declared himself to be engaged for supper that night, and promised to sup on the morrow with Cassius, who, no doubt, intended to enlist him in the conspiracy during the supper. In [this present scene] Cassius meets Casca and sounds him. There is no reference to their having met in the interval, . . . and the conversation makes it almost impossible that such a meeting could have taken place. Therefore it would appear that Casca . . . is returning home from the supper at which he had promised to be present on the night of the Lupercalia.

4. Why stare you so] DOWDEN (p. 291): Casca here appears with the superficial garb of cynicism dropt. Does Shakespeare in this play mean to signify to us unobtrusively that the philosophical creed which a man professes grows out of his character and circumstances as far as it is really a portion of his own being; and that as far as it is received by the intellect in the calm of life from teachers and schools, such a philosophical creed does not adhere, very closely to the soul of a man, and may, upon the pressure of events or of passions, be cast aside? The Epicurean Cassius is shaken out of his philosophical scepticism by the portents which appeared upon the march to Philippi; the Stoic Brutus, who by the rules of his philosophy blamed Cato for a self-inflicted death,

Cask. Are not you mou'd, when all the sway of Earth 5
 Shakes, like a thing vnfirm? O *Cicero*,
 I haue seene Tempests, when the scolding Winds
 Haue riu'd the knottie Oakes, and I haue seene
 Th'ambitious Ocean swell, and rage, and foame,
 To be exalted with the threatning Clouds: 10
 But neuer till to Night, neuer till now,
 Did I goe through a Tempest-dropping-fire,
 Eyther there is a Ciuill strife in Heauen,
 Or else the World, too fawcie with the Gods,
 Incenses them to send destruction. 15

Cic. Why, saw you any thing more wonderfull?

Cask. A common slaue, you know him well by sight,
 Held up his left Hand, which did flame and burne 18

10. *threatning*] Ff, Rowe, +. *threat-*
ening Var. '73, Coll. Dyce, Wh. Cam. +,
 Huds. *threal'ning* Cap. et cet.

dropping fire Rowe et seq.

13. *Heauen*] *Heav'n* Rowe, +.

17. *you know*] *you'd know* Dyce conj.

12. *Tempest-dropping-fire*] *Tempest*

Huds. *you knew* Craik conj.

runs upon his own sword and dies. The dramatic self-consistency of the characters created by certain writers is to be noticed; we must notice in the case of Shakespeare, as a piece of higher art, the dramatic inconsistency of his characters. In the preceding scene, describing in his cynical mood the ceremony at which an offer of the crown was made to Cæsar, Casca utters himself in prose; here Shakespeare puts verse into his mouth. 'Did Cicero say anything?' Cassius inquired, and Casca answered with curt scorn: 'Ay, he spoke Greek.' But now so moved out of himself is Casca by the portents of the night that he enlarges himself and grows effusive to this very Cicero, the recollection of whom he had dismissed with such impatient contempt.

5. *sway of Earth*] JOHNSON: That is, the whole weight or *momentum* of this globe.—CRAIK: That is, the balanced swing of earth.—WRIGHT: Compare: 'O firste moving cruel firmament, With thy diurnal swegh that croudest ay, And hurtlest all from Est til Occident, That naturally would hold another way.'—Chaucer: *Man of Law's Tale*, l. 4716 (ed. Tyrwhitt).

8. *riu'd*] WRIGHT: Shakespeare never uses the form *riuen* for the participle.

15. *Incenses*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, vb². † 4): To incite to some action; to urge, instigate, stir up, 'set on.'

16. *any thing more wonderfull*] DELIUS interprets this as meaning anything more wonderful than what you have described; CRAIK explains it as anything else wonderful, and ABBOTT (§ 6) says: 'The comparative "more wonderful" seems to be used, as in Latin, for "more wonderful than usual," if this line is to be attributed to Cicero as in the editions.'—The interpretation by Delius is the best in the opinion of the present Ed.

17, 18. *A common slaue . . . and burne*] 'But Strabo the philosopher writeth, that diuers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers that did cast a marvellous burning flame out

Like twentie Torches ioyn'd; and yet mis Hand,
 Not sensible of fire, remain'd vnscorch'd. 20
 Besides, I ha'not since put vp my Sword,
 Against the Capitoll I met a Lyon,
 Who glaz'd vpon me, and went furly by, 23

21. *ha'not*] Ff, Rowe, +, .Cam. +, *gaz'd* Johns. conj., Mal. Var. '21.
 Dyce. *have not* Cap. et cet. *glar'd* Rowe ii et cet.

23. *glaz'd*] Ff, Rowe i, Hal. Cam. ii.

of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt.'—Plutarch: *Life of Cæsar*, § 43; (ed. Skeat, p. 97).

17. *you know . . . by sight*] CRAIK (p. 186): Is it to be supposed that Casca really means to say that the common slave whom he chanced to meet was a particular individual well known to Cicero? Of what importance could that circumstance be? Or for what purpose should Casca notice it, even supposing him to be acquainted with the fact that Cicero knew the man well, and yet knew him only by sight? It is impossible not to suspect some interpolation or corruption. Perhaps the true reading may be: 'You *knew* him well,' meaning that anyone would have known him at once to be but a common slave (notwithstanding the preternatural appearance, as if something almost godlike, which his uplifted hand exhibited, burning but unhurt).—WRIGHT: There does not appear to be any necessity to read, with Dyce, *you 'd know*, [see *Text. Notes*], because the slaves had no distinctive dress; or with Craik, *you knew*. It is simply a graphic touch.—ROLFE: This has perplexed some of the commentators, but it is nothing strange that both Cicero and Casca should happen to know a particular slave by sight, and it is natural enough that Casca, in referring to him here, should say: 'And you yourself know the man.'

18. *left Hand*] Another graphic touch. Plutarch does not mention either hand particularly.—ED.

23. *glaz'd vpon me*] ROWE's emendation, *glar'd*, has been accepted by a majority of the editors. STEEVENS furnishes quotations both from Shakespeare and other authors to corroborate his opinion that it is Shakespeare's own word. MALONE, on the other hand, adopts Johnson's conjecture, *gaz'd*—it is to be feared out of perversity—and to strengthen his position gives two passages from Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1615, wherein the word *gaze* is applied to the manner in which a lion looked upon his adversaries in a fight held at the Tower in 1609. Steevens thus replies to Malone: 'That *glar'd* is no *modern* word is sufficiently ascertained by the following passage in *Macbeth*, "Thou hast no speculation in those eyes Which thou dost glare with."—III, iv, 95. I, therefore, continue to repair the poet with his own animated phraseology, rather than with the cold expression suggested by the narrative of Stowe; who, having been a tailor, was undoubtedly equal to the task of mending Shakespeare's hose, but, on *poetical* emergencies, must not be allowed to patch his dialogue.'—WRIGHT, in support of the Folio reading, says: 'I am informed by a correspondent (Mr Knight of Tavistock) that the word "glaze" in the sense of *stare* is common in some parts of Devonshire, and that "glazing like a conger" is a familiar expression in Cornwall.'—T. WRIGHT (*Dialect Dict.*) gives several examples of 'glaze,' in the Dialect of Cornwall and Devonshire, used in the sense of 'to stare, to gaze intently.'—ED.

Without annoying me. And there were drawne
 Vpon a heape, a hundred gastly Women, 25
 Transformed with their feare, who swore they saw
 Men, all in fire, walke vp and downe the strettes.
 And yesterday, the Bird of Night did sit,
 Euen at Noone-day, vpon the Market place,
 Howting, and shreeking. When these Prodigies 30
 Doe so conioyntly meet, let not men say,
 These are their Reasons, they are Naturall :
 For I beleeeue, they are portentous things
 Vnto the Clymate, that they point vpon.
Cic. Indeed, it is a strange-disposed time : 35

25. *Vpon*] *Up on* Ran.

Howling Johns. et cet.

26. *Transformed*] *Transformed* Dyce.

32. *are ... Reasons*] *have ... seasons* S.

29. *Noone-day*] *Noone day* Ff.

Jervis. *are...seasons* Coll. ii (MS), IIuds.

30. *Howting*] F₂F₁. *Howling* F₄.

35. *strange-disposed*] *strange disposed*

Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.

Ff, Rowe, Pope. *strange-disposed* Dyce.

25. *heape*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 3.): A great company (especially of persons); a multitude, a host.

27. *Men, all in fire*] See extract from Plutarch, l. 17.

28-30. *Bird of Night . . . Howting, and shreeking*] WRIGHT: See Pliny, x, 12 (Holland's trans.): 'The Scritch owle betokeneth alwaies some heauie newes, and is most execrable and accursed, and namely in the presages of public affaires. . . . In summe, he is the verie monster of the night. . . . There fortunèd one of them to enter the very secret sanctuarie within the capitoll at Rome, in that yeere when as Sext. Papellio Ister and L. Pedanius were Consuls: whereupon at the Nones of March, the citie of Rome that yeere made generall processions to appease the wrath of the gods, and was solemnly purged by sacrifices.'

30. *these Prodigies*] H. COLERIDGE (ii, 180): To the most affecting prognostic of Cæsar's death Shakespeare has not alluded. The horses which had crossed the Rubicon, and which ever since had been allowed to range at liberty, refused to graze, and, Suetonius says, wept abundantly, *ubertim plevrant*.

32. *These are their Reasons*] CRAIK (p. 188): That such and such are their reasons. It is the same form of expression that we have afterwards in II, i, 34: 'Would run to these and these extremities.' But the present line has no claim to either a distinctive type or inverted commas. It is not as if it were 'These are *our* reasons.'—WRIGHT: For the sentiment, compare *All's Well*, II, iii, 1-6: 'They say miracles are past: and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless. Hence it is that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to unknown fear.'

34. *Clymate*] CRAIK (p. 188): The region of the earth, according to the old geographical division of the globe into so many *climates*, which had no reference, or only an accidental one, to differences of temperature.

35. *Cic. Indeed, it is, etc.*] STAFFER (p. 367): There is nothing highly original or daring in this remark, but its very insignificance seems to belong to

But men may construe things after their fashion,
 Cleane from the purpose of the things themselves.
 Comes *Cæsar* to the Capitol to morrow?

Cask. He doth: for he did bid *Antonio*
 Send word to you, he would be there to morrow.

Cic. Good-night then, *Caska*:
 This disturbed Skie is not to walke in.

Cask. Farewell *Cicero.* *Exit Cicero.*

Enter Cassius.

Cassi. Who's there?

Cask. A Roman.

Cassi. *Caska*, by your Voyce.

Cask. Your Eare is good.

Cassius, what Night is this?

38. to the] *vp the F₁F₄.*

39. Antonio] *Ff, Rowe, Cap. Ktly.*
Antonius Pope et cet.

41, 42. Good-night...Skie] *(one line*

Rowe et seq.

42. *disturbed*] *disturb'd Dyce.*

43. SCENE VII. Pope, +, Jen.

49. *what Night*] *what a night Craik.*

Shakespeare's conception of the character; besides which, though the Roman orator may say nothing very important himself, he is twice mentioned in the play in terms sufficiently explicit to make his faults and failings known.

42. is not to walke in] That is, is not fit to walk in; for other examples of a like ellipsis see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 405.

49. What Night is this?] DYCE: The Folio has an interrogation point after these words, and the modern editors retain it,—most erroneously. *Casca* is not putting a question, but uttering an exclamation of surprise; here 'what night is this!' is equivalent to 'what a night is this!' In such exclamations it was not unusual to omit 'a'—so in *Two Gent.*, 'What fool is she, that knows I am a maid?' and *Twelfth Night*, 'What dish o' poison has she dressed him!'—WRIGHT: It also occurs in dependent clauses, as, for example, in *Cymbeline*: 'Jove knows what man thou mightst have made.'—IV, iii, 207.—[Is it not too severe to characterise as most 'erroneous' the retention of this interrogation point? Whether *Casca's* remark be a question or an exclamation is a point on which the compositors of the Folio can give us no assured help; their use of the exclamation point is too inconsistent. Many phrases which are there printed with an interrogation point might, with perfect correctness, in a modern text be printed as rhetorical questions with the exclamation point. It is, moreover, merely a matter of personal opinion whether the present line be a simple question or an exclamation. As an illustration of futile labor, such as falls to the lot of the harmless drudge, an editor, I mention that I have counted the number of exclamation points which appear in the present play as printed in the Folio and those which appear in the Cambridge Text. In the Folio there are seventeen; in the Cambridge, one hundred and eighty-eight. It will, moreover, be noticed that in the Folio, in nearly every instance, this punctuation point is of a different font of type; at times it is larger

Cassi. A very pleasing Night to honest men. 50

Cask. Who cuer knew the Heauens menace so?

Cassi. Those that haue knowne the Earth so full of faults.

For my part, I haue walk'd about the streets,
Submitting me vnto the perillous Night; 55

And thus vnbraced, *Caska*, as you see,

Haue bar'd my Bosome to the Thunder-stone :

And when the crosse blew Lightning seem'd to open

The Breft of Heauen, I did present my selfe

Euen in the ayme, and very flash of it. (ucns? 60

Cask. But wherefore did you so much tempt the Hea-

It is the part of men, to feare and tremble,

When the most mightie Gods, by tokens send

Such dreadfull Heraulds, to astonish vs.

Cassi. You are dull, *Caska* : 65

And those sparkes of Life, that should be in a Roman,

You doe want, or else you vse not.

You looke pale and gaze, and put on feare,

And cast your selfe in wonder, 69

51. *Heauens*] *heaven's* Warb.

seq.

56. *vnbraced*] *unbraced* Dyce.

66. *that*] *which* Cap.

65-69. *You...wonder*] Four lines, end-

67. *not.*] *not*, F₃F₄.

ing: *Life...want...gaze...wonder* Rowe et

69. *cast*] *case* Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii.

than the other characters, at times it is an Italic. This perhaps suggests that this small number of exclamation points was due not to the caprice of the compositor, but to an actual lack of such types in the printing office.—ED.]

56. *vnbraced*] WRIGHT: Shakespeare in matters of dress speaks of the costume of his own time. Cassius, like Hamlet, was walking with his doublet unbuttoned.

57. *Thunder-stone*] STEEVENS: A stone fabulously supposed to be discharged by thunder. So in *Cymbeline*: 'Fear no more the lightning-flash, Nor the all-dreaded thunder-stone.'—IV, ii, 270.—[Pliny, *Natural Hist.*, says: 'Bronteia is a stone like the head of a tortoise, which falls with thunder, it is supposed: if too, we are to believe what is said, it has the property of quenching the fire in objects that have been struck by lightning.'—Bk xxxvi, ch. 55.—ED.]

69. *cast your selfe in wonder*] GRANT WHITE; S. JERVIS (p. 22); and W. WILLIAMS (*Parthenon*, 7 June, 1862) proposed almost contemporaneously that this should read '*case* yourself in wonder,' that is, put on as a garment, and both White and Jervis quoted as a parallel passage: 'I am so attired in wonder.'—*Much Ado*, IV, i, 146. Wright does not 'think any change is necessary, and to "case oneself" is rather to put on a mask. The figure suggested by putting on fear as a garment is sustained in this expression ['cast yourself'], which signifies, you hastily dress yourself in wonder, you throw yourself into wonder as into a robe. . . . The same

To see the strange impatience of the Heavens : 70
 But if you would consider the true cause,
 Why all these Fires, why all these gliding Ghosts,
 Why Birds and Beasts, from quality and kind,
 Why Old men, Fools, and Children calculate, 74

74. *Old men, Fooles,*] *old men fools*, Blackstone, Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. *old men fool*, Lettsom (ap. Walker, Crit., i, 250), Wh. Cam., Dyce ii, iii.

figure is found in *Lucrece*: "Why art thou thus attired in discontent?"—l. 1601. And *Macbeth*: "Was the hope drunk Wherein you dressed yourself?"—I, vii, 36.

73. *Why Birds . . . and kinde*] JOHNSON: That is, why they *deviate* from quality and nature. This line might, perhaps, be more properly placed after the next line.

74. *Why Old men . . . calculate*] WARBURTON: 'Calculate' here signifies *to foretell or prophesy*: for the custom of foretelling fortunes by judicial astrology (which was at that time much in vogue) being performed by a long tedious calculation, Shakespeare, with his usual liberty, employs the *species* (calculate) for the *genus* (foretell).—JOHNSON: Shakespeare found the liberty established. To 'calculate the nativity' is the technical term.—BLACKSTONE: There is certainly no prodigy in old men's calculating from their past experience. The wonder is that old men should not, and that children should. I would, therefore, point thus: 'Why old men fools, and children calculate.'—CRAIK (p. 192): Blackstone's novel pointing of this passage is ingenious; *i. e.*, why we have all these fires, etc., why we have old men fools. But the amendment is hardly required; or, at any rate, it would not go far to give us a perfectly satisfactory text. Nor does there seem to be any necessity for assigning to 'calculate' the singular sense of prophesy. There is probably some corruption; but the present line may be very well understood as meaning merely, why not only old men, but even fools and children, speculate upon the future; or, still more simply, why all persons, old and young, and the foolish as well as the wise, take part in such prognosticating. Shakespeare may have been so far from thinking with Blackstone, that it was something unnatural and prodigious for old men ever to be fools, that he has even designed to classify them with foolish persons generally, and with children, as specially disqualified for looking with any very deep insight into the future. And so, doubtless, they are apt to be when very old.—J. HUNTER: There is perhaps some corruption of the text in this line; or the meaning may be: why not only men of age and wisdom, but even fools and children, seeing these prodigies, discern them to be portentous, and construe them as signs of heaven's displeasure.—[Lettsom's suggested pointing and slight change of the noun 'fooles' to *fool*, the verb, brings out quite clearly the complete reversal of those actions appropriate to old men and to children, and seems quite in accord with the rest of the passage.—ED.]—MACMILLAN (*Appendix*, p. 169): The use of 'calculate' intransitively in the sense of *prophesy* is so strange and gives such unsatisfactory sense that I am tempted to conjecture that 'why' is here an emphatic interjectional expletive, as it is in l. 77. The meaning will then be: . . . the significance of these prodigies is so obvious that not only old men, but even fools and children can form an estimate of the reason why these things act contrary to their nature. You will assuredly find that the reason is that they

Why all these things change from their Ordinance, 75
 Their Natures, and pre-formed Faculties,
 To monstrous qualitie ; why you shall finde,
 That Heauen hath infus'd them with these Spirits,
 To make them Instruments of feare, and warning,
 Vnto some monstrous State. 80
 Now could I (*Caska*) name to thee a man,
 Most like this dreadfull Night,
 That Thunders, Lightens, opens Graues, and roares,
 As doth the Lyon in the Capitoll : 84

78. <i>Heauen</i>] <i>nature</i> Cap.	Steev. Var. '03, '13, Sing. i, Craik,
<i>hath</i>] <i>has</i> Theob. Warb. Johns.	Huds.
Var. '73.	81. <i>to thee</i>] <i>thee</i> Cap. Huds. iii.
80-82. <i>Vnto ... Night</i>] Two lines,	83. <i>roares</i>] <i>teares</i> F ₂ . <i>tears</i> F ₃ F ₄ .
ending: <i>Caska ... night</i> Han. Cap. Mal.	84. <i>Lyon in</i>] <i>lion, in</i> Craik.

are intended by heaven to point to an unnatural state of affairs. . . . In support of this interpretation it may be urged that the two preceding lines refer to prodigies already recorded, whereas the folly of old men and the prophesying of fools and children is not among the prodigies related either by Shakespeare or Plutarch. . . . Exception may be taken to the use of 'why' in a sense different from that in which it is used in the lines immediately preceding and following, but this objection would prove too much, as it would condemn the undoubtedly expletive use of 'why' in l. 77, where also, as in the present line, 'why' is not followed by a comma in the Folio.

80. *Vnto some monstrous State*] HUDSON: As Cassius is an avowed Epicurean, it may seem out of character to make him speak thus. But he is here talking for effect, his aim being to kindle and instigate Casca into the conspiracy; and to this end he does not stick to say what he does not himself believe.

83, 84. *and roares . . . in the Capitoll*] CRAIK: Many readers, I believe, infer from this passage that Cæsar is compared by Cassius to some live lion that was kept in the Capitol. Or perhaps it may be sometimes imagined that he alludes to the same lion which Casca (though not in his hearing) has just been telling Cicero that he had met 'against the Capitol.'—WRIGHT: The [comma at 'roares' in the Folio] is against Craik's interpretation, and though there were no lions in the Capitol at Rome there were lions in the Tower of London, which, there is reason to believe from indications in the play, represented the Capitol to Shakespeare's mind. See note on II, i, 128, 129. [This is, perhaps, an example of Shakespeare's reference to an incident which was recognised by the audience, although the character describing it could not have actually had any knowledge of the matter. As an illustration of this compare the speech of Gratiano to Salerio in *Mer. of Ven.*, III, ii, 244, 'We are the Jasons, we have won the fleece,' referring, of course, to the success of their enterprise; but it will be recalled that Bassanio, in describing Portia to Antonio, I, i, 169, says: 'her sunny locks Hang on her temples like a golden fleece Which makes her house at Belmont Colchos strand, And many Jasons come in quest of her.' Gratiano was not present when these words were said; but the audience heard and would doubtless recall a vague idea of having heard someone

A man no mightier then thy selfe, or me, 85
In personall action ; yet prodigious growne,
And fearefull, as these strange eruptions are.

Cask. 'Tis Cæsar that you meane :

Is it not, *Cassius*?

Cass. Let it be who it is : for Romans now 90
Haue Thewes, and Limbes, like to their Ancestors ;
But woe the while, our Fathers mindes are dead,
Are we are govern'd with our Mothers spirits,
Our yoake, and sufferance, shew vs Womanish. 94

87. *these strange*] *theser strange* F₂.
88, 89. One line Rowe et seq.

91. *Thewes*] *Sinews* F₃F₄.

refer to Portia as a bearer of locks resembling the fleece; which was all sufficient. Again, in *Richard III*, the Duchess of York says to Queen Elizabeth, IV, iv, 133: '—in the breath of bitter words let's smother My damned son, which thy two sweet sons smother'd' The manner of the murder of the princes was totally unknown to the Duchess; but Tyrrell had told it circumstantially, and the audience, of course, knew exactly what had been the process of their death. Such instances might easily be multiplied, but these two are, I think, enough to show that such references were not merely accidental.—ED.]

90. **Let it be who it is**] CRAIK (p. 193): Not who it *may be*; Cassius, in his present mood, is above that subterfuge. While he abstains from pronouncing the name, he will not allow it to be supposed that there is any doubt about the actual existence of the man he has been describing.—WRIGHT: I do not think any such refinement [as Craik suggests] was intended, and regard 'Let it be' as equivalent to the common expression *Let be*, in the sense of *no matter, never mind*. The first 'it' refers to the question as to 'who it is,' and not to the same subject as the second 'it.'

91. **Thewes**] WRIGHT: That is, muscles, sinews; used of physical strength. Compare 2 *Hen. IV*: 'Care I for the limb, the thews, the stature, bulk and big assemblance of a man?'—III, ii, 76. Two distinct words are confused by being spelt alike. In the earlier usage of the language 'thews' always denotes moral qualities or virtues. The Anglo-Saxon *theaw* signifies *custom, manner*, and hence is derived 'thewes' or *thews*, which we meet with in Chaucer (*Cant. Tales*, 12029) and Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, I, x, 3), who is affectedly archaic in his use of words. But 'thews,' in the sense of muscles or bodily strength, must come from a different root, and is probably connected with the Anglo-Saxon *theón*, to grow, thrive, and so with *theoh*, thigh. Sir F. Madden, in a note to Layamon's *Brut.*, 6361 ('monnene strengest of maine and of theauwe of alle thissere theode,' of men strongest of main and of thews of all this land), says: 'This is the only instance in the poem of the word [*theauwe*] being applied to bodily qualities, nor has any other passage of an earlier date than the sixteenth century been found in which it is so used. In modern Scotch I find adj. *thowles*, feeble.'

92. **woe the while**] CRAIK (p. 195): This, I believe, is commonly understood to mean, alas for the present time; but may not the meaning, here at least, rather be, alas for what hath come to pass in the meanwhile, or in the interval that has elapsed since the better days of our heroic ancestors?

Cask. Indeed, they say, the Senators to morrow 95
 Meane to establisth *Cæsar* as a King :
 And he shall weare his Crowne by Sea, and Land,
 In euery place, faue here in Italy.

Cassi. I know where I will weare this Dagger then ;
Cassius from Bondage will deliuer *Cassius* : 100
 Therein, yee Gods, you make the weake most strong ;

96-110. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

99. *Dagger*] *dagger*, Craik.

96-98. *Cæsar* . . . here in Italy] 'Decius Brutus . . . reproved *Cæsar*, saying . . . that they [the Senators] were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land.'—Plutarch, *Life of Cæsar*, § 44 (ed. Skeat, p. 99).

99. *Cassi.* I know where, etc.] SKOTTOWE (ii, 222): Shakespeare has very artfully contrived to present a more favorable portrait of Cassius than that which the page of history warrants without, however, so misrepresenting him as to destroy the identity of his character. With reference to dramatic effect, indeed, some change was necessary. Brutus could only, with propriety, be associated, in private friendship and in public undertakings, with a man who, in outward appearance at least, possessed some claim to equality with him. The poet, therefore, suppressed the vindictiveness, cruelty, and tyranny of Cassius, and gave the utmost effect to the fire and energy which characterised him, and particularly marked his abhorrence from living under the control of an arbitrary monarch. Shakespeare has made Cassius's hatred of *Cæsar* sufficiently apparent; but so repeatedly is his love of liberty enforced that the patriot, rather than the malignant avenger of his own wrongs, appears to strike against the tyrant.

99. *Dagger then*] CRAIK (p. 195): The true meaning of this line is ruined by its being printed, as it is in the old and also in most of the modern editions, without the comma [after '*Dagger*']. Cassius does not intend to be understood as intimating that he is prepared to plunge his dagger into his heart at that *time*, but in that *case*. —DELIUS: Wenn *Cæsar* die Krone trägt, will Cassius den Dolch in seiner Brust tragen, sich den Dolch in's Herz stossen.—[I have given Delius's own words, as I think possibly his meaning has been misunderstood by WRIGHT, who says: '*Delius* sees in this his intention to kill *Cæsar*, but such an interpretation is contrary to the whole tenor of the speech. Besides, a man cannot be said to "*wear*" a dagger which he plants in the heart of his enemy.'—In the phrase '*sich den Dolch* . . . stossen,' '*sich*' is used reflexively and refers to the subject of the verb.—ED.]

100. *Cassius* . . . will deliuer *Cassius*] There is a curious resemblance between this passage and one in *Cornelia*, translated by Kyd from the French of Garnier, 1594; the interlocutors are Brutus and Cassius; to the latter is given the following lines: 'But know, while Cassius hath one drop of blood To feed this worthless body that you see, What reck I death to do so many good? In spite of *Cæsar*, Cassius will be free.'—Act IV. (ed. Dodsley, p. 224).—This thought is the invention of both dramatists; Plutarch does not ascribe such sentiments to Cassius.—ED.

101. yee . . . you] ABBOTT (§ 236): In the original form of the language

Therein, yee Gods, you Tyrants doe defeat. 102

Not Stonie Tower, nor walls of beaten Brasse,
Nor ayre-lesse Dungeon, nor strong Linkes of Iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit : 105

But Life being wearie of these worldly Barres,
Neuer lacks power to dismitte it selfe.
If I know this, know all the World besides,
That part of Tyrannie that I doe beare,
I can shake off at pleasure. *Thunder still.* 110

Cask. So can I :

So euery Bond-man in his owne hand beares
The power to cancell his Captiuitie.

Cass. And why should *Cæsar* be a Tyrant then ?
Poore man, I know he would not be a Wolfe, 115
But that he sees the Romans are but Sheepe :
He were no Lyon, were not Romans Hinds.
Those that with haste will make a mightie fire,
Begin it with weake Strawes. What trash is Rome ? 119

110. *Thunder still.*] Ff, Knt, Coll.
Dyce, Sta. H&L. Cam.+., Wh. Craik,
Huds. Thunders. Ktly, Om. Rowe et
cet.

110, 120, 122. *Rome?...Offall?...
Cæsar.*] Ff, Rowe, Theob. Warb.
Rome,...Offal,...Cæsar? Han. et cet.

'ye' is nominative; 'you,' accusative. This distinction, however, though observed in our version of the Bible, was disregarded by Elizabethan authors, and 'ye' seems to be generally used in questions, entreaties, and rhetorical appeals. Ben Jonson: 'The second person plural is for reverence sake to some singular thing.' He quotes, 'O good father dear, Why make ye this heavy cheer?'

112, 113. **Bond-man . . . to cancell**] It is, perhaps, too much to say that Shakespeare was fond of the thought that life was like a bond or a security entrusted to us, and that death was the cancelling agent; at all events he has used this simile in three other passages, as others have before pointed out, viz.: 'Cancel and tear to pieces that great bond Which keeps me pale.'—*Macbeth*, III, ii, 49; 'Cancel his bond of life, dear God I pray.'—*Rich. III.*: IV, iv, 77; 'Take this life And cancel these cold bonds.'—*Cymb.*, V, iv, 28.—Ed.

115, 116. **a Wolfe . . . Romans are but Sheepe**] PERCY SIMPSON (ap. MARK HUNTER) compares Barnabe Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1617, p. 6: 'But I will come ouer these fellows with a prouerbe that many yeeres agoe I brought out of *France*, and thus followes the text: *He that will make himselfe a sheepe, it is no matter though the Wolues doe eat him.*' 'The proverb,' adds Simpson, 'is "Qui se fait brebis, le loup le mange," and is still current.'

117. **Hindes**] Is there possibly here a play upon the word 'hind' in its other sense of *domestic servant, peasant*?—Ed.

119. **What trash is Rome**] HUDSON: The idea seems to be that as men start a huge fire with worthless straws or shavings, so Cæsar is using the degenerate

What Rubbish, and what Offall? when it serues 120
 For the base matter, to illuminate
 So vile a thing as *Cæsar*. But oh Griefe,
 Where haft thou led me? I (perhaps) speake this
 Before a willing Bond-man : then I know
 My answere must be made. But I am arm'd, 125
 And dangers are to me indifferent.

Cask. You speake to *Caska*, and to such a man,
 That is no flearing Tell-tale. Hold, my Hand :
 Be factious for redresse of all these Griefes,
 And I will fet this foot of mine as farre, 130
 As who goes farthest.

Cass. There's a Bargaine made.
 Now know you, *Caska*, I haue mou'd already
 Some certaine of the Noblest minded Romans
 To vnder-goe, with me, an Enterprize, 135
 Of Honorable dangerous consequence ;
 And I doe know by this, they stay for me
 In *Pompeyes* Porch : for now this fearefull Night,
 There is no stirre, or walking in the streetes ; 139

122. *Griefe*,] *grief*! F₄.

128. *Hold*,] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Coll.
 Dyce, Hal. Wh. Craik, Huds. *Hold*,—
 Sing. Ktly. *Hold* Theob. et cet.

136. *Honorable dangerous*] Ff,
 Rowe, +, Jen. *honourable, dangerous*
 Coll. ii. *honourable-dangerous* Cap. et
 cet.

Romans of the time to set the whole world ablaze with his own glory. Cassius's enthusiastic hatred of 'the mightiest Julius' is irresistibly delightful. For 'a good hater' is the next best thing to a true friend; and Cassius's honest gushing malice is far better than Brutus's stabbing sentimentalism.

125. *My answere must be made*] JOHNSON: That is, I shall be called to account, and must answer as for seditious words.

128. *Hold, my Hand*] JOHNSON: That is, Here's my hand.

129. *factious*] JOHNSON: This seems here to mean *active*.—MALONE: It means, I apprehend, embody a party or faction.—STEEVENS: Perhaps Dr Johnson's explanation is the true one. Menenius, in *Coriol.*, says: 'I have been always factionary on the part of your general,'—V, ii, 30; and the speaker, who is describing himself, would scarce have employed the word in its common and unfavourable sense.—COLERIDGE (*Notes*, etc., p. 132): I understand it thus, 'You have spoken as a conspirator; be so in *fact*, and I will join you. Act on your principles, and realize them in a *fact*.'

129. *Griefes*] That is, *grievances, causes of complaint*. Compare III, ii, 223; IV, ii, 50.

135. *vnder-goe*] For other examples of undergo in the sense of to *undertake*, to *take upon oneself*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*), 3.

And the Complexion of the Element
Is Fauors, like the Worke we haue in hand,

140

140. *Element*] *elements* Warb.
141. *Is Fauors*] Ff. *Is feav'rous*,
Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Jen.
Ran. *Is favour'd* Cap. Mal. Steev.
Var. '03, '13. *It favours*, Var. '73. *It*
favours Var. '76, '85. *In favour's* Cam.

Glo.+. *Is haviours*, Herr. *Ill-favoured*
Elze. *In's favor's*, F. C. B. Terry. *Is*
ferrous, R. R. (N. & Q., 21 Aug., 1880).
His favour's Perring (p. 358). *In fa-*
vour's, Johns. et cet.

140. **Complexion of the Element**] WARBURTON: We find from the preceding relation (ll. 7-12) that it was not *one* Element only which was disturbed, but *all*; being told that all the sway of *Earth* shook like a thing infirm; that *Winds* rived the knotty oaks; that the *Ocean* raged and foamed; and that there was : tempest dropping Fire. So that all the *four* Elements appeared to be disordered. We should read therefore: 'the complexion of the *Elements*,' which is confirmed by the following line: 'Most bloody, fiery, and most terrible.' *Bloody* referring to the *Water*; *Fiery*, to the *Air* and *Fire*; and *Terrible*, to the *Earthquakes*.—HEATH: There was not the least occasion to alter the ancient reading 'element' [see *Text. Notes*], which in common acceptation more particularly denotes the air. Lightning and ghosts seem to be the only extraordinary appearances of that fearful night of which Cassius is speaking; and these appearances may very well be referred to the air alone. . . . As to what Casca adds, of 'all the sway of the earth shaking like a thing infirm,' it needs not be interpreted of an actual earthquake, which if the poet had had in his view, he would have expressed himself with greater propriety and certainty. It means only that the agitations in the heavens were so violent that they seemed even to portend that the earth itself would fall back into its original chaos. It is remarkable that the poet does not say the earth shook, but all the 'sway of earth shook,' which may very well be understood of the element which every way surrounds and embraces it, and in consequence may be supposed to have a very great share in bringing on any changes that may happen to it. Thus Warburton's most accurate distribution of the three epithets, in the next line, among the four elements appears to be absolutely without foundation.—EDWARDS (p. 215): There is not the least reason to think that anything is here alluded to but some extraordinary meteors in the air. But Mr W[arburton], having laid hands on a speech of Casca where the words *Earth*, *Winds*, *Ocean*, and *Fire* happen all to occur, he immediately falls to his work; and, stirring them together with his *uncreative* paw, he brews us up this horrid Chaos of the Elements. And from the midst of all this turmoil of his own raising comes staring out and tells us that 'Bloody refers to the *Water*, *Fiery* to the *Air* and *Fire*, and *Terrible* to the *Earthquakes*.' As well as I can conjecture, for these reasons: *Bloody* to the *Water*, because No mention is made of water in the passage: *Fiery* to the *Air* and *Fire*, because the *Air* was on *Fire*, and 'tis hard if a thing may not refer to itself; and, lastly, as for *Terrible* to the *Earthquakes*; when Mr W[arburton] gives us any reason, why *Terrible* must refer to *Earthquakes* rather than to any other objects of terror; except because *Terra* is Latin for the *Earth*; I promise to take this off his hands again.

141. *Is Fauors*, like] CRAIK (p. 199): To say that the complexion of a thing is either featured like or in feature like to something else is very like tautology. I should be strongly inclined to adopt Rowe's ingenious conjecture, *feverous*. . . .

Most bloodie, fierie, and most terrible.

142

Enter Cinna.

Caska. Stand clofe a while, for heere comes one in hafte.

145

Cassi. 'Tis *Cinna*, I doe know him by his Gate,
He is a friend. *Cinna*, where hafte you fo?

Cinna. To finde out you: Who's that, *Metellus Cymber*?

Cassi. No, it is *Caska*, one incorporate
To our Attempts. Am I not stay'd for, *Cinna*?

150

Cinna. I am glad on't.
What a fearefull Night is this?

153

142. *bloodie, fierie*] *bloody-fierie*
Walker (Crit., i, 33), Dyce ii, iii,
Huds. iii.

151. *Attempts*] *attempt* Wh. i, Dyce ii,
iii, Coll. iii.

152, 153. One line Rowe et seq.

152. *I am*] *I'm* Pope.

153. *is this?*] Om. Ff. *is this!* Ran.
Sing. Knt, Coll. Dyce.

Feverous is exactly the sort of word that, if it were not distinctly written, would be apt to puzzle and be mistaken by a compositor. It may perhaps count, too, for something, though not very much, against both *favour's like* and *favoured like* that a very decided comma separates the two words in the Folio.—WRIGHT: Johnson's emendation ['In favour's like'] is to be preferred. The comparison is between the bloody nature of the work which the conspirators had in hand and the fiery exhalations in the sky; and the word 'complexion' in the previous line suits better with 'favour's' than with *feverous*, for it refers to the aspect of the heavens only and not to any other prodigies, as, for instance, an earthquake, which might be likened to the symptoms of a fever.—[In *The Athenæum* for 27th December, 1879, Browning proposed to read: *Is Mavors, like*—explaining the word 'Mavors' as the full form of name of which Mars is the contraction. The suggestion has not yet met with much commendation. Is there, however, need of any change in the Folio text? Cassius says: The complexion of the element is bloody and terrible favors; a construction much the same as 'The wages of sin is death.' Johnson's emendation is, of course, more easily comprehended, and perhaps, therefore, has been generally accepted. But the old scholastic rule, *durior lectio*, etc., is a safe one to follow, especially when applied to Shakespeare; that the Folio reading is here to be preferred is the opinion of the present Ed.]

142. *Most bloodie, fierie*] WALKER (Crit., i, 23): Read 'bloody-fierie.' αἱμόφυλος, as a Greek tragedian might have expressed it, or, in Latin poetical language, *sanguineum ardens*; covered over with fiery meteors of a blood-red colour. [Dyce adopts Walker's suggestion.]

148. *To finde out you*] ABBOTT (§ 240): 'Find out' is here treated as a single word. So, 'To belch-up you.'—*Temp.*, III, iii, 56; 'And leave-out thee.'—*Rich. III.*: I, iii, 216. [WRIGHT compares 'Groped I to find out them.'—*Hamlet*, V, ii, 16.]

There's two or three of vs haue seene strange fights.

Cass. Am I not stay'd for? tell me.

155

Cinna. Yes, you are. O *Cassius*,
If you could but winne the Noble *Brutus*
To our party——

Cass. Be you content. Good *Cinna*, take this Paper,
And looke you lay it in the Pretors Chayre, 160
Where *Brutus* may but finde it : and throw this
In at his Window ; fet this vp with Waxe
Vpon old *Brutus* Statue : all this done,
Repaire to *Pompeyes* Porch, where you shall finde vs.
Is *Decius Brutus* and *Trebonius* there? 165

Cinna. All, but *Metellus Cymber*, and hee's gone
To seeke you at your house. Well, I will hie,
And so bestow these Papers as you bad me.

Cass. That done, repayre to *Pompeyes* Theater.

Exit Cinna. 170

Come *Caska*, you and I will yet, ere day,
See *Brutus* at his house : three parts of him
Is ours already, and the man entire
Vpon the next encounter, yeelds him ours. 174

155. *stay'd for?*] *stay'd for*, *Cinna?*
Cap. Steev. Varr.

156, 157. *Yes...could*] One line Johns.
Coll. ii.

156-158. *you are...party*] Two lines,
ending: *winne...party* Cap. Varr. Mal.
Ran. Steev. Varr. Huds. Lines end:
are...could...party. Walker (Vers. 290),
Sing. ii, Craik, Dyce, Sta. Cam. +.

156, 157. *O Cassius...Brutus*] One

line Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.
Jen. Sing. i, Knt, Coll. i, iii, Wh. i, Hal.
157, 158. One line Ktly.

157. *If...but*] *could you* Pope, Theob.
Han. Warb.

160. *Pretors*] *Prætors* F.

161. *but*] *best* Craik conj.

165. *Decius*] *Decimus* Han.

167. *seeke*] *secke* F.

173. *Is*] *Are* Han.

156-158. *Yes, you are . . . our party*] CRAIK (p. 200): I cannot doubt that, whatever we are to do with 'Yes, you are,'—whether we make these comparatively unimportant words the completion of the line of which Cassius's question forms the beginning, or take them along with what follows, which would give us a line wanting only the first syllable (and deriving, perhaps, from that mutilation an abruptness suitable to the occasion),—the close of the rhythmic flow must be as follows: 'O Cassius, if you could But win the noble Brutus to our party.'

160. *Pretors Chayre*] 'His [Brutus's] tribunal or chair, where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such bills: "Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed."'—Plutarch, *Life of Brutus*, § 6; (ed. Skeat, p. 112).

168. *bad me*] WRIGHT: I am inclined to think that *bid* is the proper reading here, as Cinna had but just received his instructions from Cassius.

Cask. O, he sits high in all the Peoples hearts : 175
And that which would appeare Offence in vs,
His Countenance, like richeft Alchymie,
Will change to Vertue, and to Worthineffe.

Cass. Him, and his worth, and our great need of him,
You haue right well conceited : let vs goe, 180
For it is after Mid-night, and ere day,
We will awake him, and be sure of him.

Exeunt. 183

Actus Secundus.

[Scene I.]

Enter Brutus in his Orchard.

2

2. Enter...Orchard.] A Garden. Enter Brutus. Rowe, Pope. Brutus's Garden. Enter Brutus. Theob.+, Cap. Jen. Brutus's Orchard. Enter Brutus. Mal. et seq. (subs.)

177. Countenance] That is, *authority, credit, patronage*. For other examples see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 4).

179, 180. Him, and his worth . . . right well conceited] LLOYD (ap. Singer, viii, 509): The surrender by Cassius of the leading voice in the enterprise, which he originated, is the homage of vice to virtue, at least of personal to lofty principle. Not unconscious of the faulty motive of his own passion, he has greater confidence in the influence of Brutus's character and reputation than any other chance in favor of success; moreover, he not only respects, but loves him, even while he is deceiving him, and is raised by the feeling far above the level of the mere intriguer, and remains, with all his faults, a noble Roman. His interest in the affection of Brutus strengthens as the consciousness of a desperate cause,—desperate through the incongruity of the alliance of personal and patriotic motive,—induces a melancholy that only invades hearts of great natural sensibility.

2. Enter . . . Orchard] CRAIK (p. 203): Assuming that Brutus was probably not possessed of what we now call distinctively an orchard (which may have been the case), the early editors took upon them to change 'Orchard' into *Garden*. But this is to carry the work of rectification (even if we should admit it to be such) beyond what is warrantable. To deprive Brutus in this way of his orchard was to mutilate or alter Shakespeare's conception. It is probable that the words 'Orchard' and *garden* were commonly understood in the early part of the seventeenth century in the senses which they now bear; but there is nothing in their etymology to support the manner in which they have come to be distinguished. In *Much Ado*, II, iii, although the scene is headed *Leonato's Garden*, Benedick, sending the Boy for a book from his chamber-window, says: 'Bring it hither to me in the orchard.' A *Garden* (or yard, as it is still called in Scotland) means merely a piece of ground girded in, or enclosed; and an *Orchard* (properly *Ortyard*) is, literally, such an enclosure for *worts*, or herbs.—OECHELHÄUSER (*Einführungen*, i, 234): This scene in Brutus's garden, by moonlight, requires special careful attention. On

Brut. What *Lucius*, hoc?

3

I cannot, by the progreſſe of the Starres,

Giue gueſſe how neere to day—*Lucius*, I ſay?

5

I would it were my fault to ſleepe ſo foundly.

When *Lucius*, when? awake, I ſay: what *Lucius*?

Enter Lucius.

Luc. Call'd you, my Lord?

Brut. Get me a Tapor in my Study, *Lucius*:

10

When it is lighted, come and call me here.

Luc. I will, my Lord.

Exit.

Brut. It muſt be by his death: and for my part,

13

10. Tapor] F.

the right, half concealed by the shrubbery, is a semicircular marble bench, on which, at the rising of the curtain, Brutus is seated in deep thought. On the left is seen the entrance to Brutus's house, showing a vestibule with columns, dimly illuminated by a hanging lamp. The whole background filled in with high bushes, from the shade of which the conspirators cautiously emerge.

13. It must be by his death, etc.] COLERIDGE (*Notes*, p. 132): This speech is singular; at least, I do not at present see into Shakespeare's motive, his *rationale*, or in what point of view he meant Brutus's character to appear. For surely—(this, I mean, is what I say to myself, with my present *quantum* of insight, only modified by my experience in how many instances I had ripened into a perception of beauties, where I had before descried faults)—surely, nothing can seem more discordant with our historical preconceptions of Brutus, or more lowering to the intellect of the Stoico-Platonic tyrannicide, than the tenets here attributed to him—to him, the stern Roman republican; namely, that he would have no objection to a king, or to Cæsar, a monarch in Rome, would but Cæsar be as good a monarch as he now seems disposed to be! How, too, could Brutus say that he found no personal cause—none in Cæsar's past conduct as a man? Had he not passed the Rubicon? Had he not entered Rome as a conqueror? Had he not placed his Gauls in the Senate? Shakespeare, it may be said, has not brought these things forward—True;—and this is just the ground of my perplexity. What character did Shakespeare mean his Brutus to be?—COURTENAY (ii, 263): Brutus says that he will kill Cæsar because he is powerful and *may* abuse his power; and the passages of his life, to which Coleridge refers, gave Brutus no *personal* cause of offence, though much 'for the general.'—KNIGHT (*Studies*, p. 413): Brutus has a terror of conspiracy. He has been 'with himself at war,' speculating, we doubt not, upon the strides of Cæsar towards absolute power, but unprepared to resist them. Of Cæsar he has said, 'I love him well'; he now says: 'I know no personal cause to spurn at him.' As a triumvir, a dictator, Brutus had no personal cause against Cæsar; but the name of king, which Cassius poured into his ear, rouses all his speculative republicanism. . . . We must bear in mind that Brutus is not yet committed to the conspiracy. The character that Shakespeare meant his Brutus to be is not yet fully developed. He is yet irresolute; and his reasonings are, therefore, to a certain

[13. It must be by his death, etc.]

extent, inconsequential. He is instigated from without; the principles associated with the name of Brutus stir him from within.—DOWDEN (p. 293): Shakespeare wishes to show upon what grounds the political idealist acts. Brutus resolves that Cæsar shall die by his hand as the conclusion of a series of *oriles* of abstract principles about ambition, and power, and reason, and affection; finally, a profound suspicion of Cæsar is engendered, and his death is decreed.—HUDSON: Upon the supposal that Shakespeare meant Brutus for a wise and good man, the speech seems to me utterly unintelligible. But the Poet, I think, must have regarded him simply as a well-meaning, but conceited and shallow idealist; and such men are always cheating and puffing themselves with the thinnest of sophisms; feeding on air, and conceiving themselves inspired; or, as Gibbon puts it: 'mistaking the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the Spirit.'—STAPPER (p. 344): One is inclined to speculate whether in this strange meditation on the dangerous effect the crown might have on Cæsar's nature, Shakespeare intended to show the subjective tendency of Brutus's mind, and his habit of scrutinising things below the surface; or whether it may not be an illustration of the hold that his affectionate and gentle disposition had over him. It would almost seem that, in his love for Cæsar, he could suffer his acceptance of the crown, if only he were sure that Cæsar would not abuse his power. He weighs calmly and impartially the considerations on either side. But the stern republican fibre of his nature checks this confidence and makes him dread the possible consequences to the liberty of the people, and in the end triumphs over all hesitation. According to this view, we see him indulging, indeed, to a certain extent the psychological bent of his mind, but it is directed towards practical ends. The acquisition of kingly power may change Cæsar's nature, and if so what would be the effect on the nation? The chances are that it would be of the most disastrous kind, therefore kill him in the shell.—VERITY: The point of this speech seems to me to lie in the fact that it expresses the extreme, almost pedantic, horror which Brutus feels for kingship and the mere name of 'king' and all its associations, and increased in his case by family tradition. Practically Cæsar was king already; could it really make much difference to Rome if he assumed the name when he possessed the reality? He had wielded immense power for years, and was then a man of fifty-six; would the assumption of royalty be likely to make any change in his character? Brutus says 'yes'; if Cæsar were made 'king,' all the evil in him would be developed, so that Rome would find herself in the hands of a tyrant without 'remorse.' Brutus speaks as if the bare fact of 'crowning' Cæsar would 'change his nature,' a change fraught with 'danger' to Rome. Here, as ever, 'Rome' is his first consideration.—TOLMAN believes that Shakespeare wishes here to present the experience of one who would be startled by considerations distinctly set forth, and, therefore, these words are intended to represent the 'unexpressed thought of Brutus.'—J. L. ETTY (Macmillan's *Maga.*, March, 1903; p. 354): A man who could argue thus was a politician of the most dangerous type, one who would wreck his own side as well as that of his adversaries. And so it proved; the obstinate refusal of Brutus to let Antony share Cæsar's fate, and his folly in allowing him to speak publicly to the people, completely spoiled whatever chance of success the conspirators ever had.—H. HODGE (Harper's *Maga.*, Feb., 1906; p. 367): The whole soliloquy is the sophistic device of a man squaring his moral character with his intention. The situation is clinched by the eagerness with which Brutus snatches at the papers thrown in through the window. Then

[13. It must be by his death, etc.]

comes the melodramatic apostrophe, with himself as audience. What true man, unusually philosophic too in temper, could be influenced in a tremendous enterprise, to which public necessity drove him against his will, by an anonymous scrawl thrown in at the window? Cassius knew his man.—F. HARRIS (p. 255): When speaking of himself, on the plains of Philippi, Shakespeare's Brutus explicitly contradicts the false reasoning [in the present passage]: '—I do find it cowardly and vile For fear of what might fall, so to prevent the term of lie.' It would seem, therefore, that Brutus did not kill Cæsar, as one crushes a serpent's egg, to prevent evil consequences. It is equally manifest that he did not do it for 'the general,' for if ever the general were shown to be despicable and worthless it is in this very play, where the citizens murder Cinna, the poet, because he has the same name as Cinna, the conspirator, and the lower classes are despised as the 'rabblement.'—GOLL (p. 52): The argument which Brutus finally accepts or, rather, the image which finally carries conviction to Brutus's mind is Cæsar as the serpent's egg. . . . Apparently, there is much theoretical scholasticism in the whole of this argument; and it is evident it never would have succeeded in convincing Brutus had not Cassius's incitements been still actively working in his mind. But, as little as this argument could have arisen without these incitements, as little could they or any other instigations have succeeded in influencing Brutus to commit the murder had he not been able to justify it to his reason. This is precisely the nature of the pronounced theorist. His train of ideas amounts almost to a rubric. He cannot concur in anything unless it is founded on a theory, a principle, a syllogism. He fancies his resolution is based on his theory because he believes he is pushing all personal feelings into the background. In reality, of course, the feelings produce the theory and the theory the resolution. Cassius's play on the inherited instincts of Brutus, namely, a Brutus's duties towards an autocrat, finds him so responsive that he is able to delude himself into the idea that he has no personal duties towards Cæsar; that these, on the contrary, are unfair to all other persons; and, from the moment this theory, artificial and perverted as it is, has come into existence, Brutus dares to follow the impulses of his heart. . . . If the theory lead him to outrage all human feelings, so much the more is it his duty to follow it and to conquer sentiment.—MACCALLUM (p. 204): Perhaps Shakespeare thought no more of Cæsar's crossing the Rubicon [as mentioned by Coleridge], to suppress Pompey and put an end to the disorders of Rome, than of Richmond's crossing the channel to suppress Richard III, and put end to the Wars of the Roses. At any rate, he makes no mention of these and similar grounds of offence, though all or most of them were set down in his authority. It may be noted, however, that Plutarch says nothing about the Gauls [in the senate, also referred to by Coleridge]. If Shakespeare had known of it, it would probably have seemed to him no worse than the presence of the Bretons, 'those overweening rags of France,' as Richard III. calls them, in the army of the patriotic and virtuous Richmond.—MACMILLAN (*Introd.*, xxxiii.): Iago's soliloquy in I, iii, has been called by Coleridge 'the motive-hunting of a motive-less malignity.' The soliloquy of Brutus might almost be described as the motive-hunting of a motive-less benignity. Yet one would think that Brutus had a distinct enough motive for killing Cæsar. He was a republican, and Cæsar had overthrown the republic. . . . Brutus might well have concluded his soliloquy in the words of Iago: 'I know not if't be true. But I for mere suspicion in that kind Will do as if for surety.'

I know no personall cause, to spurne at him,
 But for the generall. He would be crown'd : 15
 How that might change his nature, there's the question?
 It is the bright day, that brings forth the Adder,
 And that craues warie walking : Crowne him that,
 And then I graunt we put a Sting in him,
 That at his will he may doe danger with. 20
 Th'abuse of Greatnesse, is, when it dis-ioynes
 Remorse from Power : And to speake truth of *Cæsar*,
 I haue not knowne, when his Affections sway'd
 More then his Reason. But 'tis a common prooffe, 24

15. crown'd:] crown'd— Rowe, +
 (—Johns.), Jen. Var. '78, Mal. Steev.
 Varr. Sing. Craik, Dyce, Sta.

16–22. Mnemonic Warb.

16. question?] question, Rowe, +,
 Cap. Jen.

18. Crowne him that,] Crown him—
 that— Rowe, +, Jen. Crown him?
 That; Cap. Crown him!—that! J. D.
 (N. & Q., V, viii, 263). Crown him?—
 that;— Var. '73 et cct.

21. dis-ioynes] disjoynes F₃F₄.

18. Crowne him that] PERRING (p. 361): The best sign to mark the pause which the speaker makes after 'Crown him' is a *hyphen*. After 'that' at the end of the line are a semicolon and a hyphen [in the *Globe* edition], which would lead us to suppose that the words to be supplied are 'craves wary walking'; nothing would be more incorrect. 'That,' which is tantamount to a *repetition* of 'Crown him,' and is full of Republican animus, is in close connexion with the line that follows, and should be separated from it only by a comma—'Crown him'—do 'that,' allow that, grant that, 'and then . . . *actum est de republica*.' We have precisely the same phraseology, save that the verb is expressed, and the same punctuation, in III, i, 120: 'Grant that, and then is death a benefit.'—O. F. ADAMS (*Notes & Queries*, 23 July, 1892; p. 63): My belief is that the punctuation of the Folio is correct. We have probably here a late use, in the oblique case, of *he that*, or *he* emphatic. The phrase was, no doubt, obsolete in the literary language of Shakespeare's day, but it may have survived in the rustic speech of his native county. After the reference to the adder, a little emphasis in reverting to Cæsar is natural.

22–24. Remorse from Power . . . his Reason] HUDSON: Some obscurity here, owing to the use of certain words in uncommon senses. 'Remorse,' in Shakespeare, commonly means *pity* or *compassion*; here it means *conscience* or conscientiousness. So in *Othello*, 'Let him command, And to obey shall be in me remorse.'—III, iii, 467. The possession of dictatorial power is apt to stifle or sear the conscience, so as to make a man literally remorseless. 'Affections' again here stands for *passions*, as in several other instances. Finally, 'reason' is here used in the same sense as 'remorse.' So the context clearly points out; and the conscience is, in a philosophical sense, the *moral* reason.

24. common prooffe] JOHNSON: That is, a *common experiment*.—M. MASON: 'Common proof' means a matter proved by common *experience*. With great deference to Johnson, I cannot think that the word *experiment* will bear that meaning.

That Lowlyneffe is young Ambitions Ladder,
 Whereto the Climber vpward turnes his Face :
 But when he once attaines the vpmoſt Round,
 He then vnto the Ladder turnes his Backe,
 Lookes in the Clouds, ſcorning the baſe degrees
 By which he did aſcend : ſo Cæſar may ;
 Then leaſt he may, preuent. And ſince the Quarrell 39
 Will beare no colour, for the thing he is,
 Fashion it thus ; that what he is, augmented,
 Would runne to theſe, and theſe extremities :
 And therefore thinke him as a Serpents egge, 35
 Which hatch'd, would as his kinde grow miſchieuous ;
 And kill him in the ſhell.

Enter Lucius.

Luc. The Taper burneth in your Cloſet, Sir :
 Searching the Window for a Flint, I found 40

- | | |
|--|---|
| 25-30. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.
26. <i>Climber vpward</i>] Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Thcob. Han. Craik. <i>climber-upward</i>
Warb. et cet.
27. <i>vpmoſt</i>] <i>ulmoſt</i> Knt (misprint). | <i>topmoſt</i> Anon. ap. Cam.
28. <i>Backe</i>] <i>Backe</i> . Ff.
30. <i>aſcend</i>] <i>aſcend</i> . Johns. Var. '73,
Coll. Hal. Wh. i, Huds.
31. <i>leaſt</i>] <i>leſt</i> Ff. |
|--|---|

26. *Climber vpward turnes*] DELIUS suggests that 'upward' is here connected with 'turns' more naturally than by the hyphen first inserted by Warburton (see *Text. Notes*). The suggestion has not thus far met with much approval.—ED.

29. *degrees*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 1.): A step in an ascent or descent; one of a flight of steps; a step or rung of a ladder. [The present line quoted.]

31. *least he may, preuent*] J. HUNTER: That is, be beforehand with him; stop his further progress. Observe how he delicately represents the temper of Brutus by avoiding any pronominal reference to the agent who is to prevent; he does not say '*let me prevent*,' but uses the imperative indefinitely. Compare the subsequent imperatives, 'fashion,' 'think,' 'kill.'—WRIGHT: The construction does not connect 'lest' with 'prevent,' as if it were prevent lest he may, but as in *King Lear*: 'Lest it see more, prevent it. Out, vile jelly!'—III, vii, 83.

31. *Quarrell*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. † 1.): A complaint; especially a complaint against a person; hence in *Law*: an accusation or charge; an action or suit. *Obsolete*.

36. *as his kinde*] JOHNSON: That is, *according to his nature*.—STEEVENS: Compare, 'You must think this, look you, that the worm will do his kind.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, V, ii, 263.—M. MASON: 'As his kind' does not mean *according to his nature*, as Johnson asserts, but, *like the rest of his species*. [WRIGHT agrees with Johnson, but, since the passage quoted by Steevens is not a parallelism, that Mason's is the better interpretation is the opinion of the present Ed.]

37. *And kill . . . shell*] CRAIK (p. 120): It is impossible not to feel the expressive effect of the hemistich here. The line itself is, as it were, killed in the shell.

This Paper, thus seal'd vp, and I am sure
It did not lye there when I went to Bed. 41

Gives him the Letter.

Brut. Get you to Bed againe, it is not day :
Is not to morrow (Boy) the first of March? 45

Luc. I know not, Sir.

Brut. Looke in the Calender, and bring me word. 47

45. *first*] *Ides* Theob. et seq.

47. *Calender*] *Kalendar* F.

45. *first of March*] THEOBALD was the first to notice here, what he termed, a 'palpable blunder,' that is, the date should be the *Ides* of March. Theobald generously acknowledged that his 'friend Mr Warburton likewise started this very emendation, and communicated' it to him by letter. That friend was, however, silent in regard to Theobald when he wrote his own note on this passage. Theobald gave as a hypothetical cause for the misprint that *Ides* in the MS was written 'j', and thus confused by the compositors with the old symbol for 1st, although 'the Players knew the word well enough in the contraction.' He thus concludes his note: 'That the Poet wrote *Ides*, we have this in confirmation: Brutus makes the enquiry on the dawn of the very day in which Cæsar was killed in the Capitol. Now 'tis very well known that this was on the 15th day, which is the Ides of March.' —WARBURTON: We can never suppose the speaker to have lost fourteen days in his account. He is here plainly ruminating on what the Soothsayer told Cæsar in his presence.—J. HUNTER: If 'the first of March' be the genuine reading, Shakespeare must either have inadvertently quoted from a passage in Plutarch, not applicable here, but which refers to Cassius asking Brutus if he intended to be in the senate-house on the first of March, or else the poet must have meant to represent Brutus as exceedingly oblivious, and even Lucius as rather too unobservant of time's progress. [The passage to which Hunter refers is as follows: 'Cassius asked him [Brutus] if he were determined to be in the senate-house the first day of the month of March, because he heard say that Cæsar's friends should move the council that day, that Cæsar should be called king by the Senate.'—*Life of Brutus*, § 7 (ed. Skeat, p. 113).—ED.]—JOSEPH HUNTER (*New Illustrations*, etc., ii, 150): Whatever opinion may be formed of Shakespeare's scholarship, it cannot be placed so low as that he was not so far acquainted with the Roman calendar; but he had the information before his eyes in the very book which he used, in which occurs this passage: 'Furthermore there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time afore, to take heed of the Ides of March (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger,' and it is manifest that the passage had attracted his attention by his having given the same explanation which Sir Thomas North had thought it necessary to give in his parenthesis, for he makes Brutus ask the day of the month, and Lucius replies that 'March is wasted fifteen days.' The old reading 'fifteen' might be justified.—WRIGHT: *Ides* is, no doubt, what Shakespeare ought to have written. . . . But I have as little doubt that what he actually wrote was what stands in the Folio. It is quite possible that from the passage [in North's Plutarch, cited by J. Hunter] the first of March fixed itself in Shakespeare's mind, although Brutus was thinking of the Ides which he had heard the soothsayer warn Cæsar against.

Luc. I will, Sir.

Exit.

48

Brut. The exhalations, whizzing in the ayre,
Giue so much light, that I may reade by them.

50

Opens the Letter, and reade.

Brutus then sleep'st; awake, and see thy selfe:

Shall Rome, &c. speake, strike, redresse.

Brutus, thou sleep'st: awake.

Such instigations haue beene often dropt,

55

Where I haue tooke them vp:

Shall Rome, &c. Thus must I piece it out:

Shall Rome stand vnder one mans awe? What Rome?

My Ancestors did from the streetes of Rome

The *Tarquin* driue, when he was call'd a King.

60

Speake, strike, redresse. Am I entreated

53, 57. Rome, &c.] Ff, Steev. Varr.
Sing. Knt, Coll. Dyce, Sta. Hal. Wh.
Cam.+. Rome,-- Rowe et cet

54-56. Brutus...vp] Two lines, ending:
instigations...vp Ktly.

58. *What Rome?*] *What, Rome?* Rowe
et seq.

59. *Ancestors*] *ancestor* Dyce ii, iii.

61. *Speake...entreated*] Two lines, the
first ending: *redresse*. Craik.

entreated] *entreated then* Pope,
Theob. Han. Warb. Steev. Var. '03,
'13, Ktly.

49. *exhalations*] That is, *meteors*; frequently thus called by Shakespeare and others of his time.

53. *speake, strike, etc.*] CAPELL (i, 101): The mode of printing this line in former copies may mislead the pronouncer; the paper is drop'd at that time, and the reflections upon it begun by a repetition of part of it; the other repeated words in that speech require a rais'd hand and other looks at the paper; the words that follow the last of them have a foolish *then* added to them in the four latter moderns.

58. *Shall Rome . . . vnder one mans awe*] MACCALLUM (p. 203): This certainly has somewhat of the republican ring. It breathes the same spirit as Cassius's own avowal: 'I had as lief not be, as live to be In awe of such a thing as I myself'; except that Cassius feels Cæsar's predominance to be a personal affront, while Brutus characteristically extends his view to the whole community. But here Brutus is speaking under the excitement of Cassius's 'instigation,' and making himself Cassius's mouthpiece to fill in the blanks. Assuredly the declaration is not on that account the less personal to himself; nevertheless in it Brutus, no longer attempting to square his action with his theory, falls back on the blind impulses of blood that he shares with the other aristocrats of Rome. And in this, the most republican and the only republican sentiment that falls from his lips, which for the rest is so little republican that it might be echoed by the loyal subject of a limited monarchy, it is only the negative of the matter and the public *amour propre* that are considered. Of the positive essence of republicanism, of enthusiasm for a state in which all the lawful authority is derived from the whole body of fully qualified citizens, there is, despite Brutus's talk of freemen, and slaves, and Cæsar's ambition, no trace whatever in any of his utterances from first to last.

To speake, and strike? O Rome, I make thee promise,
 If the redresse will follow, thou recceiuest
 Thy full Petition at the hand of *Brutus*.

Enter Lucius.

Luc. Sir, March is wasted fiftene dayes.

Knocke within.

Brut. 'Tis good. Go to the Gate, some body knocks :
 Since *Cassius* first did whet me against *Cæsar*,
 I haue not slept.
 Betweene the acting of a dreadfull thing,
 And the first motion, all the *Interim* is
 Like a *Phantasma*, or a hideous Dreame :

62. *thee*] the F₂F₃.

66. *fifteene*] FI, Rowe, Pope, Ktly.
fourteen Theob. et cet.

68. [Exit *Luc.* Theob. et seq.

68-70. *Go to...slept*] Two lines, ending:
first...slept Ktly.

70. *slept.*] *slept*—Pope, Theob. Han.
 Warb.

71-77. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

66. *fifteene dayes*] THEOBALD: March was wasted but *fourteen* days; this was the dawn of the fifteenth when the boy makes his report.

68. 'Tis good] J. HUNTER: This expression may be merely a mannerly acknowledgment of the servant's attention; or perhaps the pronoun 'it' refers to the fact announced, and Brutus may be here welcoming the near termination of that hideous interim to which he presently refers.

69. Since *Cassius* . . . *Cæsar*] THEOBALD: Some Readers might, perhaps, imagine that (because Brutus, in his last scene with Cassius, said that he would on the morrow stay at home for Cassius, and because Cassius here comes home to him) this was the day immediately succeeding that on which Cassius open'd the secret of the Conspiracy to him. But, however any circumstances in any preceding lines may countenance such an opinion, it would be a great diminution of the sedate character of Brutus to be let into a plot of such serious moment one day, and to be ready to put it in execution on the next. The Poet intended no such rash conduct. We are to observe, from the first Act, that Cassius opened the plot to him on the feast of the Lupercalia, which solemnity was held in February, and Cæsar was not assassin'd till the middle of March. Some of the critics, with what certainty I dare not pretend to say, fix down this feast to XVth before the Calends of March (*i. e.*, the 15th of February); if so, the interval betwixt that and the time when Cæsar was murth'rd is twenty-nine days.—DANIEL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1877-79, p. 198): [These words] give a sound as of a long period of mental agony; and, to come to more definite evidence, his remark on the sealed paper which his boy Lucius has found thrown in at the window, 'Such instigations have been *often* dropped,' is only intelligible on the supposition of a considerable interval between this present scene and Act I, sc. ii. This paper which Lucius now finds must be that which Cassius confides to Cinna (I, iii, 161), and must not be confounded with those Cassius talks of at the end of Act I, sc. ii, in Day No. 1.—[MACMILLAN (*Introd.*, li.) cites this as the only passage in the present play wherein there is a 'clear instance of long and short time side by side.']

The *Genius*, and the mortall Instruments

74

71-73. Betweene the acting . . . a hideous Dreame] WARBURTON, in a letter to Concanen in 1726, makes an elaborate comparison between this passage and one in Addison's *Calo*, wherein the time between the birth of a plot and its 'fatal period' is characterised as a 'dreadful interval of time, Filled up with horror all, and big with death.' The greater part of Warburton's note is actually a criticism of Addison more than Shakespeare, though he thus concludes: 'Comparing the troubled mind of a conspirator to a state of anarchy is just and beautiful; but the *interim* or interval, to a hideous vision or a frightful *dream*, holds something so wonderfully of truth, and lays the soul so open, that one can hardly think it possible for any man, who had not some time or other been engaged in a conspiracy, to give such force of coloring to nature.'—STEEVENS is our authority for the statement that 'the foregoing was perhaps among the earliest notes written by Warburton on Shakespeare. Though it was not inserted by him in Theobald's editions, 1732 and 1740, but was reserved for his own in 1747.'—GOLL (p. 59): Cold fanatic as the revolutionary of theory becomes, he shrinks from no action when it is demanded, as a consequence of his principles; and, idealist as he is, he cannot be moved to any action which does not accord with his ideal. In contrast to the practical man, to whom the action is the central object, which requires the most careful preparations, the idea is the reality to the theorist, the action merely an external circumstance, an unpleasant, almost unnecessary delay, retarding the onward flight of the mind, which must, therefore, be got rid of with all possible despatch. That is why the interval between the thought and its execution is to Brutus 'Like a phantasma or a hideous dream,' which disturbs the clear thought, not exactly because it creates a doubt of the rightness of the thought, but because it retards its progress. To profoundest conviction all hesitation is but torture.

74. Genius . . . mortall Instruments] WARBURTON, in connection with his comparison of Addison and Shakespeare, ll. 71-73, asserts that the 'genius' here meant is that which in Pagan theology was supposed to preside over kingdoms, and might be either good or bad, here represented 'with the most daring stretch of fancy, as sitting in consultation with the conspirators,' who are here called the 'mortal instruments.'—JOHNSON, after declaring that Warburton's pompous criticism 'might well have been shortened,' adds that 'the "genius" is not the genius of a kingdom, nor are the "instruments" *conspirators*. Shakespeare is describing what passes in a single bosom, the insurrection which a conspirator feels agitating the little kingdom of his own mind; when the "genius," or power that watches for his protection, and the "mortal instruments," the passions which excite him to a deed of honour and danger, are in council and debate.'—GREY (ii, 175) proposes that we read *instrument* for 'instruments,' and thus explains the passage: 'The "genius," *i. e.*, the soul or spirit, which should govern; and the "mortal instrument," *i. e.*, the man, with all his earthly passions, are then in council, the soul and rational powers dissuading, and the man with his bodily passions pushing on to the horrid deed, whereby the state of man suffers the nature of an insurrection, the inferior powers rising and rebelling against the superior. Compare *Macbeth*, "My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical Shakes so my single state of man that function Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is But what is not,"—I, iii, 139.' Grey's *Notes* were published in 1754, nine years before Johnson's edition; chronologically, therefore, Grey's explanation should precede Johnson's, but the latter does not refer to Grey, and as his note is mainly a comment upon Warburton's, I have

Are then in councell ; and the state of a man,

75

75. *councell*] *conflict* Huds. iii, conj.75. *a man*] F₁, Mal. Var. '21, Knt,
Coll. *man* Ff et cct.

herein followed the arrangement of the notes in the *Variorum* of 1821, in which Grey's suggestion and note are, however, omitted.—HEATH (p. 439) and CAPELL (i, 101) understand the 'mortal instruments' to refer to the *human passions*, and not, as does Warburton, to the conspirators themselves.—M. MASON compares: '—imagined worth Holds in his blood such swoln and hot discourse That 'twixt his mental and his active parts Kingdom'd Achilles in commotion rages.'—*Tro. & Cress.*, II, iii, 182; and, in confirmation of Johnson's interpretation of 'instruments,' quotes as parallel a passage from *Macbeth*, whose mind was, at the time, in the very state which Brutus is here describing: '—I am settled and bend up Each corporal agent to this terrible feat.'—I, vii, 79.—MALONE prefers to limit the meaning of the word 'mortal' to *deadly*; 'the "mortal instruments" then are the deadly passions.'—BLAKEWAY agrees with Malone that 'mortal' here means *deadly*, but dissents from the 'mortal instruments' being taken for the 'deadly passions'; 'the passions,' adds Blakeway, 'are rather the motives exciting us to use our instruments, by which I understand our bodily powers, as Othello calls his eyes and hands his "speculative and active instruments," I, iii, 271; and Menenius, in *Coriol.*, "—cranks and offices of man The strongest nerves and small inferior veins."—[Compare also: '—the other instruments did see and hear, devise, instruct, walk, feel'—*Ibid.*, I, i, 105.]—CRAIK quotes, as a passage throwing light on the present one, the words of Brutus: 'Let our hearts, as subtle masters do, Stir up their servants to an act of rage And after seem to chide 'em,' I. 195. 'The "servants" here,' adds Craik, 'may be taken to be the same with the "instruments" in the passage before us. It is not obvious how the bodily powers or organs could be said to hold consultation with the genius or mind. Neither could they in the other passage be so fitly said to be stirred up by the heart.'—[Does not the 'their' preceding 'servants' refer to the 'masters' and not to 'hearts'?]—E. B. TYLOR (ii, 184) gives the following account of 'Genius' as it is used in this passage: 'In the Roman world the doctrine [of a man's guardian spirit] came to be accepted as a philosophy of human life. Each man had his "genius natalis" associated with him from birth to death, influencing his action and his fate. . . . The demon or genius was, as it were, the man's companion soul, a second spiritual ego. The Egyptian astrologer warned Antonius to keep far from the young Octavius, "for thy demon," said he, "is in fear of his." . . . The doctrine which could thus personify the character and fate of the individual man, proved capable of a yet further development. Converting into animistic entities the inmost operations of the human mind, a dualistic philosophy conceived as attached to every mortal a good and an evil genius, whose efforts through life drew him backward and forward toward virtue and vice, happiness and misery. It was the kakodæmon of Brutus which appeared to him by night in his tent: "I am thy evil genius," it said, "we meet again at Philippi."—[Shakespeare alludes to this belief in the following passages, to which those who are interested may, if they so choose, refer: *Tempest*, IV, i, 27; *Com. of Errors*, V, i, 332; *Twelfth Night*, III, iv, 142; *Tro. & Cress.*, IV, iv, 52; *Macb.*, III, i, 56; and for a further statement of the doctrine, see BAYNES, p. 272, an article which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1869.—ED.]

75. *state* of a man] MALONE: I have adhered to the reading of the Folio.

Like to a little Kingdome, suffers then

76

Shakespeare is here speaking of the *individual*, in whose mind the genius and the mortal instruments hold a council, not of *man* or mankind, in general. . . . The editor of the Second Folio omitted the article, probably from a mistaken notion concerning the metre. . . . Many words of two syllables are used by Shakespeare as taking up the time of only one, as *whether*, *either*, *brother*, etc., and I suppose 'council' is so used here. The Folio reading is supported by a passage in *Hamlet*: 'What a piece of work is a man.'—STEEVENS: I persist in following the Second Folio, as our author, on this occasion, meant to write verse instead of prose. The instance from *Hamlet* can have little weight; the article *a*, which is injurious to the metre in question, being quite innocent in a speech decidedly prosaic.—RITSON (*Cursory Rem.*, p. 81): Neither our author, nor any other author in the world, ever used such words as *either*, *brother*, etc., as monosyllables; and though *whether* is sometimes so contracted, the old copies on that occasion usually print *where*. It is, in short, morally impossible that *two* should be no more than *one*.—[Ritson's dogmatic assertion is to some extent refuted by a number of examples from Shakespeare and other authors collected by WALKER (*Vers.*, p. 103), who says: '*Either*, *neither*, *whether*, *mother*, *brother*, and some other disyllables in which the final *ther* is preceded by a vowel—perhaps in some measure, all words in *ther*—are frequently used either as monosyllables or as so nearly such that, in a metrical point of view, they may be regarded as monosyllables. . . . This usage is more frequent in some words than in others, *e. g.*, in *whether* than in *hither*, *whither*, &c. *Either* occurs not infrequently even in the unaccented places (*locis obliquis*).' See also *Ibid.*, *Crit.*, i, 90.—ED.]

75, 76. man, Like to a little Kingdome] MALONE: The little kingdom of man is a notion that Shakespeare seems to have been fond of. King Richard II, speaking of himself, says: 'And these same thoughts people this little world.'—*Rich. II*: V, v, 9; again in *Lear*: 'Strives in his little world of man to out-scorn The to-and-fro conflicting wind and rain.'—III, i, 10; again in *King John*: '—in the body of this fleshly land, This kingdom.'—IV, ii, 245.—[References and allusions to the body of man as a microcosm or world in little are found in many of the writers contemporary with Shakespeare and those before him. The idea is very ancient. Sir Walter Raleigh (*Historie of the World*, 1614) says: 'Zanchius laboureth to prove, that man was formed after the image of God. . . . The body of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called, therefore, Microcosmus . . .' (ed. 1652, Bk i, ch. 2, § i; p. 20). And further: 'Therefore (saith Gregory Nazianzene), . . . *Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures*; and because in the little frame of man's body there is a representation of the Universal; and (by allusion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. . . . *God therefore placed in the Earth the man he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World.*'—*Ibid.*, p. 25. Montaigne (*Apology for Raimond de Sebonde*), referring to the confused idea which man has of himself, observes: 'It is not to heaven only that philosophy sends her ropes, engines, and wheels; let us consider a little what she says of ourselves and our contexture. There is not more retrogradation, trepidation, accession, recession, and rapture in the stars and celestial bodies, than they have feigned in this poor little human body. In truth, they have good reason upon that very account to call it a microcosm, or little world, so many views and parts have they employed to erect and build it.'—(ed. Coste, ii, 284). In 1628 appeared a

The nature of an Infurrection. 77

Enter Lucius.

Luc. Sir, 'tis your Brother *Cassius* at the Doore,
Who doth desire to see you. 80

Brut. Is he alone?

Luc. No, Sir, there are moe with him.

Brut. Doe you know them?

Luc. No, Sir, their Hats are pluckt about their Eares,
And halfe their Faces buried in their Cloakes, 85
That by no meanes I may discouer them,
By any marke of fauour.

Brut. Let 'em enter :

They are the Faction. O Conspiracie, 89

82. *moe*] Ff, Craik. *more* Rowc et F₃F₄, Rowe, Pope. *cloaks* Theob. et seq. cet.

85. *Cloakes*] *Cloathes* F₄. *Cloaths* Sta. Wh. i, Cam.+ them F₄ et cet.

series of Essays, attributed to John Earle, a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, entitled *Microsmographie, or a Peece of the World*, these dealt with various characters of men, such as 'A grave Divine'; 'An Alderman,' etc. The work was exceedingly popular and ran through at least seven editions. It is included among the Early English reprints edited by Edward Arber. In the moral mask entitled *Microcosmus*, written by Thomas Nabbes in 1637, the *Dramatis Personæ* are the five senses, the elements and the four humours, besides such others as 'Bellanima, the Soul'; 'Bonus Genius, an angel'; 'Malus Genius, a devil'; 'Nature,' etc. 'Physiander, a perfect grown man,' is the hero. The mask is written in blank verse in five short acts and follows much the same plan of the older moralities in its symbolic treatment of the characters.—ED.]

79. **Brother Cassius**] Cassius had married Brutus's sister, Tertia.

82. *moe*] SKEAT (*Dict.*, s. v. *more*): The modern English *more* does duty for two Middle English words which were, generally, well distinguished, viz.: 'mo' and *more*, the former relating to number, the latter to size. [Compare V, iii, 114.]

84. **Hats**] CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note* II, p. 252): In both the editions of Pope this line is ludicrously printed thus: 'No, Sir, their —— are pluckt about their cars.' He seems to have thought that 'hat' was an intolerable anachronism, for in *Coriol.*, II, iii, 95 and 164, he has substituted 'cap.' In this passage it would seem that he could not make up his mind, and left a blank accordingly. It is noticed in one of Theobald's letters to Warburton (Nichols, ii, 493).

86. *may*] For other examples wherein 'may' is equivalent to *to be able*, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 307.

89. **They are the Faction**, etc.] SIDGWICK (p. 98): This is a fine outburst, but it does not seem very appropriate to the actual moment when the conspirator's colleagues are being let in; and at first one is disposed to think that Shakespeare in introducing it has aimed at theatrical effect rather than dramatic propriety. And perhaps Shakespeare would have felt this later on in his career. Still, reflection will show that it has a larger dramatic meaning. He has just shown us Brutus

Sham'st thou to shew thy dang'rous Brow by Night, 90
 When euills are most free? O then, by day
 Where wilt thou finde a Cauerne darke enough
 To maske thy monstrous Visage? Seek none Conspiracie,
 Hide it in Smiles, and Affabilitie :
 For if thou path thy natiue semblance on, 95

94. *it in*] in *it* Var. '03, '21.

95. *path thy...on*] F₃F₄, Var. '73, '03,
 Sing. *hath thy...on*, Quarto, 1691 (ap.
 Cam.). *march thy...on*, Pope Han.
put thy...on, Southern (MS), Quincy
 (MS), Coleridge, Dyce ii, iii. *walk thy...*

on W. Sawyer (N. & Q., 22 April, 1865).
parle thy...on Nicholson (N. & Q., 10
 Feb., 1866). *pass thy...on* Cartwright,
 Huds. iii. *thy path...own* Bulloch.
passed thy...on Macmillan conj. *path*,
thy...on, F₂ et cet.

convincing himself, by a dry unemotional process of reasoning, that Caesar must be killed; he wants to show us that, while stoically determined to act for the general good by the dry light of reason alone, Brutus is no cold passionless pedant: he feels intensely the moral repugnance that a fine nature must feel to the dreadful deed. This passage . . . may also . . . illustrate the change in versification . . . as we pass from the first to the second manner. The blank verse of the earliest period too much resembles rhymed verse in its structure. . . . In the versification of *Jul. Cæs.* . . . adequate variety and flexibility is introduced by varying the pauses, allowing the sense to run over from one line to another, and introducing extra syllables not only at the end of lines, but sometimes even in the middle: 'To mask thy monstrous visage? Seek none conspiracy.' I do not think you will find a line like that in a play earlier than *Jul. Cæs.* [ABBOTT (§ 494) classes the line quoted by Sidgwick among 'apparent Alexandrines,' in which 'the last foot contains, instead of one extra syllable, two extra syllables, one of which is slurred.' Among other such lines Abbott gives three from *Rich. III.*, which is, by many critics, considered as one of Shakespeare's early plays.—ED.]

90. **Sham'st thou**] For other examples of 'shame' used in this intransitive sense, see, if needful, SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. verb. 2). As a possible explanation of its use here it may be suggested that the word 'thou' thus receives the accent metrically. *Art 'shamed* would have suited the rest of the sentence quite as well.—ED.

95. **path**] JOHNSON: That is, if thou walk in thy true form.—STEVENS: The same verb is used by Drayton in *Polyolbion*: 'Where from the neighboring hills, her passage Wey doth path.'—*Song* ii; again in his Epistle from Duke Humphrey to Elinor Cobham: 'Pathing young Henry's unadvised ways,'—p. 110, ed. 1748.—COLERIDGE (*Notes*, p. 133): Surely, there need be no scruple in treating this 'path' as a mere misprint or mis-script for *put*. In what place does Shakespeare—where does any writer of the same age—use 'path' as a verb for *walk*? [*'Aliquando dormitat,'* etc.—ED.]—WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 245) gives the two passages quoted by Stevens, and adds: 'It is quite clear that neither of them is to the point,' since in the line from the *Polyolbion* 'path' evidently means 'to track.'—Walker agrees with Coleridge that *put* is here the correct reading.—R. G. WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, p. 397): The Quarto of 1691 reads, 'hath thy,' etc. I do not mean to say that *hath* is the word; but neither do I believe that it is a mere misprint in the Quarto. *Hath* is very frequently used by Shakespeare and his contemporaries for *have*; and in his time, and long after, the bow of the letter *h* was short, while the second

Not *Erebus* it selfe were dimme enough, 96
To hide thee from preuention.

*Enter the Conspirators, Cassius, Caska, Decius,
Cinna, Metellus, and Trebonius.*

Cass. I thinke we are too bold vpon your Rest : 100
Good morrow *Brutus*, doe we trouble you ?

Brut. I haue beene vp this howre, awake all Night :
Know I these men, that come along with you ?

Cass. Yes, euery man of them ; and no man here
But honors you : and euery one doth wish, 105

98. SCENE II. Pope, +, Jen.

103. [Aside. Rowe, +.

stroke was brought far below the line. Three examples occur on the fac-simile page of Collier's second Folio, published with his *Notes & Emendations*. [In his edition of Shakespeare which appeared a few years later White suggests that 'path' is a misprint for *hadst*.—ED.]—SINGER (*Notes & Queries*, 10 April, 1858, p. 289) thinks that the passage required 'the verb to be in the conditional future, and that we must read: "if thou put'st," etc., and that this fairly accounts 'for the misprint, as it would satisfy the *ductus literarum*.' . . . He adds: 'I have since found in a very neat and accurate MS transcript of the play, made in the reign of Charles II, the difficulty got over by writing the line thus: "For *should* thou *put*.'"—HERAUD (p. 369): To me it is clear that the line contains *two* errors. It should have run: 'For if thou pall thy native semblance o'er.' Shakespeare had already used the verb to *pall* in the same sense in *Macbeth*: 'And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell.' . . . It is to [the statement of Lucius, 'their faces buried in their cloaks'], that Brutus refers in the line in question, which simply means that if conspirators come [thus] their conspiracy will be suspected—that the true mode of concealment is to let their naked faces be seen, and only to 'hide' the 'monstrous visage' of conspiracy 'in smiles and affability.' . . . The faces *buried* in their cloaks suggest the image of the *pall*, and this again the allusion to *Erebus*. [Murray (*N. E. D.*, s. v. Path) gives as an example of its use as a verb, besides the present line, another from Drayton: 'This river did so strangely path itself that the foote seemed to touch the head.'—*Epistle, Rosamund to Henry II. (Notes), Poems*, 1605.—ED.]

96. *Erebus*] HUDSON: Of the five divisions of Hades, *Erebus* was, probably, the third. Shakespeare, however, seems to identify it with Tartarus, the lowest deep of the infernal world, the horrible pit where Dante locates Brutus and Cassius, along with Judas Iscariot. [See note by STAFFER, V, v, 60; Shakespeare alludes to *Erebus*, as typical of darkness, in two other passages: 'His affections dark as *Erebus*.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, V, i, 87; '—the infernal deep, with *Erebus* and tortures vile also.'—2 *Hen. IV.*: II, iv, 171.—ED.]

100. too bold vpon] WRIGHT: That is, in intruding upon your rest. The same construction is found in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*: 'Here is noted, that whereas men in wronging their best friends use to extenuate their fault, as if they mought presume or be bold upon them, it doth contrariwise indeed aggravate their fault.'—II, 23, 6; (ed. Wright, p. 223).

You had but that opinion of your selfe,
Which euery Noble Roman beares of you.

106

This is *Trebonius*.

Brut. He is welcome hither.

Cass. This, *Decius Brutus*.

110

Brut. He is welcome too.

Cass. This, *Caska*; this, *Cinna*; and this, *Metellus Cymber*.

Brut. They are all welcome.

What watchfull Cares doe interpose themselues

115

Betwixt your Eyes, and Night?

Cass. Shall I entreat a word? *They whisper.*

Decius. Here lyes the East: doth not the Day breake
heere?

119

112. *this, Cinna*] *Cinna, this Cap.* ...Cymber. Rowe, +, Varr. Mal. Ran.
and *this,*] and *this our friend,* Steev. Varr. Sing. i. Coll. Wh. i.
Wordsworth. 115. *themselues*] Om. Steev. conj.,
112, 113. As two lines, ending: *Cinna* ending line with *Betwixt*.

112. *this, Cinna . . . this, Metellus*] JOHN HUNTER: The line would read better by omitting the word 'this' before 'Cinna' and 'Metellus Cymber,' and supposing Cassius to point out these persons by some indication of the hand.

118. *Here lyes the East*] RYMER (p. 152): One may note that all our author's Senators and his orators had their learning and education at the same school, be they Venetians, black-amoores, ottomites, or noble Romans. Brutus, here, may cap sentences with Brabantio, and the Doge of Venice, or any magnifico of them all. . . . Here the Roman Senators the midnight before Cæsar's death (met in the garden of Brutus . . .) are gazing up to the stars, and have no more in their heads than to wrangle about which is the East and West. This is directly, as Bayes tells us, *to show the world a pattern here, how men should talk of business*. But it would be a wrong to the Poet not to inform the reader that, on the stage, the spectators see Brutus and Cassius all this while at whisper together. That is the importance, that deserves all the attention. But the *grand question* would be: Does the *Audience hear 'em whisper?*—THEOBALD: I cannot help having the utmost contempt for this poor ill-judg'd Sneer [by Rymer]. It shows the height of good manners and politeness in the conspirators, while Brutus and Cassius whisper, to start any occasional topic, and talk *extempore*; rather than seem to listen to, or be desirous of overhearing, what Cassius draws Brutus aside for. And, if I am not mistaken, there is a piece of art shewn in this whisper which our Caviller either did not, or would not, see into. The audience are already apprized of the subject on which the faction meet; and, therefore, this whisper is an artifice, to prevent the preliminaries, of what they knew beforehand, being formally repeated.—KNIGHT (*Studies*, p. 413): Other poets would have made the inferior men exchange oaths, and cross swords, and whisper, and ejaculate. He makes everything depend upon the determination of Brutus and Cassius. . . . Is this nature? The truest and most profound nature. The minds of all men thus disencumber themselves, in the

Cask. No.

120

Cin. O pardon, Sir, it doth ; and yon grey Lines,
That fret the Clouds, are Messengers of Day.

122

121. *yon*] *yond*' Coll. *yon'* Wh. i.

moments of the most anxious suspense, from the pressure of an overwhelming thought. There is a real relief if some accidental circumstance . . . can produce this disposition of the mind to go out of itself for an instant or two of forgetfulness. —MARK HUNTER: Thus Hamlet, waiting on the castle platform for the appearance of his father's spirit, speaks first of the coldness of the night, and then falls to moralise on Danish customs which are 'more honoured in the breach than the observance.'

122. *fret the Clouds*] In the Shakspeare Society *Transactions* for 1877-78, p. 410, appears a letter from RUSKIN to FURNIVALL on the meaning of 'fret' in this line; after a few remarks—characteristically depreciatory of human intelligence in the nineteenth century—Ruskin says: 'The root of the whole matter is, first, that the reader should have seen what he has often heard of, but probably not *seen* twice in his life—"Daybreak." Next, it is needful he should think what "break" means *in* that word—what is broken, namely, and by what. That is to say, the cloud of night is Broken up, as a city is broken up (Jerusalem, when Zedekiah fled), as a school breaks up, as a constitution, or a ship is broken up; in every case with a not inconsiderable change of idea, and in addition to the central word. The breaking up is done by the Day, which breaks—*out*, as a man breaks, or bursts *out*, from his restraint in a passion; breaks *down* in tears; or breaks *in*, as from heaven to earth—with a breach in the cloud wall of it; or breaks *out*—with sense of *outwards*—as the sun—out and out, farther and farther, after rain. Well; next, the thing that the day breaks up is partly a garment, *rent*, more than broken; a *mantle*, the day itself "in russet mantle clad"—the blanket of the dark, *torn* to be peeped through—whereon instantly you get into a whole host of new ideas; *fretting*, as a moth *frets* a garment; unravelling at the edge, afterwards; thence you get into fringe, which is an entirely double word, meaning partly a thing that guards, and partly a thing that is worn away on the ground; the French *Frang* has, I believe, a reminiscence of *φράσσω* in it—our fringe runs partly towards *frico* and friction—both are essentially connected with *frango*, and the fringe of breakers at the shores of all seas, and the breaking of the ripples and foam all over them—but this is wholly different in a northern mind, which has only seen the sea "Break, break, break on its cold gray stones"—and a southern, which has seen a hot sea on hot sand break into lightning of phosphor flame—half a mile of fire in an instant—following in time, like the flash of minute guns. Then come the great new ideas of order and time, and—"I did but tell her she mistook her *frets*,"—and so the timely succession of either ball, flower, or lentil, in architecture: but this, again, going off to a totally different and still lovely idea, the main one in the word *aurifrigium* . . . going back, nobody knows how far, but to the Temple of the Dew of Athens, and gold of Mycenæ, anyhow; and in Etruria to the Deluge, I suppose. Well then, the notion of the music of morning comes in—with strings of lyre (or frets of Katharine's instrument, whatever it was) and stops of various *quills*; which gets us into another group beginning with *plectrum*, going aside again into *plico* and *plight*, and Milton's "Play in the plighted clouds," . . . and so on into the *plight* of folded drapery,—and round again to our blanket. I think

Cæs. You shall confesse, that you are both deceiu'd: 123
 Heere, as I point my Sword, the Sunne arises,
 Which is a great way growing on the South, 125
 Weighing the youthfull Scafon of the yeare.
 Some two moneths hence, vp higher toward the North
 He first presents his fire, and the high East
 Stands as the Capitoll, directly heere. 129

127. *moneths*] *months* F₄.

that is enough to sketch out the compass of the word. Of course, the real power of it in any place depends on the writer's grasp of it, and use of the facet he wants to cut with.'

122. **Messengers of Day**] THE COWDEN-CLARKES (*Sh. Key*, p. 176): By keeping well before the spectator the presence of night, supervening upon afternoon and evening, and then the gradual approach of dawn, of morning, and of day, the dramatist has magically contrived to bring on the date of Cæsar's death in Act III, even while linking it subtly with the very date the dictator was offered and refused the crown of Rome in Act I.; so that a whole month is *illusorily* passed, while but the passing from one day to the next is actually accounted for. [DOWDEN (p. 295) also calls attention to this device of Shakespeare to mark 'the passage of time up to the moment of Cæsar's death.']

124. **as I point my Sword**] ABBOTT (§ 112): [In this sentence] 'as' is used for *where*.

125. **Which is a great way**, etc.] CRAIK (p. 215): The commentators, who flood us with their explanations of many easier passages, have not a word to say upon this. *Cæsca* means that the point of sunrise is as yet far to the south (of east), weighing (that is, taking into account or on account of) the unadvanced period of the year.

125. **growing on the South**] O. F. ADAMS: It is curious that no commentator has noted that on the 15th of March, or previous to the vernal equinox, the sun would not rise at all to the *south* of the true east, but a little to the *northward* of that point.—F. A. MARSHALL: It should be noted that during this and the preceding speech the change from night to early dawn is supposed to take place; but even in Italy, in the middle of March it would not be light at three o'clock in the morning. [See l. 215.]

129. **Stands as the Capitoll**] WRIGHT: It is worth remarking that the Tower, which would be the building in London most resembling the Capitol to Shakespeare's mind, was as nearly as possible due east of the Globe Theatre on Bankside. There is no reason to suppose that he troubled himself about the relative positions of Brutus's house and the Capitol, even if the site of the former were known.—MARK HUNTER says, in reference to the foregoing note by Wright, 'It is a doubtful question whether *Jul. Cæs.* was first acted at the Globe Theatre or at either of the Bankside theatres. Between 1595 and 1599 Shakespeare's company occupied the stages of the Curtain and of the Theatre in Shoreditch. The Globe was built in 1599. *Jul. Cæs.* seems to have been acted about that time, and possibly before the completion of the Globe. But wherever the players may have been, the conspirators, whom they represented, when they met in the house of

Bru. Give me your hands all over, one by one. 130

Cas. And let vs sweare our Resolution.

Brut. No, not an Oath : if not the Face of men, 132

130. [He takes their hands. Coll.

Han. *if that...fate* Warb. Sing. ii, Ktly.

132-154. Mnemonic Warb.

if not...faiths Mal. conj. *if not...fears*

132. *if not...Face* *if that...face* Theob.

Cartwright. *if not...yoke* Herr.

Brutus were, in the imagination of every spectator, far away from London, near the Tiber, not the Thames.'

132. *if not the Face of men*] **WARBURTON**: What is 'the face of men'? Did he mean they had honest looks? This was a poor and low observation unworthy of Brutus, and the occasion, and the grandeur of his speech. Besides, it is foreign to the motives he enumerates; . . . but 'the face of men,' not being one of these motives, must needs be a corrupt reading. Shakespeare, without question, wrote: *the fate of men*, or of mankind, which, in the ideas of a Roman, was involved in the fate of their Republic.—**THEOBALD**, in a letter to Warburton, dated 14th Feb., 1749, says: 'If Brutus meant by this, *gentlemen, you have very good faces* (as you expound it), this would be a very bad motive. But I look upon this to be the sense: if that *dejection* which appears in your countenances, that insuppressible sorrow which you cannot hide, joined to the sufferance of your souls, &c., be weak motives, &c. And this, I think, makes a true climax: and the progression from face to soul seems to heighten the dignity of the passion' (Nichols, ii, 494).—**HEATH** (p. 440): 'The face of men,' that is, If that the face of our fellow citizens, which we should never for the future be able to look up to without the most insupportable confusion, after having, by our treachery, defeated an enterprize, on the success of which the preservation of our common liberties and the very existence of the republic absolutely depends, is a weak motive, insufficient to secure our fidelity to our engagement, etc.—**JOHNSON**: That is, *the countenance, the regard, the esteem of the public*; or 'the face of men' may mean: the *dejected look of the people*.—**CAPEL** (i, 102): The suspension of voice at 'abuse' shows that something is wanting, and directs to that something; which is also conveyed in the words that follow, not direct but obliquely; giving us what we see instead of—*if these be not sufficiently strong*, its right connection with 'not.' The enumeration itself proceeds rightly, in a progress from strong to stronger; the topic it opens with is enforced again with great energy at the speech's conclusion, which shews its weight with the speaker.—**STEEVENS**: So Tully, *In Catilinam*, 'Nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt?' [*Oratio*, i, l. 7]. Shakespeare formed this speech on the following passage in North's Plutarch: [The conspirators] 'having never taken oaths together, nor taken or given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves together by any religious oaths,' [ed. Skeat, p. 114].—**M. MASON** believes that we should read *faith of men*, because of what Brutus says in lines 142-158, 'which prove,' says Mason, 'that Brutus considered the faith of men as their firmest security in each other.'—**MALONE** observes that Shakespeare 'perhaps imitates the abruptness and inaccuracy of discourse,' and has constructed 'the latter part of the sentence without any regard to the beginning.' Referring to Mason's proposal *faith*, he adds that '*faiths* is more likely to have been the word from confusion by the ear.'—**CRAIK** (p. 125): There seems to be no great difficulty in the old reading, understood as meaning the looks of men. It is preferable, at any rate, to anything which it has been proposed to substitute.—**DOWDEN** (p. 295): It is characteristic of Brutus that

The sufferance of our Soules, the times Abuse ; 133
 If these be Motiues weake, breake off betimes,
 And euery man hence, to his idle bed : 135
 So let high-fighted-Tyranny range on,
 Till each man drop by Lottery. But if these
 (As I am sure they do) beare fire enough
 To kindle Cowards, and to Steele with valour
 The melting Spirits of women. Then Countrymen, 140
 What neede we any spurre, but our owne cause,
 To prick vs to redresse ? What other Bond,
 Then secret Romans, that haue spoke the word,
 And will not palter ? And what other Oath, 144

136. *high-fighted*] *high-sieged* Warb.
 conj. (withdrawn). *high-seated* Theob.
 conj.

140. *women. Then*] *women; Then* Ff,
 Rowe, +.

he will allow no oath to be taken by the conspirators. He who has been all his life cultivating reliance on the will apart from external props, cannot now fall back for support upon the objective bond of a vow or pledge.—VERITY accepts Heath's interpretation of 'face,' *i. e.*, the shame which each would feel from the reproachful looks of the world, if he were a traitor to the cause; and adds: 'The unsuspicious character of Brutus, who thinks others as noble-minded as himself, is clearly brought out in this speech.'

133. *the times Abuse*.] PERCY SIMPSON (*Sh. Punctuation*, p. 61): The semicolon serves to mark a sudden pause, or a break in the construction.

134. *If . . . Motiues weake*] WRIGHT: [The negative required in this sentence is contained in] the negative idea put into the word 'weak' instead of being directly expressed.

136. *high-sighted-Tyranny*] WRIGHT: That is, tyranny with lofty looks. There seems to be an implied comparison of tyranny to an eagle or bird of prey, whose keen eye discovers its victim from the highest pitch of its flight. We have the same figure in I, i, 82-84, and although the primary meaning of 'high-sighted' may be *proud, supercilious*, there is a secondary meaning in keeping with the comparison of tyranny to a bird of prey. That this comparison seems to be intended appears to me to be confirmed by the occurrence of the word 'range,' which is technically used of hawks and falcons flying in search of game. Turberville (*Booke of Falconrie*) says of eagles: 'In like sort they take other beastes, and sundry times doe roue and range abroad to beat and seaze on Goates, Kiddes, and Fawnes.'—p. 23.

137. *Till each . . . by Lottery*] STEEVENS: Perhaps the poet alluded to the custom of *decimation*, *i. e.*, the selection by lot of every tenth soldier, in a general mutiny, for punishment. He speaks of this in *Coriol.*, 'By decimation and a tithed death, Take thou thy fate.'—[JOHN HUNTER corrects Steevens's reference; the line quoted is from *Timon*, V, v, 31; he adds that 'the allusion to decimation does not seem sufficiently warranted,' which is likewise the opinion of the present Ed.]

144. *palter*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. verb, II, 3): To shift, shuffle, equivocate,

Then Honesty to Honesty ingag'd, 145
 That this shall be, or we will fall for it.
 Swear Priests and Cowards, and men Cautelous
 Old feeble Carrions, and such suffering Soules
 That welcome wrongs : Vnto bad causes, sweare
 Such Creatures as men doubt; but do not staine 150

146. *il.*] *il?* Theob. et seq.150. *staine*] *strain* Warb. conj.147. *Cautelous*] *Cautelous*, F₁F₄.

prevaricate in statement or dealing; to deal crookedly or evasively; to play fast and loose, use trickery. [The present line quoted as earliest use.]

147. **Cautelous**] Both STEEVENS and MALONE interpret 'cautelous,' as here used, in the sense of *cautious*, *wary*, *circumspect*.—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) furnishes examples, as does Steevens also, of this meaning, but Murray likewise gives others wherein 'cautelous' means *crafty*, *full of deceit*; and Wright thus interprets it, remarking that 'the transition from caution to suspicion, and from suspicion to craft and deceit is not very abrupt.'—In corroboration of this interpretation we may take what Brutus says, 'Unto bad causes swear Such creatures as men doubt,' which would not apply to men who are cautious and circumspect.—Ed.

150-154. **do not staine . . . neede an Oath**] WARBURTON: The opinion that the cause or actors wanted an oath to hold them together cannot be called a stain, because it doth not necessarily imply a suspicion of the honesty of either; or if such an opinion did necessarily imply such a suspicion, yet such suspicion could not stain the honesty of either, as an oath is no unjust means of union; for it is only an unjust means used for a good end that can be said to stain that end. Admitting such an opinion might be called a stain, yet the metaphor here employed will not allow the use of the term. For the expression of 'insuppressive mettle' alludes to the elastic quality of steel, which, being beyond its tone, loses its spring, and thereby becomes incapable of keeping that machine in motion which it is designed to actuate. We must, therefore, read, 'do not *strain*,' that is, beyond its natural and proper tone; the consequence of which will be the stopping the motion of the whole machine.—HEATH (p. 440): Nothing can be plainer than the sense of this passage, the expression of which, as well as the sentiment, is extremely fine. . . . If the reader hath a mind to divert himself with a most remarkable instance of a man ensnared in the nets of his own subtilty, and puzzled to that degree that he neither knows where he is, what he is about, nor what he says, I would recommend to him Warburton's note on this place. . . . He is to prove that the suspicion of want of honesty could not stain the honesty of the cause or the actors, and he labours only to prove that it could not stain the end the actors proposed to themselves. And how doth he prove it? By asserting that the means towards attaining that end were not unjust; as if no means that were not strictly speaking unjust, whatever meanness of spirit they might betray, could imprint a stain. But what have we to do with means or end? The question is simply, Whether an avowed distrust of a man's honesty doth not reflect an imputation on it? and, Whether that imputation may not properly be called a stain upon it? Common sense and common language concur in avouching that it may. For though no suspicion or imputation can alter the real nature of things, they may greatly alter their external appearance, and, like a spot on a garment, lessen their estimation

The euen vertue of our Enterprize, 151
 Nor th'insuppreffiue Mettle of our Spirits,
 To thinke, that or our Cause, or our Performance
 Did neede an Oath. When euery drop of blood 154

154. *Did*] *Doth* Han.154. *Oath.* *When*] *oath*; *when* Cap.
et seq.

in the eye of the world. . . . One would think it scarce possible to crowd so many absurdities and inconsistencies into so narrow a compass [as in the last paragraph of his note]. First, he confounds 'mettle,' that is, *vigour*, *activity*, with *metal*, and mistakes the one for the other. Next, he interprets 'insuppressive' to signify the same as elastic, what is easily bent and kept down, though it will recover itself as soon as the force that kept it down is removed, and not before; whereas, in truth, it signifies the direct contrary, what is not to be bent or kept under by any force whatever. Then this insuppressive mettle is become all on a sudden so exceedingly suppressive, that if you clog it only with the addition of an oath, it is overstrained, its spring is lost, its power destroyed, and it is reduced to a state utterly unactive and useless. Lastly, for it is time to have done, the interpretation resulting from this admirable reasoning is perfectly of a piece with it. Whereas Shakespeare contented himself with saying, That to suppose their union needed an oath, to secure their fidelity and steadiness in the prosecution of their enterprize, would be to tarnish the lustre, both of the cause they were engaged in, and of that undaunted courage which prompted them to undertake it; Warburton makes him say: That their courage was such, that while they continued unsworn it could not fail of supporting them, but the moment they added to it the artificial bond of an oath, that oath would infallibly overstrain that courage, and by so doing destroy its virtue and efficacy, and render the whole motion of their enterprize motionless and ineffectual. Is there any one sentiment of Mr Bayes in *The Rehearsal* which comes up to this for sublimity of nonsense?—HERAUD (p. 372): Here is apparent the weakness of Brutus in having associated with minds so much beneath his own; and this weakness soon shows itself constitutional in his objecting to admit the participation of a superior or equal mind. He will not take Cicero into his counsel. Nor will he go all lengths with his confederates, but insists on sparing Antony, and by so doing ruins his cause. . . . As it is, the catastrophe of the tragedy grows out of the failings of Brutus, which though 'they leaned to virtue's side,' were still failings, and fatal both to his friends and his country.

151. *euen . . . Enterprize*] MALONE: That is, the calm, equable, temperate spirit that actuates us.

152. *insuppressive*] JOHN HUNTER: 'Insuppressive' ought to mean *not having a tendency to suppress*; and such may be the meaning here; the mettle of our spirits not at all disposed to restrain us from deeds 'of honourable dangerous consequence.' When 'or' is used for *either* [as in the next line], it should be pronounced more emphatically than the 'or' following. 'Our cause' has reference to the 'even virtue,' and 'our performance' has reference to the 'insuppressive metal.' [For examples of adjectives ending in *ive*, used in a passive sense, see WALKER, *Crit.*, i, 179.]

154. *Did neede an Oath.*] PERCY SIMPSON (*Sh. Punctuation*, p. 79): The colon and semicolon served for heavier stopping in a run of commas; and on the same principle, if these had been already employed and it was necessary to mark a

That euery Roman beares, and Nobly beares 155
 Is guilty of a feuerall Bastardie,
 If he do breake the smallest Particle
 Of any promise that hath past from him.

Cas. But what of *Cicero*? Shall we found him?

I thinke he will stand very strong with vs. 160

Cask. Let vs not leaue him out.

Cyn. No, by no meanes.

Metel. O let vs haue him, for his Siluer haire
 Will purchase vs a good opinion :
 And buy mens voyces, to commend our deeds : 165
 It shall be sayd, his iudgement rul'd our hands,
 Our youths, and wildenesse, shall no whit appeare,
 But all be buried in his Grauity.

Bru. O name him not; let vs not breake with him,
 For he will neuer follow any thing 170
 That other men begin.

157. *do*] *dolt* F₄, Rowc, +.

169. *with him,*] *with him.* F₃F₄.

164. *opinion:*] *opinion.* F₃F₄.

stronger pause, a full stop could be used even for an unfinished sentence. In such cases the sense was a sufficient guide. [Compare V, iii, 34, and note.]

161. *Cask. Let vs not, etc.*] MARK HUNTER (*Introd.*, p. cxliii.): Casca's pretended self-dependence is the last quality that can be ascribed to him. No one could more quickly adopt the sentiments and enthusiasms of others. [Here, for example,] Cassius diffidently suggests that Cicero should be sounded. 'Let us not leave him out,' Casca chimes in. Cassius abandons his proposal in deference to Brutus's opinion. 'Indeed, he is not fit,' is Casca's emphatic comment.

163. *his Siluer haire*] JOHN HUNTER: Cicero was born in the same year as Pompey, viz., 104 B. C.; he was now, therefore, about sixty years old. Observe the play of words between 'silver' and the following verbs, 'purchase' and 'buy.'

168. *buried in his Grauity*] Is there here, not exactly a play upon words, so much as an association of ideas, suggested by the words *bury* and *grave*?—Ed.

169. *breake with him*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Verb*, 22): To break one's mind (heart): to deliver or reveal what is in one's mind. *To break news*, a matter, a secret: to make it known, disclose, divulge it; now implying caution and delicacy. [b.] Hence, intransitive to break with (rarely to a person) of or concerning (a thing). *Two Gent.*: 'I am to breake with thee of some affaires.'—III, i, 59.

170, 171. *he will neuer . . . other men begin*] Plutarch is, I think, Shakespeare's authority for this trait in the character of Cicero; he says: 'And now when Cicero, full of expectation, was again bent upon political affairs, a certain oracle blunted the edge of his inclination; for consulting the god of Delphi how he should attain most glory, the Pythoness answered, by making his own genius and not the opinion of the people the guide of his life.'—(*Life of Cicero*, § 5). Niebuhr, referring to this passage from Plutarch, remarks: 'If this is an invention, it was

Cas. Then leaue him out.

172

Cask. Indeed, he is not fit.

Decius. Shall no man else be toucht, but onely *Cæsar*?

Cas. *Decius* well vrg'd : I thinke it is not meet,

175

Marke Antony, so well belou'd of *Cæsar*,

Should out-liue *Cæsar*, we shall finde of him

A shrew'd Contriuer. And you know, his meanes

If he improue them, may well stretch so farre

As to annoy vs all : which to preuent,

180

Let *Antony* and *Cæsar* fall together.

Bru. Our course will feeme too bloody, *Caius Cæsius*, 182

173, 174. *Cask.* *Indeed...Decius.*
Shall...] *Dec.* *Indeed...Shall...* Hanmer.

175. *Decius]* *Decimus Han.*
178. *shrew'd]* *shrew'd* F₃F₄.

174. *touch]* *touch'd* F₄.

certainly made by one who saw very deeply, and perceived the real cause of all Cicero's sufferings. If the Pythia did give such an answer, then this is one of the oracles which might tempt us to believe in an actual inspiration of the priestess.'—(iii, 31). Merivale (iii, 150) says of Cicero: 'When we read the vehement claims which Cicero put forth to the honour of association, however tardy, with the glories and dangers of Cæsar's assassins, we should deem the conspirators guilty of a monstrous oversight in having neglected to enlist him in their design were we not assured that he was not to be trusted as a confederate either for good or for evil.'—ED.

177. of him] For other examples of 'of' thus used for *in*, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 172.

178. Contriuer] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 1): One who ingeniously or artfully devises the effecting of anything; one who effects by plotting or scheming; a schemer, plotter. [The present line quoted.]

179. improue] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 2. e): To make good use of, to turn to good account (an action, occurrence, event, season, time; now usually with *occasion*, *opportunity*, or the like). [Murray, among other examples, quotes, 'How doth the little busy bee Improve each shining hour.'—Watts, *Divine Songs*, xx.]

182. Our course . . . too bloody] FERRERO (ii, 349): It was not Brutus, with his scruples against the shedding of Roman blood, that saved him [Antony], but more probably the reflection that the simultaneous disappearance of the two Consuls would have prevented the immediate restoration of the old constitution. No doubt they also hoped that so recent a convert to the party of tyranny would return to his old allies on the death of the Dictator.—[Cicero in his letters, ed. Shuckburgh, refers to this mistake of the conspirators in sparing Antony. For example, writing to Atticus from Arpinum, 24 May, B. C. 44, he says: 'Antony's policy—as you describe it—is revolutionary, and I hope he will carry it out by popular vote rather than by decree of the Senate! I think he will do so. . . . You say you don't know what our men are to do. Well, that difficulty has been troubling me all along. Accordingly, I was a fool, I now see, to be consoled by the Ides of March. The fact is, we showed the courage of men, the prudence of children. The tree was felled, but not cut up by the roots. Accordingly, you see how it is

To cut the Head off, and then hacke the Limbes : 183
 Like Wrath in death, and Enuy afterwards :
 For *Antony*, is but a Limbe of *Cæsar*. 185
 Let's be Sacrificers, but not Butchers *Caius* :
 We all stand vp against the spirit of *Cæsar*,
 And in the Spirit of men, there is no blood :
 O that we then could come by *Cæsars* Spirit,
 And not difmember *Cæsar* ! But (alas) 190
Cæsar must bleed for it. And gentle Friends,
 Let's kill him Boldly, but not Wrathfully :
 Let's carue him, as a Dish fit for the Gods,
 Not hew him as a Carkasse fit for Hounds: 194

186. *Let's*] Ff, Rowe, Dyce, Sta. Pope, Han.
Let us Pope et cet. 188. *men*] *man* Pope.+.
not] no Var. '03, '13. 189. *Spirit*] *Spirits* Ff, Rowe.
Caius] *Cassius* Rowe. Om. 191-197. Mnemonic Warb.

sprouting up.'—*Letter* 731, vol. iv, p. 55. Again, writing to C. Cassius, from Rome, between the 2 and 9th of October in the same year, Cicero says: '—that madman [Antony] asserts that I was the head and front of that most glorious deed of yours. Would that I had been! He would not have been troubling us now. But it is you and your fellows who are responsible for this: and since it is past and done with, I only wish I had some advice to give you.'—*Letter* 738, iv, 55. In another letter to C. Cassius, written from Rome on the 2nd of February, in the next year, B. C. 43, Cicero says: 'I could wish that you had invited me to the banquet of the Ides of March; there would have been nothing left over! As it is, your leavings give me much trouble—yes, me more than anybody.' He repeats almost these same words in his letter to Trebonius written on the same day.—*Letters* 815 and 816, iv, 174, 175.—Ed.]

189. O that . . . *Cæsars Spirit*] GENEË (p. 343): This is, however, a bad piece of sophistry with which Brutus dooms the deed itself. The sequel shows that the spirit of Cæsar was unassailable by the swords of his opponents. It proved worst of all for Brutus; and what caused his downfall before all the others was the disunion in his own well-conditioned nature, a disunion which laid him open to inconsistencies and political mistakes.

191. *Cæsar must bleed*] MALONE: Lord Stirling has the same thought. Brutus, remonstrating against the taking of Antony, says: 'Ah! Ah! we must but too much murder see, That without doing evil cannot do good; And would the gods that Rome could be made free, Without the effusion of one drop of blood.'

193. fit for the Gods] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 294): Is 'fit' here the past participle, *i. q. fitted*? So in *Tam. of Shr.*, Ind., i, 87: '—but sure, that part Was aptly fit, and naturally perform'd,' not *fitted*.

194. Not hew him, etc.] MALONE: Compare Plutarch, 'Cæsar turned himselfe no where but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters,' [ed. Skeat, p. 101].—MACMILLAN: Brutus's idea of killing Cæsar reverently was not realised.

And let our Hearts, as subtle Masters do,
 Stirre vp their Scruants to an acte of Rage,
 And after seeme to chide 'em. This shall make
 Our purpose Necessary, and not Enuious.
 Which so appearing to the common eyes,
 We shall be call'd Purgers, not Murderers.
 And for *Marke Antony*, thinke not of him :
 For he can do no more then *Cæsars* Arine,
 When *Cæsars* head is off.

Caf. Yet I feare him,¹

For in the ingrafted loue he beares to *Cæsar*.
 205

197. 'em] F₂. Coll. Craik, Dyce, Sta.
 Wh. Hal. Cam. +, Huds. em F₃. them
 F₄ et cet.

make] mark Coll ii. (MS), Craik,
 Huds. iii.

200. call'd Purgers] purgers called Sta.
 conj.

202, 203. Cæsars] Cæsar's F₄.

204. I feare] I do fear Pope, +
 (—Var. '73), Cap. Steev. Varr. Sing. i,
 Craik, Ktly

204, 205. him, For] him For Leo.

205. in] Om. Pope, Han.

the] th' Theob. Warb. Johns.

Cæsar.] Cæsar— Rowe et seq.

195. as subtle Masters do] HUDSON cites the scene wherein King John blames Hubert for his too hasty obedience in putting Arthur to death (*King John*, IV, ii, 208 et seq.).—VERRY, beside this scene from *King John*, cites also those in *Rich. II*, wherein Bolingbroke 'rebukes Exton for murdering Richard, after having instigated him to the deed' (V, iv. and vi.). He adds also that 'Elizabeth has been credited with an attempt to pursue the same policy in regard to Mary Queen of Scots.'

197. This shall make] CRAIK (p. 226): The old reading . . . is sense, if at all, only on the assumption that 'make' is here equivalent to *make to seem*.—JOHN HUNTER: Observe the force of 'shall'; it is not simply reference to futurity which Brutus expresses, for in that case *will* should have been the auxiliary; there is an idea of planning or intending involved, as if he had said, 'Let this be our procedure in order to make,' etc. The next assertion, 'we shall be called,' is simple anticipation, for which 'shall' in the first person is appropriate. Compare the use of 'shall' in the speech of Metellus, I. 166, 'It shall be said' means *let us have it said*.

198. Enuious] That is, *malignant, spiteful*. Compare 'See what a rent the envious Casca made.'—III, ii, 185; and for other examples see, if needful, SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 1).

199. so appearing to the common eyes] MARSHALL: This is very characteristic advice, and shows that Brutus was quite fit to be the leader of a political party which claimed to be the 'popular' one. But it appears that all the great actors who played the part of Brutus and, naturally enough, sought to make him a sympathetic character, have always omitted this passage on the stage; as well they might, considering their object.

204. Yet I feare him] KNIGHT: The pause, which naturally occurs before Cassius offers an answer to the impassioned argument of Brutus, would be most decidedly marked by a proper reader or actor; yet Pope and other editors read *do fear*, to make out the metre.

205. For in . . . to Cæsar] CRAIK (p. 227): The manner in which this line is

Bru. Alas, good *Cassius*, do not thinke of him : 206
 If he loue *Cæsar*, all that he can do
 Is to himselfe; take thought, and dye for *Cæsar*,
 And that were much he should : for he is giuen
 To sports, to wildenesse, and much company. 210
Treb. There is no feare in him; let him not dye,

208. *himselfe; take] himselfe, take* F₃F₄, Rowe, Theob. Han. Craik. *himself*
take Pope. *himself,—take* Knt, Dyce, Sta.

given in the Folio shows that the printer, or so-called editor, had no notion of what the words meant, or whether they had any meaning, in his exhibition of them; with a full point after 'Cæsar,' they have none.—[May it not be that 'in' is here due to the compositor's anticipating the first syllable of 'ingrafted,' the next word but one? Its omission makes the line metrically correct.—ED.]

208. *take thought, and dye]* STEEVENS compares 'What shall we do, Enobarbus? *Eno.* Think and die.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, III, xiii, 1, 2. On this line in *Ant. & Cleo.* TOLLET observes that the expression of *taking thought*, in our old English writers, is equivalent to *the being anxious or solicitous*, or laying a thing *much to heart*.—CRAIK (p. 227): *To think*, or to 'take thought,' seems to have been formerly used in the sense of to give way to sorrow and despondency. [In the notes on the line quoted from *Ant. & Cleo.* in the *New Variorum Edition*, the Editor, after giving the foregoing observation by Craik, remarks: 'Possibly, our most familiar quotation is, "Take no thought for the morrow."—*Matthew*, vi, 34.'—ED.]—MACCALLUM (p. 248) quotes a passage from Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* (ed. Skcat, p. 119), wherein is given Brutus's argument against the slaying of Antony, that there was a hope of reformation in him and that 'when he should knowe that Cæsar was dead [he] would willingly helpe his countrie to recover her libertie.' 'In this hope,' adds MacCallum, 'of converting a *rusé* libertine like Antony, there is no doubt a hint of idealism, but it is not so marked as in the high-pitched magnanimity of Shakespeare's Brutus, who denies a man's powers of mischief because his life is loose.'—[Brutus's argument is, I think, not that Antony is harmless on account of his loose morals, but that, since he is such a man, it would be too much to expect that he would 'take thought and die for Cæsar.'—ED.]

209. *much]* BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. g.): *Used predicatively.* To be much: to be a great thing, an important point, matter, etc. *Temp.*, I, ii, 252: 'Thou . . . thinkst it much to tread the ooze of the salt deepe.'

209, 210. *he is giuen To sports]*—the noblemen (as Cicero saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wasteful expenses upon vain light huswives.—Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, § 5; ed. Skcat, p. 161.

211. *no feare in him]* WRIGHT: That is, no cause of fear, nothing formidable. In Plutarch, Trebonius is represented as averse to the proposal that Antony should be admitted into the confidence of the conspirators, but it is Brutus who will not consent to kill him.—MACMILLAN: Trebonius was a friend of Antony's. He therefore wishes to save his life, and is employed to keep him out of the way at the time of the assassination. . . . The prophecy of Trebonius is fulfilled, but not in the way that he intended. No doubt Antonius afterwards laughed at the folly of the conspirators in sparing him, who was to be Cæsar's avenger.

For he will liue, and laugh at this heereafter.

212

Clocke strikes.

Bru. Peace, count the Clocke.

Caſ. The Clocke hath ſtricken three.

215

Tru. 'Tis time to part.

Caſſ. But it is doubtfull yet,

Whether *Cæſar* will come forth to day, or no :

For he is Superſtitious growne of late,

219

215. *ſtricken*] *strucken* Var. '78, '85, '73). *Whe'r* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing. i.

218. *Whether*] *If* Pope, + (—Var.

213. *Clocke strikes*] JOHN HUNTER: This is one of Shakespeare's anachronistic licences or inadvertencies: the use of clocks and watches was unknown to the Romans; but they had sun dials and clepsydræ at the time to which this play refers.

219. *he is Superstitious growne*] DE QUINCY (p. 24): No mob could be more abjectly servile than was that of Rome to the superstition of portents, prodigies, and omens. Thus far, in common with his order and in this sense, Julius Cæsar was naturally a despiser of superstition. Mere strength of understanding would, perhaps, have made him such in any age, and apart from the circumstances of his personal history. But this natural tendency would doubtless receive a further bias in the same direction from the office of Pontifex Maximus, which he held at an early stage of his public career. This office, by letting him too much behind the curtain, and exposing too entirely the base machinery of ropes and pulleys, which sustained the miserable jugglery played off upon the popular credulity, impressed him perhaps even unduly with contempt for those who could be its dupes. . . . We find that though sincerely a despiser of superstition, and with a frankness which must sometimes have been hazardous in that age, Cæsar was himself also superstitious. No man could have been otherwise who lived and conversed with that generation and people. But if superstitious, he was so after a mode of his own. . . . That he placed some confidence in dreams, for instance, is certain; because had he slighted them unreservedly he would not have dwelt upon them afterwards, or have troubled himself to recall their circumstances. Here we trace his human weakness. Yet again we are reminded that it was the weakness of Cæsar; for the dreams were noble in their imagery, and Cæsarean (so to speak) in their tone of moral feeling. Thus, for example, the night before he was assassinated he dreamt at intervals that he was soaring above the clouds on wings, and that he placed his hand within the right hand of Jove. . . . We are told that Calpurnia dreamed on the same night, and to the same ominous result. The circumstances of *her* dream are less striking, because less figurative; but on that account its import was less open to doubt. . . . Laying all these omens together, Cæsar would have been more or less than human had he continued utterly undepressed by them. And if so much superstition as even this implies must be taken to argue some little weakness, on the other hand, let it not be forgotten that this very weakness does but the more illustrate the unusual force of mind, and the heroic will, which obstinately laid aside these concurring prefigurations of impending destruction. [On the subject of Cæsar's superstition see also Merivale, ii, 353. De Quincy has, I think, obtained his information from Suetonius, who mentions both Cæsar's and

Quite from the maine Opinion he held once, 220
Of Fantasie, of Dreames, and Ceremonies :

It may be, these apparant Prodigies,
The vnaccustom'd Terror of this night,
And the perfwasion of his Augurers,
May hold him from the Capitoll to day. 225

Decius. Neuer feare that : If he be so resolu'd,
I can ore-sway him : For he loucs to heare,
That Vnicornes may be betray'd with Trees,
And Beares with Glassses,} Elephants with Holes,} 229

220. *maine*] mean M. Mason.

227. *ore-sway*] o're-sway F₄.

221. *Fantasie*] fantasies Han.

227-232. *For...flattered*] Mnemonic

223. *Terror*] terrors Coll. MS (ap. Warb. Cam.).

Calpurnia's dreams (*Cæsar*, ch. 81); Plutarch, the earliest historian, mentions Calpurnia's only (*Cæsar*, ch. 43); as likewise does Appian; Dion Cassius ascribes both dreams to Calpurnia (Bk. xlv, ch. 17).—ED.]

220. *maine Opinion*] JOHNSON: That is, *leading fixed, predominant opinion*.

221. *Fantasie*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 4): Imagination; the process or the faculty of forming mental representations of things not actually present. Also personified. . . . In early use not clearly distinguished from [delusive imagination]; an exercise of poetic imagination being conventionally regarded as accompanied by belief in the reality of what is imagined. [Compare also l. 257 and III, iii, 3.]

221. *Ceremonies*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 5): A portent, omen (drawn from the performance of some rite). [The present line and II, ii, 18 are quoted as examples of this use of 'ceremony'.]

227. *I can ore-sway him*] VERITY calls attention to a reference in Bacon's Essay, *Of Friendship*, to this power of Decimus Brutus to o'ersway Cæsar. [It is, perhaps, also worth noting that this Essay appeared first in the edition of 1607; but when entirely rewritten for the edition of 1625 this paragraph, with many others, was added (Arber, *Harmony of the Essays*, p. 160) perhaps on account of the increasing popularity of the story of Julius Cæsar.—ED.]

228. *That Vnicornes may be, etc.*] STEEVENS: So in Spenser, 'Like as a lyon, whose imperiall powre A prowde rebellious Unicorn defyces, T'auoide the rash assault and wrathfull stowre Of his fiers foe, him to a tree applyes, And when him ronning in full course he spyes, He slips aside; the whiles that furious beast His precious horne, sought of his enmyes, Strikes in the stocke, ne thence can be releast, But to the mighty Victor yields: a bounteous feast.'—Bk. ii, canto v, verse 10. [Steevens also quotes a passage from Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (ed. Pearson, ii, 25), wherein is described the capture of a unicorn by a jeweller who used this same method.—ED.]

229. *Beares with Glasses*] STEEVENS: Bears are reported to have been surprised by means of a mirror, which they would gaze on, affording their pursuers an opportunity of taking the surer aim.—GREY (ii, 176) quotes the following communication from Mr. Smith: '*Glais* or *glas* in French signifies *classicum*; by only changing "holes" into *stoles*, and then making it change places with "trees,"

Lyons with Toyles, and men with Flatterers.

230

But, when I tell him, he hates Flatterers,
He sayes, he does; being then most flattered.

Let me worke :

For i can giue his humour the true bent ;
And I will bring him to the Capitoll.

235

Cæs. Nay, we will all of vs, be there to fetch him.

Bru. By the eight houre, is that the vttermoſt?

Cin. Be that the vttermoſt, and faile not then.

Met. *Caius Ligarius* doth beare *Cæſar* hard,
Who rated him for ſpeaking well of *Pompey* ;
I wonder none of you haue thought of him.

240

Bru. Now good *Metellus* go along by him :
He loues me well, and I haue giuen him Reaſons,

243

231. *Flatterers.*] *ſlotteries* Warb. MS
(ap. Cam.). *ſlatterers*; Craik. *ſlatterers*;
Pope et cet.

232. *ſlattered*] *ſlatterèd* Dyce.

233. *Let me*] *Leave me* to Pope, T^r ob.
Han. Warb. *Let me* to Steev. conj.

Let me alone to work Wordsworth.

237. *eight*] *eighth* F₄.

230 *hard*] *hured* Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Han. Cap.

242. *by*] *to* Pope, +, Cap. Varr.
Ran.

with the alteration of "glasses" to *glas*, we shall probably have it as Shakespeare wrote it.' Grey adds: 'Had Shakespeare wrote *pards* instead of "bears," the image would have been more just with regard to "glasses." The manner of taking them is beautifully described by the ingenious Mr Somerville, *Chace*, Bk, iii, ll. 204 et seq.—WRIGHT: Compare *Batman vpon Bartholome* (ed. 1582, fol. 384 b, of the bear), 'And when he is taken he is made blinde with a bright basin, and bound with chaynes, and compelled to playe.' This, however, probably refers to the actual blinding of the bear. The original Latin has 'pelvis ardentis aspectu excecatur.'

229. **Elephants with Holes**] 'In Africa they take them [elephants] in pit-falls; but as soon as an elephant gets into one, the others immediately collect boughs of trees and pile up heaps of earth, so as to form a mound, and then endeavor with all their might to drag it out.'—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Bk, viii, ch. 8.

231. **But, when I tell him**] CRAIK (p. 230): The import of the 'For,' with which Decius introduces his statement, is not seen till we come to his 'But when,' etc., which, therefore, ought not, as is commonly done, to be separated from what precedes by as strong a point as the colon—the substitute of the modern editors for the full stop of the Folio.

236. **there**] WRIGHT: 'There' must mean at Cæsar's house.

239. **Caius Ligarius**] VERITY: His prænomen was *Quintus*, not 'Caius.' In the *Life of M. Brutus* Plutarch calls him 'Caius,' but *Quintus* in the *Life of Octavius*. Ligarius had taken Pompey's side against Cæsar, and after the battle of Pharsalia was banished from Italy.

239. **beare Cæsar hard**] See I, ii, 337, for a note on the meaning of this phrase.

242. **by him**] MALONE: That is, by his house. Make that your way home.

243. **Reasons**] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 250) gives this as an example of the interpola-

Send him but hither, and Ile fashion him.

Caſ. The morning comes vpon's: 245

Wee'l leaue you *Brutus*,

And Friends diſperſe your ſelues; but all remember

What you haue ſaid, and ſhew your ſelues true Romans.

Bru. Good Gentlemen, looke freſh and merrily,

Let not our lookes put on our purpoſes, 250

But beare it as our Roman Actors do,

With vntyr'd Spirits, and formall Conſtancie,

And ſo good morrow to you euey onc.

Exeunt.

Manet Brutus.

Boy : *Lucius* : Faſt aſleepe ? It is no matter, 255

Enioy the hony-heauy-Dew of Slumber :

245, 246. One line Rowe et seq.

245. *vpon's*] *upon us* Cap. Varr. Mal.
Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Ktly.

256. *hony-heauy-Dew*] Ff, Rowe,

Pope. *honey heavy dew* Johns. Dyce.
heavy honey-dew Coll. ii, iii. (MS), Craik,
Dyce ii, iii. *honey-heavy dew* Theob. et
cet.

tion of a final *s* in the Folio, which 'error,' says Walker, 'is frequent in this play.'—DYCE, in his second edition, adopts Walker's correction, remarking that 'here assuredly the old reading is not to be defended by a later passage: "you shall give me reasons Why and wherein Cæsar was dangerous."—III, i, 246.'—HUDSON, in his second and third editions, also follows Walker's correction; which, at least in the present line, seems quite unnecessary; 'reasons' is a more forcible expression than the mention of only one cause for the good will of Ligarius.—ED.

249. *fresh and merrily*] For examples of this construction, wherein but one of two adverbs has the adverbial termination, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 397.

250. *Let not . . . our purposes*] CRAIK (p. 231): That is, such expression as would betray our purposes. Compare 'To beguile the time Look like the time . . . look like the innocent flower, But be the serpent under it.'—*Macbeth*, I, v, 64–67. Also: 'Away and mock the time with fairest show, False face must hide what the false heart doth know.'—*Ibid.*, I, vii, 81.—WRIGHT: Brutus himself followed the counsel which he gave to others. 'When he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and looks that no man could discern he had anything to trouble his mind.'—Plutarch, *Brutus*, ed. Skeat, p. 115. Compare 'So is he now, in Execution Of any bold, or noble enterprize, However he puts on this tardy form.'—I, ii, 319.

256. *hony-heavy-Dew*] COLLIER (*Emendations*, etc., p. 425): The compound unquestionably is not 'honey-heavy,' but *honey-dew*, a well-known glutinous deposit upon the leaves of trees, etc.; the compositor was guilty of a transposition, and ought to have printed the line in this form: 'heavy *honey-dew*.' Such is the manuscript emendation.—[CRAIK (p. 231) thinks the two hyphens in the Folio are evidence of some confusion or indistinctness in the original manuscript, 'perhaps occasioned by an interlineation.'—DYCE explains 'honey heavy' as that which is both 'honeyed and heavy'; and GRANT WHITE explains it as 'slumber which is as refreshing as dew, and whose heaviness is sweet.'—ROLFE (ap. Craik, p. 232) quotes,

Thou haft no Figures, nor no Fantasies, 257
Which busie care drawes, in the braines of men ;
Therefore thou sleep'st so sound.

Enter Portia. 260

Por. Brutus, my Lord,

Bru. Portia: What meane you? wherefore rise you now?
It is not for your health, thus to commit
Your weake condition, to the raw cold morning.

Por. Nor for yours neither. Y'haue vngently Brutus 265
Stole from my bed: and yesternight at Supper
You fodainly arose, and walk'd about,
Musing, and sighing, with your armes a-crosse :
And when I ask'd you what the matter was,
You star'd vpon me, with vngentle lookes. 270
I vrg'd you further, then you fratch'd your head,

260. SCENE III. Pope, +, Jen.
Portia] Porcia Theob. Warb.
Johns.
264. *raw cold*] *raw-cold* Steev. Varr.
Sing. Knt, Ktly Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
Coll. iii.

265-270. Mnemonic Warb.
265. *Y'haue*] Ff. *You've* Rowe, +,
Dyce, Craik, Sta. Wh. Cam.+. *You*
have Var. '73 et cet.
266. *Stole*] *stol'n* Johns. Var. '73.
267. *fodainly*] *suddenly* F₃F₄.
271. *furiher*] *farther* Coll. Hal. Wh.

in support of Collier's MS, a passage from *Titus And.*, III, i, 112, wherein the words 'honey-dew' appear.—Ed.]

257. **Figures**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. II, q. b): An imaginary form, a phantasm. *Merry Wives*, IV, ii, 231: 'To scrape the figures out of your husbands braines.'

257. **Fantasies**] See line 221, above; also III, iii, 3.

265. **Y'haue vngently**, etc.] Mrs JAMESON (ii, 239): The situation is exactly similar [here to that between Hotspur and Lady Percy in *1 Hen. IV*: II, iii, 76-120]; the topics of remonstrance are nearly the same; the sentiments and the style as opposite as are the characters of the two women. Lady Percy is evidently accustomed to win more from her fiery lord by caresses than by reason; he loves her in his rough way, 'as Harry Percy's wife,' but she has no real influence over him; he has no confidence in her. . . . Lady Percy has no *character*, properly so called; whereas that of Portia is very distinctly and faithfully drawn from the outline furnished by Plutarch. Lady Percy's fond upbraidings, and her half-playful, half-pouting entreaties, scarcely gain her husband's attention. Portia, with true matronly dignity and tenderness, pleads her right to share her husband's thoughts and proves it too. [DOWDEN (*Mind and Art*, p. 298) also contrasts these two scenes, remarking that 'the relation of husband and wife, as conceived in the historical plays, differs throughout from that relation as conceived in the tragedies.']

266. **Stole**] The only other instance of Shakespeare's use of this form of the participle is in *Macbeth*, II, iii, 73: '—sacriligious murder hath broke ope The lord's anointed temple and stole thence The life of the building.'—Ed.

And too impatiently stamp with your foote : 272
 Yet I insisted, yet you answer'd not,
 But with an angry wafter of your hand
 Gaue signe for me to leaue you : So I did, 275
 Fearing to strengthen that impatience
 Which seem'd too much inkindled ; and withall,
 Hoping it was but an effect of Humor,
 Which sometime hath his houre with euery man.
 It will not let you eate, nor talke, nor sleepe ; 280
 And could it worke so much vpon your shape,
 As it hath much preuayl'd on your Condition,
 I should not know you *Brutus*. Deare my Lord,
 Make me acquainted with your cause of griefe.
Bru. I am not well in health, and that is all. 285
Por. *Brutus* is wise, and were he not in health,
 He would embrace the meanes to come by it.
Bru. Why so I do : good *Portia* go to bed.
Por. Is *Brutus* sicke? And is it Physicall
 To walke vnbraced, and sucke vp the humours 290
 Of the danke Morning? What, is *Brutus* sicke?
 And will he steale out of his wholfome bed
 To dare the vile contagion of the Night?
 And tempt the Rhewmy, and vnpurged Ayre, 294

274. *wafter*] *wafture* Rowe et seq.
 283. *you Brutus*] *F1. you Brutus*
F2F1. you, Brutus F4.
 280-291. *sicke?...sicke?*] *Ff. Rowe,*
Pope, Theob. Warb. Johns. sick,...
sick, Han. Coll. Dyce, Sta. Wh. Hal.
Cam.+ sick?...sicke; Cap. Jen. sick?...

sick; Var. '73 et cct.
 290. *vnbraced*] *unbraced* Dyce.
 291. *danke*] *darke* or *dark* *Ff.*
 293. *Night?*] *night*, *Knt, Coll. Dyce,*
Sta. Wh. Hal. Cam. ii. night
Cam. i.
 294. *vnpurged*] *unpurged* Dyce.

274. *wafter*] WRIGHT compares, for this spelling of the Folios, *rounder* for 'roundure,' in *King John*, II, i, 259; in both cases it is, possibly, phonetic.

270. *his*] Any discussion on this use of the personal possessive pronoun, and the gradual adoption of the neuter form *its*, belongs to the history of the language rather than to Shakespearean usage; the student is, therefore, referred to MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Its*).—ED.

282. *Condition*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 11): Mental disposition, cast of mind; character, moral nature; disposition, temper. [SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) furnishes numerous examples of this use of 'condition.']

287. *come by it*] Compare 'But how I caught it, found it, or came by it . . . I am to learn.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, I, i, 3.

294. *Rhewmy*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 3): Moist, damp, wet; especially of the air. [The present line quoted as earliest use of the word. Craigie compares the

To adde vnto hit sicknesse? No my *Brutus*,
 You haue some sicke Offence within your minde,
 Which by the Right and Vertue of my place
 I ought to know of: And vpon my knees,
 I charme you, by my once commended Beauty,
 By all your vowes of Loue, and that great Vow
 Which did incorporate and make vs one,
 That you vnfold to me, your selfe; your halfe
 Why you are heauy: and what men to night
 Haue had resort to you: for heere haue beene
 Some fixe or feuen, who did hide their faces
 Euen from darknesse. 305

Bru. Kneele not gentle *Portia*.

Por. I should not neede, if you were gentle *Brutus*.
 Within tho Bord of Marriage, tell me *Brutus*,
 Is it excepted, I should know no Secrets
 That appertaine to you? Am I your Selfe, 310

295. *hil*] *F.*
 299. *charme*] *charge* Pope, Han.
once commended] *once-com-*
mended Pope, +, Dyce.

302. *your selfe*] *Ff*, +, Cap. *yourself*
Johns. et cet.
 307. [Raising her. Capell.
 309. *tho*] *F.*

adjective *rheumatic* as applied to 'weather, places: Inducing or having a tendency to produce (a) catarrhal affections, (b) rheumatism.']

299. I charme you] STEEVENS, in defence of this reading [see *Text. Notes*], compares '—tis your graces That from my muted conscience to my tongue Charms this report out.'—*Cymbeline*, I, vi, 117.—CRAIK (p. 235), referring to this comparison, says: 'This is merely the common application of the verb *to charm* in the sense of to produce any kind of effect, as it were, by incantation. "Charm" is from *carmen*, as *incantation* or *enchantment* is from *cano*. In the passage before us, "I charm you" (if such be the reading) must mean I adjure or conjure you.'—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. verb. 6): To conjure, entreat (a person) in some potent name, quotes the present line; also: '1599. T. M[oufet] *Silkewormes* 16, She Pyram drencht and then thus charmes: Speake loue, O speake, how hapned this to thee?'—ED.

302. *your selfe*] The later mode of printing 'your self' as one word seems to me wrong; it makes Portia ask Brutus, and not another person, to tell her why he is heavy, but is not 'self' here in apposition to 'me'? Does she not mean that she is *his* self, just as she goes on to say that she is his 'half,' and as, indeed, she does call herself in l. 311?: 'Am I your self?'—ED.

308. *gentle Brutus*] STAUNTON'S comma after 'gentle' detracts somewhat from the force of Portia's reply. Brutus has called her 'gentle Portia,' and she answers that she would not have to kneel if he were gentle also.—WRIGHT likewise calls attention to this change in punctuation.—ED.

But as it were in fort, or limitation ? 312
 To keepe with you at Meales, comfort your Bed,
 And talke to you sometimes ? Dwell I but in the Suburbs 314

312. *limitation?*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Johns.
 Theob. Han. Warb. Ktly. *limitation*, 314. *to you*] *t'you* Walker (Crit. i,
 Johns. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+ *limitation*; 221).
 Cap. et cet. *sometimes*] Orm. Pope, Han.
 313. *comfort*] *consort* Theob. Han. *in the*] *i'th'* Walker (Crit. i, 221).

312. *in sort, or limitation*] SCHMIDT (Lex., s. v. *sort*. subst. 5): In a certain manner and with restrictions.

313. *To keepe with you*, etc.] MALONE calls attention to a passage in Lord Stirling's Play, *Julius Cæsar*, wherein both the author and Shakespeare follow North's Plutarch in this scene; likewise at l. 324 we find that Stirling paraphrases Plutarch as does Shakespeare, and again in the scene between Ligarius and Brutus, 346 et seq. Any similarity of thought is, of course, accounted for by the fact that both were using the same authority.—ED.

313. *comfort*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. verb. 5): To minister delight or pleasure to; to gladden, cheer, please, entertain. [The present line quoted.]

314. *And talke . . . the Suburbs*] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 221) suggests that 'to you' and 'in the' be read *t'you* and *i'th'* and the accent placed on the second syllable of 'sometimes,' in order that this line be metrically correct.—CRAIK, independently of Walker, proposes the same elisions. Prosodically, this line is obviously wrong; the rhythm is, however, really smooth, and rather than mutilate it, would it not be better to divide the line into two impassioned sentences? And yet, after all, in the mouth of an accomplished actress it could be uttered musically and no discord felt.—ED.

314. *in the Suburbs*] STEEVENS: Perhaps here is an allusion to the place in which the harlots of Shakespeare's age resided. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*: 'Get a new mistress, Some suburb saint, that sixpence, and some oaths, Will draw to parley,' [II, i; ed. Dyce, p. 335].—NARES (s. v. *Suburbs*): The general resort of disorderly persons in fortified towns, and in London also. . . . We find in the classics that it was the same in ancient times. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Humorous Lieutenant*, I, i; Massinger's *Emperor of the East*, where the Mignon of the Suburbs is a prominent character (I, ii). . . . This will sufficiently explain the question of Portia to Brutus in *Jul Cæs.*—WRIGHT: Portia claims the freedom of one who is a full citizen. . . . Gosson (*Schoole of Abuse*) says: 'They [harlots] either couch them selves in Allyes, or blind Lanes, or take sanctuary in fryeries, or liue a mile from the, Cittie like Venus nunnes in a Cloyster at Newington, Ratliffe, Islington, Hogsdon, or some such place.'—ed. Arber, p. 36. [The whole phrase, 'Dwell I but in the suburbs Of your good pleasure,' may be compared to the following from Sidney's *Arcadia*: '—then she listed no longer stay in the suburbs of her foolish desires, but directly entred upon them,' Bk ii, ch. 20; ed. 1590, p. 192. This refers to the attempts of Andromana to get Pyrocles into her power, by fair means or foul, and the metaphor is taken from an army's advance upon a city or town. WHITER, in his excellent study of the association of ideas, shows that frequently, with Shakespeare, a word is sufficient to suggest a new train of thought; in the present passage we have, I think, an example: 'Harlot' is the word which

Of your good pleasure? If it be no more,
Portia is *Brutus* Harlot, not his Wife. 315

Bru. You are my true and honourable Wife,
 As deere to me, as are the ruddy droppes
 That visit my sad heart. 319

Plutarch puts in the mouth of *Portia* in this scene; their usual place of resort was the outlying districts, as has been shown, hence the word 'suburbs.' The phrase quoted from the *Arcadia* shows, moreover, that the idea is not as extraordinary as at first it might seem, and may be used without the slightest reference to dissolute life.—ED.]

317. You are my . . . Wife] BOAS (p. 467): This absolute communion of soul is in designed contrast to the shallow relation of *Cæsar* and *Calpurnia*. The dictator treats his wife as a child to be humoured or not according to his caprice, but *Portia* assumes that, 'by the right and virtue of her place,' she is entitled to share her husband's inmost thoughts. *Brutus* discloses to her the secret which lies so heavily upon his breast, and we know that this secret is inviolably safe in her keeping.

318, 319. ruddy droppes . . . my sad heart] T. NIMMO, in a communication to the Shakespeare Society, dated 16 June, 1844, calls attention to this passage, where, he thinks, there is 'a distinct reference to the circulation of the blood, which was not announced to the world until after the death of Shakespeare. Harvey,' continues Nimmo, 'is supposed to have brought forward his views . . . in 1618, but their actual publication . . . was in 1628. There is, however, a MS in the British Museum, entitled *De Anatome Universali*, dated April, 1616, . . . in which the germ of his great discovery is to be found.' Nimmo considers that this may help to establish the date of composition of *Jul. Cæs.*, which would thus be made later than 1603—the generally accepted date. 'Harvey's ideas on [the circulation of the blood],' Nimmo says, 'had their origin while he was a student at Padua from 1599 to 1602, when he returned to England. Is it then impossible that Harvey . . . may have acquainted Shakespeare with these great ideas? . . . There appears to me to run through the whole play a more medical spirit than is to be found in any other of his works; as if he had been discoursing with Harvey. . . . It is really surprising, too, how often the *blood* is referred to in the course of the play.'—T. J. PETTIGREW wrote a reply to the foregoing communication, in the course of which he takes exception to some of the statements by Nimmo; in particular in regard to the MS dated 1616 and said to be in the British Museum, which, Pettigrew says, diligent search both by himself and Sir Frederick Madden has thus far failed to produce. 'The only volume at all like that referred to is one in the Sloane Collection, No. 486, entitled *Observationes Anatomicae*, and dated 1627; but the notes are upon the muscles and nerves, not upon the blood-vessels.' He adds: 'Having gone through the whole of the MS, I can affirm that there is not a single passage in it which relates to the circulation. . . . Other anatomists appear to have been on the confines of the discovery, but not to have developed it. To Harvey alone is due the discovery. . . . Servetus [whose *Christianismi Restitutio* appeared in 1553] certainly knew the nature of the pulmonary circulation, and he was well acquainted with the manner in which the blood passed from one ventricle of the heart to the other before it went through the general circulation. These being the opinions with regard to the distribution of the blood in the time of Shakespeare are sufficient to account for the

[318, 319. ruddy dropes That visit my sad heart]

allusions . . . referred to by Nimmo. There is no evidence given that Shakespeare knew Harvey; and as Shakespeare died in 1616, when the first ideas of Harvey upon the subject were promulgated at the college, he could not, through that medium, have been acquainted with it; but if the date 1603 [for the composition of *Jul. Cæs.*] be the correct one, it is quite clear that Shakespeare could not have then known Harvey, for he must at that time have been abroad; and . . . there are no traces in any of his writings to show that he had then entertained any particular views upon the nature of the circulation.' (*Sh. Soc. Papers*, pt ii, pp. 109-113.)—BUCKNILL (*Med. Knowledge*, etc., p. 215): There are several passages in the plays in which the presence of blood in the heart is quite as distinctly referred to as in this speech of Brutus, [and these] prove that Shakespeare entertained the Galenical doctrine . . . that although the right side of the heart was visited by the blood, the function of the heart and its proper vessels, the arteries, was the distribution of the vital spirits. Shakespeare believed, indeed, in the flow of the blood, . . . but he considered that it was the liver, and not the heart, which was the cause of the flow. There is not, in my opinion, in Shakespeare a trace of any knowledge of the circulation of the blood. [In corroboration of the foregoing note by Bucknill, in regard to the knowledge of the flow of the blood, among the writers contemporary with Shakespeare, the following from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, the Great*, 1590, seems apposite: 'A deadly bullet, gliding through my side, Lies heavy on my heart; I cannot live. I feel my liver pierced, and all my veins, That there begin and nourish every part, Mangled and torn, and all my entrails bathed In blood that straineth from their orifex.'—Pt ii, III, iv, 4-9.—ED.]—DA COSTA (p. 37) gives the following account of the steps which led Harvey to his discovery and just what that discovery was in regard to the motion of the blood: 'He [Harvey] finds, contrary to the opinions commonly received, that the heart when it contracts is emptied. He sees that as it becomes tense the blood is expelled; he observes that as it receives blood. Every time the heart contracts the pulse is felt. When the right ventricle contracts and propels its charge of blood, the pulmonary is distended simultaneously with the other arteries of the body. He notices that the auricle on the right side of the heart contracts at the same time as that on the left, and that subsequently both ventricles contract. Why should both ventricles contract for the sole purpose of nourishing the lungs? asks his intelligence. It is against every evidence of design in nature to be so wasteful of structure and force. Why, too, is there a great artery taking its origin from the left heart? It can but be for the complete distribution of the blood to all parts of the body. Light has dawned. The heart is the propelling engine; the right ventricle is made for the sake of the lungs chiefly, the left, for the general circulation. Good anatomist as he is, he knows that channels of communication between the right and left heart, through the heart walls, are mere fanciful assumptions. He thinks of the valves of the heart; of the valves in the veins, which his old teacher Fabricius has pointed out to him. He knows that an artery differs in the strength and thickness of its coats from a vein. He finds evidence in all this of regulating flow; of preventing return; of sustaining the shock of the impelling heart and streaming blood. He makes experiments by tying the aorta at the base of the heart and opening the carotids; they are empty, the veins are full. The arteries receive, then, no blood except by transmission through the heart, is his conclusion. The left heart, he has found, gets its changed nutritive blood after the blood has passed through the

Por. If this were true, then should I know this secret. 320
 I graunt I am a Woman; but withall,
 A Woman that Lord *Brutus* tooke to Wife :
 I graunt I am a Woman ; but withall,
 A Woman well reputed : *Cato's* Daughter.
 Thinke you, I am no stronger then my Sex 325
 Being fo Father'd, and so Husbanded ?
 Tell me your Counsels, I will not disclose 'em :
 I haue made strong prooue of my Conitancie,
 Giuing my selfe a voluntary wound
 Heere, in the Thigh : Can I beare that with patience, 330

324. *reputed*: *Cato's*] *reputed* *Cato's* 327. 'em] *Jen. Dyce, Craik. em F.*
Warb. Johns. Var. '73, Coil. i, Sta. them F₄ et cet.

lungs, "the workshop of its last perfection." The blood is thrown with each contraction of the left ventricle into the arterial system, and as the contractions are so frequent a large quantity is passed on in a short space of time. The veins would be drained; the ingested aliment could never rapidly and efficiently enough supply them with blood, which goes on so quickly into the arteries. These, strong as they are, would burst unless relieved. "There must be motion, as it were, in a circle." The circulation is discovered. . . . The old fabric of fanciful hypothesis has been shivered; a great, simple truth has been established.' Da Costa quotes several passages from Shakespeare (among them the present line) which 'seem to prove that Shakespeare understood the circulation of the blood in advance of Harvey'; he arrives, however, at the same conclusion as does Bucknill, given above, that these passages simply show Shakespeare's knowledge of the pulmonary circulation, and to the presumed movement of the blood in the veins. And that there is nothing 'which can be twisted to make it clear that he knew anything of the real circulation,—of the circuit of the blood.' The passages quoted 'certainly prove Shakespeare,' says Da Costa, 'to have been as far-seeing a physiologist as any of his age, with the single exception of Harvey.'

324. *well reputed*: *Cato's Daughter*] CAPELL (*Notes*, p. 103): The words that follow this compound are declarative of the sense 'tis confined to, giving it in the way that is most pleasing, namely, by implication; the speaker was 'well-reputed' for qualities she might be thought to inherit, and that fitted her to be partaker of what she solicited; general goodness was neither thought of nor should be; though that turn is given it by a contender for removing the comma, the last modern, [Warburton] a removal the Poet seems to have guarded against by using a greater stop than was necessary,—a full colon,—if that stop be from him.—HENLEY: By the expression 'well-reputed' she refers to the estimation in which she was held as being *the wife of Brutus*; whilst the addition, *Cato's daughter*, implies that *she might be expected to inherit the patriotic virtues of her father*. It is with propriety, therefore, that she immediately asks: 'Think you, I am no stronger than my sex, Being so father'd, and so husbanded?'—CRAIK: (p. 238) It is interesting to note what we have here in the *Mer. of Ven.*, 'Her name is Portia; nothing undervalued To *Cato's* daughter, *Brutus' Portia*.'—I, i, 165. The *Mer. of Ven.* had certainly been written by 1598.

And not my Husbands Secrets ? 331

Bru. O ye Gods !

Render me worthy of this Noble Wife. *Knockc.*

Harke, harke, one knockes : *Portia* go in a while,
And by and by thy bofome shall partake 335

The secrets of my Heart.

All my engagements, I will conſtrue to thee,

All the Charraçtery of my ſad browes :

Leaue me with haſt. *Exit Portia.*

Enter Lucius and Ligarius. 340

Lucius, who's that knockes.

Luc. Heere is a ſicke man that would ſpeak with you.

Bru. *Caius Ligarius*, that *Metellus* ſpake of.

Boy, ſtand aſide. *Caius Ligarius*, how ?

Cai. Vouchſafe good morrow from a feeble tongue. 345

331. *Secrets*] *secret* Cap. conj.

Sing. Huds. *who is that*, Mal. Varr.

341. *who's that*] *who' there that* Pope,

Coll. Hal. Wh. i. *who is't that* Ran.

+ *who's that that* Cap. Walker (Crit.
iii, 246). *who is that* Var. '73, '78, '85,

343. [*Aside*. Cap.

344. [*Exit Luc.* Cap.

333. *Render me . . . this Noble Wife*] MACCALLUM (p. 326): What insight Shakespeare shows even in his omissions! This is the prayer of Plutarch's Brutus too, but he lifts up his hands and beseeches the gods that he may 'bring his enterprise to so good passe that he mighte be founde a husband worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia.' Shakespeare's Brutus does not view his worthiness as connected with any material success. And these words are also an evidence of his humble-mindedness. However aggressive and overbearing he may appear in certain relations, we never fail to see his essential modesty. If he interferes, as often enough he does, to bow others to his will, it is not because he is self-conceited, but because he is convinced that a particular course is right; and where right is concerned a man must come forward to enforce it.

338. *Charractery*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v.): Expression of thought by symbols or characters; the characters or symbols collectively. [The present line quoted.]

339-341. *Leaue me . . . that knockes*] CRAIK (p. 239): It is unnecessary to suppose that the two broken lines were intended to make a whole between them. They are best regarded as distinct hemistichs.

341. *who's that knockes*] For other examples of the omission of the relative, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 244. At the same time it is not impossible, I think, that there is here, perhaps, an absorption of the words *is 't* that may account for this omission.—ED.

345. *Vouchsafe good morrow*] ABBOTT (§ 382) quotes the present line as an illustration of an ellipsis of the words *to receive*; according to SKEAT (*Dict.*, s. v.) the original meaning of 'vouchsafe' is 'sanction or allow without danger, condescend to grant.' He quotes: "'Vowche sauf that his sone hire wedde," *Will. of Palerne*, 1449.' The ellipsis is, therefore, only apparent.—ED.

Bru. O what a time haue you chose out braue *Caius*. 346
To weare a Kerchiefe? Would you were not sicke.

Cai. I am not sicke, if *Brutus* haue in hand
Any exploit worthy the name of Honor.

Bru. Such an exploit haue I in hand *Ligarius*, 350
Had you a healthfull eare to heare of it.

Cai. By all the Gods that Romans bow before,
I heere discard my sicknesse. Soule of Rome,
Braue Sonne, deriu'd from Honourable Loines,
Thou like an Exorcist, naft coniu'r'd vp 355
My mortified Spirit. Now bid me runne,
And I will striue with things impossible, 357

347. *Would*] *'Would* Warb. Johns.
Cap. Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Sing. Knt,
Wh. i, Ktly.

351. *a*] *an* F₄, Rowe, +.

352. *that*] *the* Rowe ii, +.

353. [Throwing away his bandage.
Coll. ii.

356. *mortified*] *mortified* Dyce.

346-356. **O what a time . . . My mortified Spirit**] In Plutarch's account it is Brutus who visits Ligarius, but in other respects Shakespeare closely follows his authority. '[Brutus] said unto him, "Ligarius, in what a time art thou sick?" Ligarius, rising up in his bed and taking him by the right hand, said unto him, "Brutus," said he, "if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thyself, I am whole."'—*Life of Brutus*, § 7; (ed. Skeat, p. 113).

347. **To weare a Kerchiefe**] MALONE: It was a common practice in England for those who were sick to wear a kerchief on their heads, and still continues among the common people in many places. 'It,' says Fuller, 'this county [Cheshire] hath bred no writers in that faculty [physic], the wonder is the less, if it be true what I read, that if any here be sick, "they make him a posset, and tie a kerchief on his head; and if that will not mend him, then God be merciful to him!" But be this understood of the common people, the gentry having the help (no doubt) of the learned in that profession.'—*Worthies: Cheshire*, p. 180, [Ed. Nuttall, i, 276; in a foot-note the editor gives as the reference for Fuller's quotation: William Smith, *Vale Royal*, p. 16.—Ed.]

355. **Exorcist**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 2): One who calls, or pretends to call, up spirits by magical rites. [The present line quoted; also, Burton, *Anal. of Melancholy*, 'The knavish impostures of Juglers, Exorcists, Mass-Priests and Mountebanks,' I, iii, III. ed., 1651, where 'Exorcist,' from its connection with 'mass-priests,' may possibly mean, as given by Murray under 1, b, 'the third of one of the four lesser orders in the Roman Catholic Church. Shakespeare uses this word, as well as *exorciser* and *exorcism*, with the same meaning of raising, not laying spirits.—M. MASON, in a note on the present line, remarks that he believes Shakespeare to be 'singular in his acceptance of it.'—Ed.]

356. **mortified**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 3): Deadened, numb, insensible. [The present line quoted.]—WALKER (*Crit.*, II, 35) gives several examples of other verbs ending in *fied*, wherein, for the sake of the metre, the final *ed* is pronounced as a separate syllable.

Yea get the better of them. What's to do? 358

Bru. A peece of worke,

That will make sicke men whole. 360

Cai. But are not some whole, that we must make sicke?

Bru. That must we also. What it is my *Caius*,

I shall vnfold to thee, as we are going,

To whom it must be done.

Cai. Set on your foote, 365

And with a heart new-fir'd, I follow you,

To do I know not what : but it sufficeth

That *Brutus* leads me on.

Thunder.

Bru. Follow me then.

Exeunt 369

358. *Yea*] Yet Rowe ii, + (—Var. '73).

359, 360. One line Rowe et seq.

362. *must we*] *we must* Theob. ii, +.

363, 364. *going, To whom*] *going To whom* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev.

Varr. Knt.

363, 364* *going, To whom*] CRAIK (p. 240): That is, while we are on our way to those whom it must be done to. The ellipsis is the same as in 'From that it is disposed,' I, ii, 334. I do not understand how the words are to be interpreted if we are to separate 'going' from what follows by a comma, as in the Folio. [See *Text. Notes*.]—WRIGHT: As we had in l. 341 an instance of the relative absorbed in the demonstrative, [which, be it remembered, was somewhat doubtful,] we have here an example of the contrary. . . . If the Folio reading be retained, we must take 'To whom it must be done' as a repetition of 'What it is?' in l. 362.—VERITY: By the ellipsis Brutus purposely leaves Ligarius in doubt whether to *him* or to *them* 'to whom' is meant to refer; the latter would be untrue, while the former would show at once that Cæsar was meant. [Are not the words 'as we are going' parenthetical? Another example occurs in the present play in V, v, 57, where Brutus says to Strato, 'Hold then my sword, and turne away thy face, While I do run upon it,' which, if taken in its literal construction, presents an extraordinary picture of Brutus's intention.—ED.]

365. *Set on your foote*] WRIGHT compares 'I will set this foot of mine as far As who goes farthest,'—I, iii, 130; and also a passage from North's Plutarch, wherein Martius is mentioned as 'being ever the foremost that did set out feet to fight.'—*Life of Coriolanus*, § 9; ed. Skeat, p. 15.—ED.

366. *new-fir'd*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *fire*, vb. 3): *Fig.* To set (a person) on fire; to inspire *with* passion or strong feeling or desire; to inflame, heat, animate. Also, to kindle or inflame (a passion, etc.).

368, 369. *Thunder . . . Exeunt*] MARK HUNTER: This seems a not ineffective bit of stage business, as symbolical of the desperate and fatal undertaking on which Brutus had set out. The First Folio was printed from a stage copy, and the direction was perhaps only a player's insertion; but it is not on that account without interest.

369. *Exeunt*] E. WHITNEY (*New Englander Maga.*, Oct., 1886, p. 867) suggests the following divisions of Acts in place of those as given in the Folio: 'The First Act should terminate at the end of the first scene of the Second Act; the Second Act, at the end of the first scene of the Third Act; the third Act, at the end of the Third Act of the common editions. The Fourth and Fifth Acts should remain as they are.'

[Scene II.]

Thunder & Lightning.

1

Enter Julius Cæsar in his Night-gowne.

Cæsar. Nor Heauen, nor Earth,
 Haue beene at peace to night :
 Thrice hath *Calphurnia*, in her sleepe cryed out,
 Helpe, ho : They murder *Cæsar*. Who's within?

5

*Enter a Seruant.**Ser.* My Lord.

Cæf. Go bid the Priests do present Sacrifice,
 And bring me their opinions of Successe.

10

Ser. I will my Lord.*Exit**Enter Calphurnia.*

Cal What mean you *Cæsar*? Think you to walk forth?
 You shall not stirre out of your house to day.

Cæf. *Cæsar* shall forth; the things that threaten'd me,
 Ne're look'd but on my backe : When they shall see
 The face of *Cæsar*, they are vanished.

17

SCENE II. ROWE. SCENE IV. POPE, +,
 Jen.

Cæsar's Palace. ROWE, +. A Room
 in Cæsar's Palace. CAP. et seq. (subs.)

2. in his Night-gowne] OM. POPE, +,
 CAP.

3, 4. One line ROWE et seq.

3. Heauen] *heav'n* ROWE, +.

5. Calphurnia] *Calpurnia*. WH. i,
 CRAIK, GLO. CAM. +, ROLFE (through-
 out).

15. *threaten'd*] *threatned* ROWE, +.
threaten WALKER (CRIT. III, 246), HUDS. III.

16. *look'd*] *look* HUDS. III.

3, 4. **Nor Heauen, nor Earth, Haue**] CRAIK (p. 241): The strict grammatical principle would, of course, require *has been*; but where, as here, the two singular substantives are looked at together by the mind, it is more natural to regard them as making a plurality, and to use the plural verb, notwithstanding the disjunctive conjunction (as it is sometimes oddly designated).—WRIGHT: In other cases where 'Nor . . . nor' is equivalent to *neither . . . nor*, they are followed by a singular verb. For instance: 'Nor God, nor I, delights in perjured men.'—*Love's Labour's*, V, ii, 346; 'But since Nor brass nor stone nor parchment bears not one.'—*Winter's Tale*, I, ii, 360. 'Sith nor the exterior nor the inward man Resembles what it was.'—*Hamlet*, II, ii, 6. On the other hand, the plural occurs in *Sonnet* cxli, 7: 'Nor tender feeling, to base touches prone, Nor taste nor smell desire to be invited.'

10. **Successe**] WRIGHT: Here, and in V, iii, 73, 'success' denotes *good fortune*; but in many cases it is a colourless word, signifying merely *issue, result*, which has to be qualified by some adjective, as good or ill.

15, 17. **Cæsar . . . Cæsar**] RUMELIN (p. 11) is of the opinion that Shakespeare is somewhat at fault in thus making Cæsar refer to himself in the third

Calp. *Cæsar*, I neuer stood on Ceremonies, 18
 Yet now they fright me : There is one within,
 Besides the things that we haue heard and seene, 20
 Recounts most horrid fights seene by the Watch.
 A Lionnesse hath whelped in the streets,
 And Graues haue yawn'd, and yeelded vp their dead ;
 Fierce fiery Warriours fight vpon the Clouds 24

22. *whelped*] *whelpèd* Dyce.

24. *fight*] *fought* Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii,
 Coll. iii. *did fight* Ktly.

person.—To this view SCHONE (p. 16, foot-note) dissents, remarking that: 'In no better way could the poet have indicated the pride and self-confidence of the man aspiring to royalty, and he has thus devised a suitable means of introducing the name of Cæsar as a title. As such it will be used later in the play, in order to show that the Cæsarian idea is dominant. "He shall be Cæsar!" cries the Third Citizen after Brutus's oration. "There was a Cæsar, when comes such another!" says Antony to the citizens.'—Ed.

18. *I neuer . . . Ceremonies*] '—it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear or suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear and superstition.'—Plutarch: *Cæsar*, § 43; (ed. Skeat, p. 98).—For Shakespeare's use of 'ceremonies' as applied to *superstition*, see note on II, i, 221.—Ed.

21. *the Watch*] WRIGHT remarks that 'night-watchmen were not established [in Rome] before the time of Augustus.'

22. *A Lionnesse hath whelped*] MARK HUNTER: As illustrative of popular feeling in Shakespeare's time Percy Simpson cites passages from Stowe's *Annales* in which Stowe records how 'a Lionnesse named Elizabeth, in the Tower of London, brought forth a lion's whelp' (5th August, 1604); and how on 'the 26th of February (1605) was an other Lion whelped, in the Tower of London by the foresaid Lionnesse. . . . Thus much of these whelpes have I observed, and put in memory, for that I have not read of any the like in this land before this present year.'

23. *And Graues . . . their dead*] CAPELL (i, 104) compares: 'Graves yawn, and yield your dead.'—*Much Ado*, V, iii, 19; and also: 'A little ere the mightiest Julius fell, The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.'—*Hamlet*, I, i, 113.—MALONE likewise quotes the foregoing passages.

24. *Fierce fiery . . . vpon the Clouds*] STEEVENS: So in Tacitus: 'Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutulania arma & subito nubium igne collucere.'—*History*, Bk v, [ch. 13].—MALONE also quotes a passage from *Tamburlaine* (ed. Bullen, Pt ii; IV, ii, 125-130), in which allusion is made to this phenomenon or appearance as of a line of armed men in the clouds.—ED.]—VERITY: Milton probably had these lines in mind when he wrote: 'As when, to warn proud cities, war appears Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush To battle in the clouds.'—*Paradise Lost*, II, 533-535.

24. *fight*] WRIGHT: [This] may have been so written by Shakespeare; Calpurnia realising what had been reported to her as if it were then present to her mind. Compare *Tempest*, I, ii, 148, for a similar change from a past tense to a present. I quote from the Folio: 'A rotten carkasse of a Butt, not rigg'd, Nor

In Rankes and Squadrons, and right forme of Warre 25
 Which drizel'd blood vpon the Capitoll :
 The noife of Battell hurtled in the Ayre :
 Horffes do neigh, and dying men did grone,
 And Ghosts did shriek and squeale about the streets.
 O Cæsar, these things are beyond all vse, 30
 And I do feare them.

Cæf. What can be auoyded

Whose end is purpos'd by the mighty Gods ?
 Yet Cæsar shall go forth : for these Predictions
 Are to the world in generall, as to Cæsar. 35

Calp. When Beggars dye, there are no Comets seen,
 The Heauens themselues blaze forth the death of Princes 37

27. *hurtled*] *hurried* Ff, Rowe.

did Ff et cet.

28. *do*] Mal. Var. '21, Knt, Coll. i.

29. *Ghosts*] *Ghoſt* F4.

tackle, sayle, nor mast, the very 'rats instinctiue haue quit it.' [In a note on this passage in the *Tempest*, Wright also cites as examples of a like change, *Ibid.*, I, ii, 205, and *Wint. Tale*, V, ii, 83. See likewise l. 28, below.—ED.]

27. *hurtled*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *hurtle*, verb): Apparently a diminutive and iterative of *hurt*, in its original sense of 'strike with a shock.' Sometimes confused with *hurl*; but the essential notion in 'hurtle' is that of forcible projection; if, however, I *hurl* a javelin at a shield and strike it, I also *hurtle* the one against the other; hence the contact of sense.—[Under 'II, 5. To emit a sound of collision; to clatter,' etc. Murray quotes the present line.—ED.]

28. *do neigh . . . did grone*] CRAIK (p. 243): No degree of mental agitation ever expressed itself . . . in such a jumble and confusion of tenses as this,—not even insanity or drunkenness. The 'fight' in l. 24 is not a case in point. It is perfectly natural in animated narrative or description to rise occasionally from the past tense to the present; but who ever heard of two facts or circumstances equally past, strung together, as here, with an 'and' and enunciated in the same breath, being presented the one as now going on, the other as only having taken place? [See note on l. 24, above.]

29. *And Ghosts . . . about the streets*] CRAIK (p. 244) quotes the passage from *Hamlet*, I, i, 113, which is quoted also by Capell at l. 23, and on this Craik remarks: 'It is rare to find Shakespeare coming so near upon the same words in two places as he does here and in *Hamlet*. The passage [in *Hamlet*] is found, however, only in the Quarto editions and is omitted in all the Folios.'

29. *squeale*] WRIGHT: That ghosts had thin and squeaking voices was a belief in the time of Homer, who compares the noise of the souls of the suitors, whom Hermes conducted to Hades, to the noise of a string of bats when disturbed in a cave (*Odyssey*, xxiv, [6, 7]). Compare *Horace*: 'Quo pacto alterna loquentes Umbrae cum Sagana resonarint triste et acutum.'—*Sat.*, i, 8, 41. And Virgil, of the shades which Æneas saw: 'Pars tollere vocem Exiguam.'—*Æneid*, vi, 491.

37. *The Heauens . . . the death of Princes*] MALONE: Compare: 'Let us look into the nature of a comet, by the face of which it is supposed that the same

Cæs. Cowards dye many times before their deaths, 38
 The valiant neuer taste of death but once :
 Of all the Wonders that I yet haue heard,
 It seemes to me most strange that men should feare, 41

38-43. Mnemonic Pope.

should portend plague, famine, warre, or the death of potentates.'—H. Howard, *Defensive against the Poison of supposed Prophecies*, 1583.—DOUCE (p. 364): This might have been suggested by what Suetonius has related of the blazing star which appeared for seven days together, during the celebration of games instituted by Augustus in honour of Julius.

37. *blaze forth*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *blaze*, v². 2.): To proclaim (as with a trumpet), to publish, divulge, make known. [s. v. *Ibid.*, b. 'with *abroad* (*forth, about*), The prevalent use,' Murray quotes the present line.]

38. *Cowards . . . before their deaths*] 'When some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would never consent to it, but said: "It was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death."—Plutarch: *Cæsar*, § 39; (ed. Skent, p. 92).—MALONE: So in Marston, *Insatiate Countess*, 1613: 'Fear is my vassal; when I frown, he flies, A hundred times in life a coward dies.'—[ed. Bullen, IV, iii, 98.] Lord Essex, probably before either of these writers, made the same remark. In a letter to Lord Rutland, he observes: 'that as he which dieth nobly, doth live for ever, so that he that doth live in fear, doth die continually.' [W. B. Devereux: *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, vol. i, p. 325; this letter is to be found in the Harl. MSS., 4888, 16.—*Ed.*.]—BOSWELL: As a specimen of Steevens's love of mischief, I may mention, that by putting the quotation from Plutarch first, and changing the words 'either of these writers,' i. e., Shakespeare or Marston, to 'any of these,' etc., he made Malone appear to write nonsense.—[This refers to the note as printed in Steevens's own edition of 1793; Malone's note appears in his edition of 1790.—*Ed.*.]—PRESCOT (ii, 290): Seneca writes: 'quid timoris dementissimi pactio? diu mori.' Or again: 'quid est timere? diu mori.' The rest is all from Arrian, who says: 'death? let it come, when it will.' The philosopher dictates to each 'to bear death as *men*': at very distant pages, again and again argues it out of nature and a *wonder* not to do so. Whence is to be observed with what propriety, proceeding from looking over *Arrian*, the exclamation: 'Of all the wonders I yet have heard,' comes forth, collected from different columns of the author.

40, 41. *Of all . . . men should feare*] MACCALLUM (p. 221): Cæsar's courage, of course, is beyond question; but is there not a hint of the theatrical in this overstrained amazement, in this statement that fear is the most unaccountable thing in all his experience? . . . We see and know that he is the bravest of the brave, but if anything could make us suspicious, it would be his constant harping on his flawless valour. So, too, he says of Cassius: 'I fear him not,' etc. Why should he labour the point? If he has not fears, he has at least misgivings in regard to Cassius, that come very much to the same thing. His anxiety is obvious, as he calls Antony to his side to catechise him on his opinions of the danger.—MARK HUNTER: It cannot be said that Cæsar in this scene, or elsewhere in the play, justifies Cassius's account of his having grown superstitious. He called the soothsayer a dreamer, and later on twits him on (as he supposes) the non-fulfilment of his prophecy;

Seeing that death, a necessary end
Will come, when it will come. 42

Enter a Servant.

What say the Augurers? 45

Ser. They would not haue you to stirre forth to day.
Plucking the intrailles of an Offering forth,
They could not finde a heart within the beaft.

Cæs. The Gods do this in shame of Cowardice:
Cæsar should be a Beaft without a heart 50
If he should stay at home to day for feare:
No *Cæsar* shall not; Danger knowes full well
That *Cæsar* is more dangerous then he. 53

45. *Augurers*] *augurs* Pope, Theob.
Han. Warb.

46. *to stirre*] *stir* F.
52-56. In margin Pope, Han.

if he consults the auguries, that is nothing more than a compliance with custom, for he will not suffer his purpose to be shaken by their forebodings. If he for a moment consents to remain at home, that is merely to humour Calpurnia's fears; and if he seems to accept the dream as expounded by Decius as having a direct reference to himself, he does so with a good-humoured smile at Decius's ingenuity. Finally, so little effect have the dream and prodigies upon him that to the last 'his wisdom is consumed in confidence'; he entertains no smallest suspicion, and he deliberately rejects Artemidorus's petition.

42. *death, a necessary end, etc.*] JOHNSON: This is a sentence derived from the stoical doctrine of predestination, and is, therefore, improper in the mouth of Cæsar.

43. *Will come, when it will come*] Compare, *Hamlet*: 'If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all: since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes.'—V, ii, 231-235.—ED.

45. *Augurers*] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 49): It seems possible that in this passage 'augurers' may be an erratum for *augures*, as 'augurs' is spelt in *Macbeth*, III, iv, fol. p. 142, col. 2: 'Augures and vnderstood Relations.' Perhaps, too, the flow of *Jul. Cæs.* requires *augurs*. [For instances of this kind of erratum (*helpers* for *helpes*, etc.) see *Ibid.*, p. 52 et seq.]

50, 51. *should . . . should*] For other examples of this use of 'should,' where modern usage has *would* in the first clause, see ABBOTT, § 322.

50. *without a heart*] JOHNSON: The ancients did not place courage, but wisdom, in the heart. [DOUCE (ii, 83), commenting on the foregoing, remarks that Johnson has 'strangely forgotten his classics,' and thereupon gives seven quotations from Virgil and from Ovid wherein the heart or the breast is referred to as the seat of bravery.—ED.]

52. *Danger*] JOHN HUNTER: [This perhaps signifies] the life of exposure to danger through which Cæsar had safely passed; there may be here also some allusion to Cæsar being a relative of Marius, and, therefore, in his youth exposed to the danger of being put to death by Sylla.

We heare two Lyons litter'd in one day,
 And I the elder and more terrible, 55
 And *Cæsar* shall go forth.

Calp. Alas my Lord,
 Your wifedome is confum'd in confidence :
 Do not go forth to day : Call it my feare,
 That keeps you in the house, and not your owne. 60
 Wee'l send *Mark Antony* to the Senate house,
 And he shall say, you are not well to day :
 Let me vpon my knee, preuaile in this.

Cæs. *Mark Antony* shall say I am not well,
 And for thy humor, I will stay at home. 65

Enter Decius.

Heere's *Decius Brutus*, he shall tell them so.

Deci. *Cæsar*, all haile : Good morrow worthy *Cæsar*, 68

54. <i>heare</i>] F ₂ . <i>hear</i> F ₃ F ₄ . <i>heard</i>	Cap. et cet.
Rowe, Pope. <i>were</i> Theob.+ , Var.	62. <i>shall</i>] <i>will</i> Rowe ii, Pope, +.
'78, Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll. i,	66. SCENE V. Pope, +, Jen.
Huds. <i>I and he are</i> (pronounced <i>I'nd</i>	66, 67, 74, 79. <i>Decius</i>] <i>Decimus</i>
<i>he're</i>) Macmillan conj. <i>are</i> Upton,	Han. Ran.

54. *We heare . . . one day*] The *Text. Notes* show that opinion between Theobald's emendation, *We were*, and Upton's, *We are*, is about evenly divided. Referring to his own reading, Theobald says: 'The sentiment will neither be unworthy of Shakespeare, nor the boast too extravagant for *Cæsar* in vein of vanity to utter: that he and danger were two twin whelps of a lion, and he the elder and more terrible of the two.'—MALONE follows Upton's suggestion, yet acknowledges that Theobald's reading is, perhaps, the more Shakespearean of the two. 'It may mean,' adds Malone, 'the same as if he had written: We two lions *were* litter'd in one day.'—STEEVENS compares the thought to the boast of Otho: 'Experti invicem sumus, Ego ac Fortuna.'—Tacitus, [*History*, Bk ii, ch. 47].—R. G. WHITE gives as a reason for preferring Upton's reading that '*are* pronounced *air*, and "*heare*" pronounced *hair* (see "this vn-heard sawcinesse," *King John*, Folio; p. 10, col. b.) might easily have been confounded in Shakespeare's time, especially by a compositor or a transcriber who "exhaspirated his haitches."

56. *Cæsar . . . forth*] BOSWELL: There cannot be a stronger proof of Shakespeare's deficiency in classical knowledge than the boastful language he has put in the mouth of the most accomplished man of all antiquity, who was not more admirable for his achievements than for the dignified simplicity with which he has recorded them.—HAZLITT (p. 22): We do not much admire the representation here given of *Julius Cæsar*, nor do we think it answers the portrait given of him in his *Commentaries*. He makes several vapouring and rather pedantic speeches, and does nothing. Indeed, he has nothing to do. So far, the fault of the character is the fault of the plot.—AYRES (p. 197) compares *Tro. & Cress.*, V, iii, where 'Hector insists on rushing to his doom in spite of Andromache's dreams: "You train me to offend you, get you gone. By all the everlasting gods; I'll go," ll. 4, 5.'

I come to fetch you to the Senate house.

· *Cæf.* And you are come in very happy time,
To beare my greeting to the Senators,
And tell them that I will not come to day :
[Cannot, is false : and that I dare not, i]alser :
I will not come to day, tell them so *Decius*.

Calp. Say he is sicke. 75

Cæf. Shall *Cæsar* fend a Lye ?
Haue I in Conquest stretcht mine Arme so farre,
To be afear'd to tell Gray-beards the truth :
Decius, go tell them, *Cæsar* will not come.

Deci. Most mighty *Cæsar*, let me know some cause,
Left I be laught at when I tell them so. 80

Cæf. The cause is in my Will, I will not come,
That is enough to satisfie the Senate.
But for your priuate satisfaction,
Because I loue you, I will let you know. 85

Calphurnia heere my wife, stayes me at home :
She dreamt to night, she saw my Statue, 87

75. *he is*] *he's* F₄.

78. *afear'd*] *afraid* F₄, Rowe, +.

87, 88. *She...Which*] One line Han.
Mal.

87-92. *She...imminent*] Lines end:
which...run...came...these...portents...im-
minent Mal. conj.

87. *dreamt*] *dream't* F₂F₃. *dreamt*
F₄.

to night] *to nigh* F₂. *last night*
Rowe, +.

Statue] *statue*, *Decius* Cap.
statua Steev. Var. '03, '13, Sing. Dyce,
Sta. Wh. i, Hal. *statue* Ktly, Cam. +.

86. *stayes me*] For other examples of this causative use of 'stay,' see SCHMIDT
(*Lex.*, s. v. f.).

87-89. *She dreamt . . . run pure blood*] GREY (ii, 182) says that Valerius Maximus also makes mention of this dream, and in a foot-note quotes a passage in which occurs the following: 'Audiverat enim . . . uxorem Calpurniam nocte . . . vidisse multis eum confectum vulneribus in suo sinu iacentem.'—*De Somniis* (lib. i, cap. 2). Plutarch likewise gives this version of the dream, but says that it was discredited by many, amongst them Titus Livius, who gave the following as the authentic account: 'The senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it.'—*Julius Cæsar*, § 43. Suetonius says: 'Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the roof of the house was tumbling down.'—*Cæsar*, § xliii. Either of these might presage disaster; the cause for Calpurnia's anxiety is, however, to be found possibly in Florus, who says (Bk iv, ch. 2) that among the honors decreed by the senate to Cæsar after his victory in Spain was the erection of a *fastigium* on the front of his house. The *fastigium* is the pediment which is to be found only on temples; it is emphatically the sign of a building dedicated to a god, or the

Which like a Fountaine, with an hundred spouts

88

88. *like a*] *like to a* Han.*an*] a Cap. Jen. Var. '78, '85,

Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll.

Wh. i, Ktly.

house of the chief governor of the state. Its fall would, therefore, signify the destruction of Cæsar as chief magistrate. When Cicero, in the second *Phillippic*, chap. xliii, alludes twice to a temple dedicated to Cæsar, he probably refers to this addition of a sacred symbol to the house.—MISS PORTER notes that the dream of the statue of Cæsar is an invention of Shakespeare. It was, perhaps, suggested by Plutarch's description of Pompey's statue, which, at the time of Cæsar's assassination, he says, 'ran all of a gore blood.'—[Ed.]

87. *Statue*] I. REED, in a note on 'My substance should be statue in thy stead,' *Two Gentlemen*, IV, iv, 206, says: Alterations have often been improperly made in the text of Shakespeare by supposing 'statue' to be intended by him for a disyllable. . . . From authors of the times it would not be difficult to fill whole pages with instances to prove this. Many authors spell it *statua*. On so clear a point the first proof which occurs is enough. Take the following from Bacon: 'It is not possible to have the true pictures or statuaes of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar,' etc.—*Adv. of Learning*, ed. 1663, p. 88, [Bk I, ch. 8, § 6; Clar. ed., p. 77]. Again: '—without which the history of the world seemeth [to me] to be as the statua of Polyphemus with his eye out.'—[*Ibid.*, Clar. ed., p. 85].—STEEVENS, in a note on this same line in *Two Gentlemen*, remarks: 'some Latin words which were admitted into the English language still retained their Roman pronunciation. Thus *heroe* and *heroes* are constantly used for trisyllables.'—NARES (*s. v. Statua*) gives as a reason for this pronunciation that 'the word "statue" was often applied to a picture. Thus in Massinger: *The City Madam* [1632]: "Your nieces crave humbly . . . they may take leave Of their late suitors statues."—V, iii.' Gifford, in his note on this passage, says that 'Massinger, like his contemporaries, confuses "statue" with *picture*.'—CRAIK (p. 246): 'Statue' is of frequent occurrence in Shakespeare; and in general it is only a disyllable. In the present Play, for example, [l. 95, below. Also, I, iii, 163; III, ii, 53]. Only in one line, 'But like dumb statues or breathing stones,' *Rich. III*: III, vii, 25, is it absolutely necessary that it should be regarded as of three syllables. . . . In that passage also, however, the word in the First Folio is printed simply *statues*, exactly as it always is in the English which we now write and speak. . . . The only other lines in Shakespeare in which it [may be trisyllabic] are: 'My substance should be statue in thy stead.'—*Two Gentlemen*, IV, iv, 206; the present line, and III, ii, 198, 'Even at the base of Pompey's statue.' . . . In both these the supposed trisyllable concludes the verse. . . . After all, Shakespeare's word may really have been *statua*. . . . Perhaps the best way would be [thus] to print it in all cases, and to assume that this was the form which Shakespeare always wrote. *Statua* would have the prosodical value either of a disyllable or of a trisyllable according to circumstances, just as 'Mantua,' for instance, has throughout *Rom. & Jul.*—COLERIDGE (*Notes*, etc., p. 133): No doubt it should be *statua*. A modern tragic poet would have written: '—that she my statue saw.' But Shakespeare never avails himself of the supposed license of transposition merely for the metre. There is always some logic either of thought or passion to justify it.—WRIGHT: It appears that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the spelling *statua* was a novelty, and it may have been introduced, as Nares suggests, because 'statue' was frequently used for *picture*.—[In Fynes Moryson's

Did run pure blood : and many lusty Romans
 Came smiling, & did bathe their hands in it : 90
 And these does she apply, for warnings and portents,
 And evils imminent ; and on her knee
 Hath begg'd, that I shall stay at home to day.

Deci. This Dreame is all amisse interpreted,
 It was a vision, faire and fortunate : 95
 Your Statue spouting blood in many pipes,
 In which so many smiling Romans bath'd,
 Signifies, that from you great Rome shall sucke
 Reuiuing blood, and that great men shall presse
 For Tinctures, Straines, Reliques, and Cognifance. 100

90. *bathc*] *bath* F3.

91. *And these*] As separate line
 Dyce ii, iii.

And these...warnings and] As one
 line Craik conj.

And...apply] *These she applies*
 Pope, + (*And these does apply* Var.
 '73). *And these she plies* Wordsworth.
and] Om. Cap. Ran. Steev.
 Var. '03, '13.

92. *And evils*] *Of evils* Han. Warb.
 Cap. Ran. Coll. ii. (MS), Craik, Huds.
 iii.

98. *great*] *our* Cap. conj.

99. *presse*] Warb. marks omission of
 several lines following.

100. *Cognifance*] *cognisances* Han.
 Ktly. *cognisance*' Walker (Vers. 250),
 Dyce ii, iii.

Itinerary, 1617, the word *statua* is used constantly to designate an image, also with the plural form, *statuacs*, see, for example, his description of the Strasburg Clock, Part I, ch. i, § 31; ed. MacLehose, vol. i, p. 64. See Walker, *Vers.*, p. 295, for other examples.—ED.]

91. *and portents*] WRIGHT: Capell's omission of 'and' would throw the accent on the first syllable of 'portents,' whereas in Shakespeare it is always on the last.

92. *And*] HENLEY thinks that the alteration of the word 'and' to *of*, proposed by Edwards, is not only needless, but tends 'to weaken the force of the expressions, which form, as they now stand, a regular climax.'

100. *For Tinctures, Staines, etc.*] WARBURTON: This line must needs be in way of similitude only; and if so, it appears that some lines are wanting; which want should, for the future, be marked with asterisks. The sense of them is not difficult to recover, and, with it, the propriety of the line in question, . . . [which] can bear no other sense than as an allusion to the blood of the martyrs, and the superstition of some Churches with regard to it.—JOHNSON: This speech, which is intentionally pompous, is somewhat confused. There are two allusions: one to coats armorial, to which princes make additions, or give new '*tinctures*,' and new marks of 'cognisance'; the other to martyrs, whose 'reliques' are preserved with veneration.—MALONE: I believe '*tinctures*' has no relation to heraldry, but means merely linen *tinged* with blood. Bullokar, *Expositor*, 1616, [s. v. *Tincture*]: has 'a dipping, colouring, or staining of a thing.' Compare III, ii, 143: 'And dip their napkins in his sacred blood.'—STEEVENS says that at the execution of several of our ancient nobility handkerchiefs were stained with their blood and preserved as memorials.—CRAIK (p. 255): Does [Malone's interpretation] not

This by *Calphurnia's* Dreame is signified. 101

Cæs. And this way haue you well expounded it.

Deci. I haue, when you haue heard what I can say :
And know it now, the Senate haue concluded
To giue this day, a Crowne to mighty *Cæsar*. 105

If you shall send them word you will not come,
Their mindes may change. Besides, it were a mocke
Apt to be render'd, for some one to say,
Breake vp the Senate, till another time :
When *Cæsars* wife shall meete with better Dreames. 110

If *Cæsar* hide himselfe, shall they not whiffer
Loe *Cæsar* is affraid ?

Pardon me *Cæsar*, for my deere deere loue
To your proceeding, bids me tell you this : 114

make the speaker assign to Cæsar by implication the very kind of death Calpurnia's apprehensions of which he professes to regard as visionary? . . . Do we refine too much in supposing that this inconsistency between the purpose and the language of Decius is intended by the poet, and that in this brief dialogue between him and Cæsar, in which the latter suffers himself to be so easily won over,—persuaded and relieved by the very words that ought naturally to have confirmed his fears,—we are to feel the presence of an unseen power driving on both the unconscious prophet and the blinded victim?

100. *Cognisance*] WALKER (*Vers.*, p. 259) says 'surely *cognisance*' is meant'; and on p. 243 he gives examples wherein the plurals of words ending in *s*, *ss*, or *ce* are found without the usual addition of *s* or *es*—in pronunciation at least.

110. *Cæsars wife . . . better Dreames*] '—if any man should tell them from him they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his enemies and ill-willers say?'—Plutarch: *Cæsar*, § 44; ed. Skeat, p. 99.—MALONE quotes a passage from Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæsar*, in which the same thought is expressed; and WRIGHT quotes from Bacon's *Essay of Friendship*: 'This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not dismisse the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame.'—[This verbal similarity in all three authors is, doubtless, due to the common source, Plutarch. The whole passage from Bacon's *Essay* is one of the many additions made to it, when entirely rewritten for the edition of 1625. (See Arber: *Harmony of the Essays*, p. 169).—ED.]

114. *To your proceeding*] WARBURTON understands this as meaning *to your advancement*, and is therein followed by CRAIK, who gives as an example of this use of 'proceeding': 'Be opposite all planets of good luck To my proceeding.'—*Rich. III.*: IV, iv, 402. [In this example, however, 'proceeding' may quite as well mean *course of conduct*, and the reading of all the Quartos is *proceedings*, which seems to indicate that this is the meaning intended.]—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *proceeding*, 4.): The action of going on with something already begun; continuance of action; advance, progress, advancement.—DELIUS considers the phrase 'to your proceeding' dependent upon 'tell you this,' and therefore interprets it as *for*

And reason to my loue is liable.

115

Cæf. How foolifh do your fears feeme now *Calphurnia*?
I am afhamed I did yeeld to them.
Giue me my Robe, for I will go.

Enter Brutus, Ligarius, Metellus, Caska, Trebonius, Cynna, and Publius.

120

And looke where *Publius* is come to fetch me.

Pub. Good morrow *Cæsar*.

Cæf. Welcome *Publius*.

What *Brutus*, are you stirr'd so earely too?

124

117, 118. *I am...Giue me*] One line
Ktly.

117. *afhamed*] *ashamed* Dyce. *asham'd*
Ktly.

118-121. *Giue me...And looke*] As
one line Johns.

118. [To an Att. Capell.

119. SCENE VI. Pope, + (—Var. '73).

your advantage; and WRIGHT understands it as *your course of conduct, your career*, which interpretation is that also of the present Ed.

115. **And reason . . . liable**] JOHNSON: That is, propriety of conduct and language is subordinate to my love.—CRAIK (p. 256): That is, if I have acted wrong in telling you, my excuse is that my reason, where you are concerned, is subject to and overborne by my affection.

119. **Enter Brutus**] CONRAD (p. 477) calls attention to the fact that, from the moment when Cassius acquaints Brutus with the hour for the assassination, no time is given wherein Brutus may pause sufficiently to deliberate upon the deed. As thus: Ligarius enters immediately after the scene with Portia, and Brutus starts at once for Cæsar's house, where he joins the rest of the faction. This lack of opportunity for reflection, Conrad says, was doubtless designed by Shakespeare in order to furnish a mitigating circumstance for the crime which Brutus is to commit.—MARK HUNTER (*Introd.*, cxxxviii.): Cassius is, indeed, honourably distinguished from the others in one respect. He is at least an open enemy. He makes no pretence of love for his victim, but at once distrusts and is distrusted. It is significant that he separates himself from the final act of treachery to which even Brutus stoops, and is the only conspirator who does not present himself at Cæsar's house on the morning of the Ides to partake of his hospitality, 'like a friend,' and then lead him forth to the slaughter.—P. SIMPSON (ap. Mark Hunter): In the revival of *Jul. Cæs.* at Her Majesty's Theatre, [under the direction of H. Beerbohm Tree, 6 Sep., 1900, when the conspirators entered to escort Cæsar to the Senate House] Cassius entered immediately after the aged Publius, and in front of Brutus. Cæsar greeted Publius, and then, catching sight of Brutus, pressed forward affectionately to greet him, and in his eagerness overlooked Cassius, who stepped aside with flashing eyes. Brutus, touched with remorse, shrank behind the others, and delivered with deep feeling the lines: 'That every like is not the same,' etc. Finally, as the conspirators went in to 'taste some wine,' Brutus still hung back, but Cæsar waited for him, and they passed in together, arm in arm, 'like friends.' . . . In the printed acting copy of the 1898 performance the entry of Cassius is not marked.

Good morrow *Caska : Caius Ligarius*, 125
Cæsar was ne're so much your enemy,
 As that same Ague which hath made you leane.
 What is't a Clocke ?

Bru. *Cæsar*, 'tis strucken eight.

Cæf. I thanke you for your paines and curtesie. 130

Enter Antony.

Sec, *Antony* that Reuels long a-nights
 Is notwithstanding vp. Good morrow *Antony*.

Ant. So to most Noble *Cæsar*

Cæf. Bid them prepare within : 135

I am too blame to be thus waited for.

Now *Cynna*, now *Metellus* : what *Trebonius*,

I haue an houres talke in store for you :

Remember that you call on me to day :

Be neere me, that I may remember you. 140

Treb. *Cæsar* I will : and so neere will I be,

That your best Friends shall wish I had beene further.

Cæf. Good Friends go in, and taste some wine with me
 And we (like Friends) will straight way go together.

Bru. That euery like is not the same, O *Cæsar*, 145
 The heart of *Brutus* comes to thinke vpon. *Exeunt*

125. Caius] *Oh!* Caius Han.

128. a Clocke] o'clock Theob. et seq.

129. strucken] stricken Johns. Col. Hal.

132. a-nights] o'nights Theob. et seq.

133, 134. Good...Cæsar] One line
 Steev. Var. '03, '13, Sing. i, Craik.

135. [To an Att. Capell.

136. too blame] to blame F₃F₄ et seq.

138. houres] hours Ktly.

141. [Aside. Rowe et seq.

142. further] farther Coll. Wh. i.

145. [Aside. Pope, Theob. Han.

Warb. Cap. Dyce, Craik, Sta. Wh.
 Ktly, Cam.+.

146. comes] yerns Theob.+ Varr.

Ran. yearns Cap. et seq.

126. *Cæsar* was ne're, etc.] DAVIES (ii, 228): There is scarcely any part of *Cæsar's* character so well understood and so happily expressed by Shakespeare as the great urbanity of his manners, and the ease and affability of his conversation. If *Cæsar* was the greatest soldier, he seems likewise to have been the best-bred man of all antiquity. In this short scene his address varies with the character of the person to whom he speaks. The compliment he pays to Caius Ligarius is a happy mixture of politeness and humanity.

136. too blame] WRIGHT: It appears that 'to blame,' being regarded as equivalent to the adjective *blameworthy*, it is frequently spelt 'too blame,' especially when preceded by *much*, and this led to the strange compound in *I Hen. IV.* III, i, 177: '—you are too wilful blame.'

146. comes] SKEAT (*Dict.*, s. v. *yearn*, (2).): This verb . . . occurs several times in Shakespeare; and it is remarkable that he never uses *yearn* in the sense to

[Scene III.]

Enter Artemidorus.

I

*Cæsar, beware of Brutus, take heed of Cassius; come not
nere Casca, haue an eye to Cynna, trust not Trebonius, marke
well Metellus Cymbber, Decius Brutus loues thee not: Thou
hast wrong'd Caius Ligarius. There is but one minde in all
these men, and it is bent against Cæsar: If thou beest not Im-*

5

Scene continued. Ff. SCENE VII.
Pope,+. SCENE V. Jen. SCENE III.
Rowe et cet.

The Street, Rowe, Pope, Han. A
Street near the Capitol. Theob. et cet.

1. Artemidorus.] Artemidorus read-
ing a Paper. Rowe et seq
6. beest] be'st Johns. Cap. (Errata).
Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing. i,
Coll. Craik, Wh. i, Hal. Huds.

long for. It is often spelt *earn* or *ern* in old editions. The proper sense is intransitive, to *grieve*, to *mourn*. . . . *Ern* is the true word, whilst *jern* is a form due to the Anglo-Saxon prefix *ge-*. Again, *er* is certainly a corruption of Middle English *ermen*, to *grieve*, occurring in *Cant. Tales*, 12,246. [Pardoner's Tale; *prologue*.] A later instance is in the following: 'Thenne departed he fro the kynge so heuylly that many of them ermed.'—Caxton: *Reynard the Fox*, ed. Arber, p. 48, l. 6. [MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) quotes these remarks by Skeat.]

1. Artemidorus] See *Dram. Person.*, l. 15.

2-o. *Cæsar, beware* . . . Artemidorus] WALKER (*Crit.* i, 12): [This passage] is, if I mistake not, in verse: 'Cæsar, beware of Brutus; take heed of Cassius; | Come not near Casca; have an eye to Cinna, | Trust not Trebonius; mark well Metellus Cimber; | Decius Brutus loves thee not; th' hast wrong'd | Caius Ligarius. There s but one mind | In all these men, and it is bent 'gainst Cæsar. | If thou be'st not immortal, look about you; | Secur'ty gives way to conspiracy. | The mighty Gods defend thee. | (The last three words are *extra metrum*.)—[Is this not an example of that which is found in other passages—metric prose? In the eight other instances wherein a letter appears the text of the written words is in this form, although there may be verse both before and after it. It may, I think, therefore be said to be an invariable custom, at least with Shakespeare. Secondly, are the lines as divided by Walker metrically correct? It is to be feared that he himself would have been the first to suggest many additions and omissions had this passage been printed in the form which he suggests. For other letters, thus read aloud, compare: *Hamlet*, II, ii, 120; IV, vi, 12; IV, vii, 42; *Lear*, I, ii, 48; *Cymbeline*, III, ii, 40; III, iv, 21; *Mer. of Ven.*, III, ii, 317; *Macbeth*, I, v, 1.—ED.]

6. *beest*] CRAIK (p. 342): This is not to be confounded with the subjunctive *be*; it is *bist*, *bysi*, the 2nd person singular present indicative of *brōm*, to be. It is now obsolete, but is also used by Milton in a famous passage: 'If thou beest he; but oh, how fallen! how changed,' etc.—*Paradise Lost*, i, 84.—[Compare also: 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's.'—*Luke*, xx, 25. The incident which provoked this reply is also related by St Mark, but he gives the sentence: 'Render to Cæsar the things that *are* Cæsar's, and to God the things that *are* God's.'—xii, 17.—ED.]

mortall, looke about you : Security giues way to Conspiracie. 7
The mighty Gods defend thee.

Thy Louer, *Artemidorus*.

Heere will I stand, till *Cæsar* passe along, 10

And as a Sutor will I giue him this :

My heart laments, that Vertue cannot liue

Out of the teeth of Emulation.

If thou reade this, O *Cæsar*, thou mayest liue;

If not, the Fates with Traitors do contriue. *Exit.* 15

[*Scene IV.*]

Enter Portia and Lucius.

I

7. you] thee Rowe, + (Var. '73), Jen. Scene continued. Ff, Rowe, +.
 14. *mayest*] Ff, Craik. *mayst* Dyce, SCENE VI. Jen. SCENE IV. Cap. et cet.
 Coll. ii, Sta. Cam. +. *may'st* Rowe et Another part of the same Street before Brutus's House. Cap.

7. *looke about you*] ABBOTT (§ 235): In this short scene Cæsar is six times addressed by the soothsayer in the solemn and prophetic *thou* and *thee*, but once, as above, *you*. I can only suggest that 'look about you' may mean: look about you and your friends.—[May it not be that 'Look about you' was a catch phrase of the day? A play with this title was popular in 1600. See Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii, p. 384.—Ed.]

7. *Security*] That is, unguardedness, false confidence; for other examples of this use of the word, see Shakespeare *passim*.

13. *Emulation*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 3.): Grudge against the superiority of others; dislike, or tendency to disparagement, of those who are superior.

15. *Fates . . . do contriue*] JOHNSON: That is, the fates *join* with traitors in contriving thy destruction.

Scene IV.] VERITY: Such side-scenes as this give us the impressions of those who are watching the course of events from a little distance, and we seem to join them as spectators; here, for instance, we cannot help feeling something of Portia's anxiety as she waits for news and suddenly thinks that she hears a sound from the direction of the Capitol. Compare the scene in *Rich. II.* (III, iv), where the gardeners and servants talk about the unhappy state of England; as we hear their comments on contemporary events, those events appear much nearer to us and more vivid; we slip insensibly into the feelings of an onlooker.

1. **Enter Portia]** WRIGHT: Since the first Scene of this Act Brutus has told the secret to his wife, who is now agitated by possessing what she desired. Portia is no Lady Macbeth.—MACCALLUM (p. 273): This scene . . . serves the function in the main story of heightening our excitement by means of Portia's, in expectation of what will presently be enacted at the Capitol; but it is even more important for the light it throws on her character. She may well confess: 'I have a man's heart, but a woman's might.' Her feverish anxiety quite overmasters her throughout, and makes her do and say things which do not disclose the plot only because the

Por. I prythee Boy, run to the Senate-house,
Stay not to answer me, but get thee gone.
Why doest thou stay? 2

Luc. To know thy errand Madam. 5

Por. I would haue had thee there and heere agen
Ere I can tell thee what thou should'st do there :
O Constancie, be strong vpon my side,
Set a huge Mountaine 'twene my Heart and Tongue :
I haue a mans minde, but a womans might : 10
How hard it is for women to keepe counsell.
Art thou heere yet?

Luc. Madam, what should I do?
Run to the Capitoll, and nothing else?
And so returne to you, and nothing else? 15

8-11. [Aside Cap.

10. *might*] *heart* Cap.

bystanders are faithful or unobservant . . . For her, as for Brutus, the burden of a duty which she assumes by her own choice, but which one of her nature must assume, is too heavy. And in the after consequences, for which she is not directly responsible, but which none the less flow from the deed that she has encouraged and approved, it is the same inability to bear suspense, along with her craving for her husband's presence and success, that drives her through madness to death.

3. *get thee gone*] CRAIK (p. 261): An idiom; that is to say, a peculiar form of expression, the principle of which cannot be carried out beyond the particular instance. Thus we cannot say either: *Make thee gone* or *He got him gone*.—R. G. WHITE: [In reference to the preceeding] Is this true? We do not; but can we not? *i. e.*, in accordance with the laws of thought and the principles of our language. . . . Is there any objection but lack of usage against 'Make thee gone' or 'He got him gone'? Of course, lack of usage *is* the only objection. In saying that 'we cannot,' Craik means merely that *usage forbids* us to say 'Make thee gone.'

4. *Why doest thou stay*] STEEVENS: Shakespeare has expressed the perturbation of King Richard the Third's mind by the same incident: 'Dull unmindful villain! Why stay'st thou here, and go'st not to the Duke.'—[*Rich. III.*: IV, iv, 444. It is, perhaps, worth remarking that throughout this present scene a distinction is uniformly made in the mode of address between Portia, Lucius, and the Soothsayer. Portia addresses each of them with 'thou' and 'thee,' while they both use the more respectful *you*.—ED.]

8. *Constancie*] CRAIK (p. 201): Not exactly our present 'constancy'; rather what we should now call *firminess* or *resolution*. In the same sense Brutus says: 'Cassius be constant.'—III, i, 30.

11. *How hard . . . keepe counsell*] BRANDES (i, 378): This reflection is evidently not Portia's, but an utterance of Shakespeare's own philosophy of life, which he has not cared to keep to himself. In Plutarch she even falls down as though dead, and the news of her death surprises Brutus just before the time appointed for the murder of Cæsar, so that he needs all his self-control to save himself from breaking down.

Por. Yes, bring me word Boy, if thy Lord look well, 16
For he went sickly forth : and take good note
What *Cæsar* doth, what Sutors presse to him.
Hearke Boy, what noyse is that?

Luc. I heare none Madam. 20

Por. Prythee listen well :
I heard a bufsling Rumor like a Fray,
And the winde brings it from the Capitoll.

Luc. Sooth Madam, I heare nothing.

Enter the Soothsayer. 25

Por. Come hither Fellow, which way haft thou bin ?

Sooth. At mine owne houle, good Lady.

Por. What is't a clocke ?

Sooth. About the ninth houre Lady.

Por. Is *Cæsar* yet gone to the Capitoll ? 30

Sooth. Madam not yet, I go to take my stand,
To see him passe on to the Capitoll.

Por. Thou haft some suite to *Cæsar*, haft thou not?

Sooth. That I haue Lady, if it will please *Cæsar*
To be so good to *Cæsar*, as to heare me : 35
I shall beseech him to befriend himselfe.

16. Boy] Om. F₄.

22. heard] hear Knt (Nat. Ed.), ap.
Cam.

25. Soothsayer] Artemidorus Rowe,
+, Dyce i, Wh. i. (throughout).

26. Come...thou bin?] As two lines,
the first ending *Fellow* Cap.

28. a clocke] Ff, Rowe. Pope, Han.
o'clock Theob. et cet.

36. befriend] defend Rowe ii, Pope,
Han.

25. the Soothsayer] TYRWHITT: The introduction of the Soothsayer here is unnecessary and, I think, improper. All that he is made to say should be given to Artemidorus, who is seen and accosted by Portia in his passage from his first stand to one more convenient. [See *Text. Notes*.]—O. F. ADAMS: At the beginning of the next scene we have speeches assigned to [Artemidorus and the Soothsayer] in immediate succession, and in the heading of that scene the Folio also gives: 'Enter Artemidorus, Publius, and the Soothsayer.' It is, therefore, improbable that there is any misprint or corruption in the original text; and under the circumstances we are not justified in making any alteration.

26. Come hither Fellow] CAPELL and the subsequent Editors, except CRAIK, divide this line, making these first three words complete l. 24, and the latter half supply the necessary syllables for l. 26. On this arrangement Craik remarks: "Which way hast thou been" is not a possible commencement of a verse, unless we were to lay an emphasis on "thou," which would be absurd.—ED.

36. I shall beseech, etc.] FERRERO (ii, 350, *foot-note*): I believe that there is a great deal of exaggeration in the ancient stories of warnings given to Cæsar. If

Por. Why know'st thou any harme's intended to-
wards him ? 37

Sooth. None that I know will be,
Much that I feare may chance : 40
Good morrow to you : here the street is narrow :
The throng that followes *Cæsar* at the heeles,
Of Senators, of Prætors, common Sutors,
Will crowd a feeble man (almost) to death :
Ile get me to a place more voyd, and there 45
Speake to great *Cæsar* as he comes along. *Exit*

Por. I must go in :
Aye me ! How weake a thing
The heart of woman is ? O *Brutus*,
The Heauens speede thee in thine enterprize. 50
Sure the Boy heard me : *Brutus* hath a suite
That *Cæsar* will not grant. O, I grow faint :
Run *Lucius*, and commend me to my Lord, 53

37. *harme's*] *harm* Pope, +.
39, 40. One line, omitting *may chance*
Pope, + (—Var. '73). As one line Cap.
et seq.

41. *you : heere*] *you*. Here Rowe et
seq.

47, 48. One line Rowe et seq.

48. *Aye*] *Ah* Johns. Var. '73, Mal.
Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll. Wh.
Hal. Huds. Coll. iii.

48–51. [Aside. Cap.

49. O Brutus] O Brutus, Brutus
Pope, +, Cap. Ktly. As separate line
Craik. Brutus *mine!* Wordsworth.

the conspiracy had been so well known it would have come to the ears of Antony, Lepidus, and other faithful friends, which would have been enough to stop it. It was not necessary that Cæsar himself should be warned. It is probable that during these days he received imaginary revelations of a conspiracy such as he had often received before, like all the heads of a government. The only real piece of evidence for a betrayal of the secret seems to me to be that of Popilius Læna in Plutarch's *Brutus*, § 12. The conspirators, after all, were Senators and aristocrats, and it is not surprising that they could keep their own counsel.

39, 40. *None that . . . may chance*] CRAIK (p. 264): If [the metrical arrangement of these two lines as one, see *Text. Notes*,] be accepted, it is better, perhaps, to consider it as a prolonged verse. In this somewhat doubtful instance the rhythm will be certainly that of an Alexandrine. Let the three words '*know will be*,' and also the three '*fear may chance*,' at any rate, be each and all emphatically enunciated.

48. *Aye me*] CRAIK (p. 264), in support of this form of the exclamation, quotes several passages from Milton wherein the phrase is thus given; he adds: '*Ah me* is a form Milton nowhere uses.'

51. *Brutus hath a suite*] MALONE: These words Portia addresses to Lucius, to deceive him, by assigning a false cause for her present perturbation.

53. *Run Lucius*] MACCALLUM (p. 200): Shakespeare may, perhaps, have been unwilling to introduce anything into the assassination scene that might distract

Say I am merry ; Come to me againe,
And bring me word what he doth fay to thee. *Exeunt* 55

Actus Tertius.

I

[*Scene I.*]

Flourish.

Enter Cæsar, Brutus, Cassius, Caska, Decius, Metellus, Trebonius, Cynna, Antony, Lepidus, Artemidorus Publius, and the Soothsayer.

5

55. *Exeunt*] Om. Ff, Cap. *Exeunt* severally. Theob.+.

SCENE I. Rowe.

The Capitol. Rowe,+. Street leading to the Capitol. Jen. Senate sitting. In the Entrance and amid a Throng of People, Artemidorus and the Sooth-

sayer. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

3. Artemidorus] Artemidorus Rowe.

4, 5. Publius] Popilius Ff. and Popilius Rowe i. Popilius, Publius Theob.+.

5. and the Soothsayer] Om. Rowe i. and the Soothsayers Rowe ii, Pope.

attention from the decisive business on hand, but the alteration is chiefly due to another cause. These, the last words we hear Portia utter, were no doubt intended to bring out her forgetfulness of herself and her thought of Brutus even in the climax of her physical distress. This, of course, does not affect our general estimate of Portia; but Shakespeare has no scruple about creating an entirely new character for a minor personage, and, in the process, disregarding the hints that he found and asserting quite the reverse.

SCENE I.] CAPELL (i, 105): If ever [a stage direction] were wanted, it is in this scene, which is rendered difficult many ways, but chiefly by its much action, and that action's uncommonness, all the first part of it passing while the train is in moving, and this accounts for the expressions of Cassius: his 'street' is the Capitol's entrance and his 'capitol, the Senate's assembly; as is further insinuated by the first of the new directions that follow.—JENNENS: I have presumed to make what is done without and within the Capitol two distinct scenes, as I believe Shakespeare intended. Nor is it necessary to fix the first scene close to the Capitol, but, rather more consonant with several passages in the foregoing act, that it should be at some distance. [Jennens concludes the first scene with l. 18.—R. G. WHITE also suggests the advisability of a change of locality after this line.—ED.]—VON MALTZAHN (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 58) suggests the following scenic arrangement of the preceding Act and first scene of this Act: Since the three scenes of Act II, namely, Brutus's Garden; A Room in Cæsar's House; A Street, do not require a great depth of stage for what takes place in each, they may be represented by means of three curtains to be raised successively. Preparation can thus be made for the opening scene of Act III, wherein the Senate is discovered in session by the raising of the last curtain, and need not be further back than the depth of one scene from this curtain. Though Maltzahn does not mention the fact, yet it is apparent that for such an

- Cæs.* The Ides of March are come. 6
Sooth. I *Cæsar*, but not gone.
Art. Haile *Cæsar* : Read this Scedule.
Deci. *Trcbonius* doth desire you to ore-read
 (At your best leyfure) this his humble suite. 10
Art. O *Cæsar*, reade mine first : for mine's a suite
 That touches *Cæsar* neerer. Read it great *Cæsar*.
Cæs. What touches vs our selfe, shall be laft seru'd.
Art. Delay not *Cæsar*; read it instantly.
Cæs. What, is the fellow mad? 15
Pub. Sirra, giue place.
Cassi. What, vrge you your Petitions in the street? 17

8. *Scedule*] *Schedule* F₃F₄. (MS), Craik. *What ... us?* Coll. iii.
 12. *great*] Om. Pope, Han. (misprint?).
 13. *What ... vs*] *That ... us?* Coll. ii. 16. *Sirra*] *Sirrah* F₄.

arrangement the first eighteen lines of Act III. must be joined to the last scene of Act II. The act-drop must also be lowered before the raising of the last scenic curtain, otherwise Acts II. and III. form one continuous act; which is, dramatically, undesirable.—ED.

7. *but not gone*] MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 196): Such words seem to measure out a narrow area of time in which the crisis is to work itself out. There is, however, no distinct break between different stages of a dramatic movement like that in the present play; and two short incidents have preceded this scene which have served as emotional devices to bring about a distinct advance in the intensification of the strain. . . . Our sympathy has thus been tossed from side to side, although in its general direction it still moves on the side of the conspirators.

13. *What touches . . . last seru'd*] CRAIK follows the reading of Collier's MS corrector (see *Text. Notes*), and thus justifies it: 'To "serve," or attend to, a *person* is a familiar form of expression; to speak of a *thing* as "served," in the sense of attended to, would, it is apprehended, be unexampled. The "us ourself," however, would be unobjectionable.'—STAUNTON, commenting on Craik's note, says: 'There is nothing uncommon or improper in speaking of a dinner or of a dish as *served*, and it is in this sense, we believe, the verb is used in the present case.'—R. G. WHITE considers the reading given by the MS corrector as 'specious, but entirely needless.'—JOHN HUNTER: That is, last attended to or promoted. This is designed to represent Cæsar as avoiding all appearance of eagerness to receive those honours which he has been lead to expect on this occasion, and as evidently having no suspicion of anything unfavourable. The pronoun 'what,' in relation to 'served,' may be regarded as implying reference to the object or purpose of the paper.—WRIGHT: That is, *presented*. A summons is still said to be 'served.' Compare: 'The deep vexation of his inward soul Hath served a dumb arrest upon his tongue.'—*Rape of Luc.*, l. 1780.—HERFORD: Shakespeare gives Cæsar the plural of modern royalty; unknown even to the Emperors of Rome.—VERITY: This is one of the few utterances in the play that seem worthy of the great Dictator. It is not suggested by anything in Plutarch's account of the incident.

Come to the Capitoll.

18

Popil. I with your enterprize to day may thriue.

Cass. What enterprize *Popillius*?

20

18. [Artemidorus is push'd back. Cæsar, and the rest, enter the Senate: The Senate rises. Popilius presses forward to speak to Cæsar; and passing Cassius'says,... Capell. Cæsar en-

ters the Capitol, the rest following. Var. '73, '78, '85. Cæsar...the rest following. All the Senators rise. Mal. et seq. (subs.)

19. [Aside to Cas. Jennens.

18. the Capitoll] MALONE (*Chron. Order*; Var., 1821, ii, 448): Shakespeare's making the *Capitol* the scene of Cæsar's murder, contrary to the truth of history, is easily accounted for in *Hamlet*, [III, ii, 100], where it afforded an opportunity for introducing a quibble; but it is not easy to conjecture why in *Jul. Cæs.* he should have departed from Plutarch, where it is expressly said that Julius was killed in *Pompey's portico*, whose statue was placed in the centre. I suspect he was led into this deviation from history by some former play on the subject, the frequent repetition of which before his own play was written probably induced him to insert the following: '—How many ages hence Shall this our lofty scene be acted o'er, In states unborn, and accents yet unknown!' [ll. 128–130, below]. 'The accents yet unknown' could not allude to Dr Fedes's *Latin* play exhibited in 1582, and, therefore, may be fairly urged as presumptive proof that there had been some English play on this subject previous to that of Shakespeare. Hence, I suppose it was that in his earlier performance he makes Polonius say that in his youth he had enacted the part of the Roman Dictator, and had been killed by Brutus in the Capitol; a scenic exhibition which was then probably familiar to the greater part of the audience.—Miss L. A. FISHER (*Modern Language Notes*, June, 1907, p. 177) has collected a number of quotations, beginning at the thirteenth century and extending past the time of Shakespeare, wherein the Capitol is identified as the scene of Cæsar's assassination; and, as a possible source of this tradition, offers the following: 'About the time that the attempt was made in the twelfth century to restore the Senate to Rome, a guide book was put forth for the use of pilgrims to the Eternal City. It was a compilation by some one unknown, and was entitled *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*: the earliest extant copy is of the twelfth century, and is in the Vatican library. It proved immensely popular, going through many editions and translations in the succeeding centuries, and, of course, losing no whit of its wonderfulness at the hands of monkish copyists. A MS of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, with additions, omissions, and rearrangements, is in the Laurentian library at Florence, and, being entitled *Graphia, Aurea Urbis Romæ*, is ordinarily distinguished as the *Graphia*. [The author of the *Mirabilia* says:] "The Capitol is so called because it was the head of the world, where consuls and senators abode to govern the earth. . . . On the other side of the Capitol, over *Cannapara*, was the temple of Juno. Fast by the public market-place the temple of Hercules. In the Tarpeian hill, the temple of Asilis where Julius Cæsar was slain of the Senate."—(Tr. F. M. Nicholls, 1889.)' Miss Fisher also shows the influence of the *Mirabilia* upon English Literature through the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, c. 1327, whereof 'there are more than one hundred Latin MSS extant, besides translations into English of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. It was printed by Caxton, 1482, and by de Worde, 1405.' It contains a description of Rome which is taken almost directly from the *Mirabilia*.

Popil. Fare you well.

21

Bru. What said *Popillius Lenc*?

Cass. He wist to day our enterprize might thriue :
I feare our purpose is discovered.

Bru. Looke how he makes to *Cæsar*: marke him.

25

Cass. *Caska* be fodaine, for we feare preuention.

Brutus what shall be done? If this be knowne,

Cassius or *Cæsar* neuer shall turne backe,

28

21. [Leaves him and joins Cæsar.
Cap. Follows Cæsar. Jennens.

26. *be...preuention*] One line Walker,
Dyce ii, iii, Cam.

22. [Aside to Cas. Jennens.

fodaine] *fudden* F₃F₄.

24. *discovered*] *discoverèd* Dyce.

28. *or*] *on* Mal. conj., Craik, Wh. i,
John Hunter. *for* (= instead of) Siev-
ers (ed. iii.).

25. *marke him*] *mark him well*
Steev. conj.

26. *Caska . . . preuention*] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 269) thinks this line has not a 'Shakespearean flow,' and suggests that the word '*Caska*' be given to l. 25, and that 'prevention' be then pronounced *preveni-on*.

28. *Cassius or Cæsar . . . turne backe*] MALONE: I believe Shakespeare wrote '*Cassius on Cæsar*,' etc. The next line strongly supports this conjecture. If the conspiracy was discovered, and the assassination of Cæsar rendered impracticable by prevention, . . . Cassius could have no hope of being able to prevent Cæsar from *turning back* (allowing '*turn back*' to be used for *return back*); and in all events this conspirator's slaying *himself* could not prevent that effect. . . . Cassius now declares that [if the plot be discovered] he will not endeavor to *save* himself by flight, . . . but instantly put an end to his own life. [In support of his emendation Malone quotes the following from Plutarch's *Life of Brutus*, § 12: 'It was easie to see that they were all of a minde, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands.'—[ed. Skeat, p. 118.] . . . Shakespeare was induced to give this sentiment to Cassius as being exactly agreeable to his character, and to that spirit which has appeared in a former scene: 'I know where I will wear this dagger then; Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius.'—I, iii, 99, 100.—RITSON: The disjunctive is right, and the sense apparent. Cassius says, If our purpose is discovered, either Cæsar or I shall never return alive; for, if we cannot kill him, I will certainly slay myself. The conspirators were numerous and resolute, and had they been betrayed, the confusion that must have arisen might have afforded desperate men an opportunity to despatch the tyrant.—CRAIK adopts Malone's emendation and, in answer to the foregoing note by Ritson, says: 'To "*turn back*" cannot mean to return alive, or to return in any way. The most it could mean would be to make a movement towards returning; which is so far from being the same thing with the accomplished return, which this translation would have it imply, that it may almost be said to be the very opposite.'—DELIUS considers that the meaning here is not *either Cæsar or Cassius* will perish, but that neither of them shall escape alive; in which case the words '*or*' and '*never*' are equivalent to *nor* and *ever*, and *neither* is to be understood before '*Cassius*.'—JOHN HUNTER follows Malone's conjecture, remarking, "'be," [l. 27], is the present indicative. If this purpose of ours is discovered, Cassius shall never be a fugitive from Cæsar's

For I will slay my selfe.

Bru. *Cassius* be constant.

30

Popilius Lena speakes not of our purposes,

For looke he smiles, and *Cæsar* doth not change.

Cassi. *Trebonius* knowes his time : for look you *Brutus*
He drawes *Mark Antony* out of the way.

Deci. Where is *Metellus Cimber*, let him go,
And presently preferre his fuite to *Cæsar*.

35

Bru. He is addrest : presse neere, and second him.

Cin. *Caska*, you are the first that reares your hand.

38

29. [*Cæsar* being arrived at his seat,
Popilius whispers him and smiles.
Jennens.

31. *purposes*] *purpose* Theob. ii, +,
Walker (Crit., 141), Dyce ii, iii.

34. Exeunt *Antony* and *Trebonius*,
Cæsar and the Senators take their
seats. Mal.

38. *reares*] *rear* Han. Cap. Varr. Ran.
your] *his* Tyrwhitt.

wrath.' The old reading . . . makes 'turn back' signify *return home*, a sense quite unwarranted, we believe, by any of the other instances of the phrase in Shakespeare. —WRIGHT follows Ritson's interpretation, that is, either *Cassius* or *Cæsar* shall never return alive, for I will kill him or slay myself. 'This,' adds Wright, 'seems the obvious meaning.' Which is the opinion also of the present Ed.

30. *Cassius be constant*] LLOYD (ap. Singer, viii, 509): Nothing can be more remote from the process by which *Brutus* deliberately advances to his resolution than the passion of pique and fury which Shakespeare has expanded from Plutarch's hint of the bearing of *Cassius* at the great crisis, as one almost beside himself. Engrossed by present animosity he looks but little forward, and even leans, at an emergency, on the suggestions of others, as when alarmed at the words and behaviour of *Popilius Lena*. Least of all has he a preconcerted plan for keeping the main direction of the enterprise in a sense and intention of his own; he remonstrates, truly, but does not assert and exercise the high hand that would support remonstrance or render it unnecessary.

33. *Trebonius*] In Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar* it is *Decius Brutus* who 'entertained' *Antony* out of the Senate House (ed. Skeat, p. 100); but in the *Life of Brutus*, which Shakespeare is here evidently following, this duty is given to *Trebonius* (op. cit., p. 118). That this last is the correct account we have *Cicero's* testimony in confirmation; writing to *Trebonius* on February 2, B. C. 43, he says: ' . . . the magnificent service which you men did the state [by the murder of *Cæsar*] leaves room for some grumbling. In fact, for *Antony's* having been taken out of the way by you—the best of men—and that it was by your kindness that this pest still survives, I sometimes do feel, though perhaps I have no right to do so, a little angry with you.'—(ed. Shuckburgh, iv, 175.)—A letter, by the way, which the unfortunate *Trebonius* may have never received; it was written on the same date as that of his cruel murder by *Dolabella*.—Ed.

34. out of the way] WALKER (Crit., ii, 171): Pronounce *out of* (or at least lay the stronger accent on 'of'), which removes the harshness.

37. address] MURRAY (N. E. D., s. v. *address*. 3.): To order or arrange for any purpose; to prepare, make ready.

Cæs. Are we all ready? What is now amisse,
That *Cæsar* and his Senate must redresse? 40

Metel. Most high, most mighty, and most puissant *Cæsar*
Metellus Cymbel throws before thy Seate
An humble heart.

Cæs. I must preuent thee *Cymbel* :
These couchings, and these lowly courtesies 45
Might fire the blood of ordinary men,
And turne pre-Ordinance, and first Decree
Into the lane of Children. Be not fond,
To thinke that *Cæsar* beares such Rebell blood 49

39. *Are...ready*] Continued to Cinna.
Ritson. Assigned to Casca. Coll. ii, iii.
(MS), Dyce, Craik, Sta. Wh. i, Huds.
we] *you* Han. ii.

45. *couchings*] *crouchings* Han. Coll.
MS.
courtesies] *curtesies* F₃. *curties*
F₄, Rowe.

46. *fire*] *fir* Warb. Ktly conj.

47. *first*] *fiat* Craik conj.

48. *lane*] *law* Johns. conj., Mal. Ran.
Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt, Coll. Dyce,
Craik, Sta. Wh. Hal. Ktly, Cam.+.
line Steevens conj. *play* Mason conj.
Huds. iii. *plai* Singer conj. (N. & Q.,
10 Ap., 1858). *vane* Bailey (i, 106).

38. *you are . . . reares your*] MALONE: According to the rules of grammar Shakespeare should certainly have written *his hand*; but he is often thus inaccurate. Compare: '—all his faults observ'd Set in a note-book, learn'd and conn'd by rote To cast into my teeth.'—IV, iii, 107.—STEEVENS: As this and similar offences against grammar might have originated only from the ignorance of the players, or their printers, I cannot concur in representing such mistakes as the positive inaccuracies of Shakespeare. According to this mode of reasoning the false spellings of the First Folio, as often as they are exemplified by corresponding false spellings in the same book, may also be charged upon our author.—ABBOTT (§ 247) gives other examples of this construction, and adds: ' . . . taking all these, we are, I think, justified in saying that the relative was often regarded like a noun, by nature third person singular, and, therefore, uninfluenced by the antecedent.'

41. *puisant*] CRAIK (p. 271): 'Puissant' and the substantive form *puissance* are, I believe, always disyllables in Milton; with Shakespeare they generally are so (as here), but not always.

47. *pre-Ordinance*] WARBURTON: That is, ordinance already established.—WRIGHT: Cæsar speaks as if his ordinances and decrees were those of a deity.—[Note also the arrogance indicated by the phrase 'his Senate,' in l. 40.—ED.]

48. *lane of Children*] JOHNSON's emendation *law*, and his interpretation, that fixed decree will be changed into such slight determinations as every start of will would alter, have been almost universally accepted (see *Text. Notes*).—STEEVENS, in support of the Folio, quotes: 'A narrow-minded man! my thoughts do dwell All in a lane.'—*Staple of News*, [V, i; ed. Gifford, p. 292]. 'The "lane of children" will then mean,' he remarks, 'the narrow conceits of children, which must change as their minds grow more enlarged.'

49. *Rebell*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. A. adjective. 2.): Disobedient to a superior or to some higher power; contumacious, refractory.

That will be thaw'd from the true quality 50
 With that which melteth Fooles, I meane sweet words,
 Low-crooked-curtfies, and base Spaniell fawning :
 Thy Brother by decree is banished :
 If thou doeft bend, and pray, and fawne for him,
 I spurne thee like a Curre out of my way : 55
 Know, *Cæsar* doth not wrong, nor without cause
 Will he be satisfied. 57

52. *Low-crooked-curtfies*] Ff, Rowe,
 Pope. *low-crooked curtsies* Theob.
 Coll. i, Sta. Wh. Huds. *low crooked*
curtsies Knt. *low-crookèd curt'sies*
 Dyce. *low-crouched courtesies* Coll. ii,

iii. (MS), Craik. *low-crooked-curt'sies*
 Han. et cet.

52. *Spaniell fawning*] *spaniel-fawn-*
ing Johns. Var. '73.

53. *banished*] *banishèd* Dyce.

50. **the true quality**] WRIGHT: For the use of the definite article where we should expect the possessive pronoun, compare Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*: 'For we see that it is the manner of men to scandalize and deprave that which retaineth the state and virtue, by taking advantage upon that which is corrupt and degenerate.'—Bk i, § 4; (Clar. ed., p. 27). Again, *Hamlet*: 'Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears Had left the flushing in her galled eyes.'—I, ii, 155; where, however, the Quarto of 1603 reads 'their flushing.'

56, 57. **Know, Cæsar . . . be satisfied**] These lines have been the occasion of much comment from the time of Pope down to the present, chiefly on account of two passages in the writings of Ben Jonson. In the *Induction to The Staple of News*, first acted in 1625, *Prologue* says to *Gossip Expectation*, 'Cry you mercy, you never did wrong but with just cause'—(ed. Gifford, p. 162). This of itself would hardly be sufficient evidence that Jonson was ridiculing the present passage in *Jul. Cæs.* were there not, as corroboration, the following in his *Discoveries* first printed in the Folio of 1641: '*De Shakspeare nostrat.—Augustus in Hat.*—I remember, the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, Would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour: for I loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped: *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power, would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter: as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, "Cæsar thou dost me wrong." He replied, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause," and such like; which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.'—Ed. Gifford, p. 175.—POPE, in a note on III, ii, 120, 'Cæsar has had great wrong,' adds a line, *Cæsar had never wrong but with just cause*, remarking: 'If ever there was such a line written by Shakespeare, I should fancy it might have its place here, and very humourously in the mouth of a Plebeian. One might

[56, 57. Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, . . . cause Will he be satisfied]

believe Ben Jonson's [*sic*] remark [as quoted above] was made upon no better credit than some blunder of an actor in speaking that verse near the beginning of the Third Act [the present line]. But the verse as cited by Jonson does not connect with "Will he be satisfied." Perhaps this play was never printed in Ben Jonson's time, and so he had nothing to judge by, but as the actor was pleased to speak it.—THEOBALD quotes the passages from Jonson, already given, but to which Pope has merely referred. 'I can't pretend to guess,' continues Theobald, 'for what reason Ben has left this sarcasm upon our author; when there is no room for it from any of the printed copies.'—Pope's attempted explanation of Jonson's misquotation we may charitably ascribe to carelessness rather than ignorance; he could hardly have been so unfamiliar with the Folios as not to have known that Jonson was the author of both the *Address to the Reader* and some commendatory lines in the First Folio; we, in these days, have no spur to prick the sides of our intent, but Theobald would have been more than human had he let slip this opportunity for a home thrust, with an unbated foil, the point envenomed too. 'I should not,' he says, 'have thought it worth while to revive the memory of such a remark [as Jonson's], had not Mr Pope purposely *deviated* into a criticism upon the affair. There is a sort of fatality attends some people when they aim at being hypercritical. . . . I don't know how this gentleman's head was employ'd when he made this profound observation; for he could not but know that B. Jonson liv'd to the year 1637, fourteen years before which the Players had put out their edition of all Shakespeare's genuine plays in Folio. The surly Laureate, therefore, cannot stand excus'd, from any blunder of an actor, for wounding the memory of a Poet, when the absurdity reflected on is not to be found in his works.'—TYRWHITT is of the opinion that the defect in the metre and the turn of the sentence in these two lines are indications that possibly Jonson did not misquote, and that originally the passage stood thus: 'Know Cæsar doth not wrong, *but with just cause*; Nor without cause will he be satisfied.' Tyrwhitt suggests as a reason for the present reading that Shakespeare, 'overawed by so great an authority, withdrew the words in question.' 'In poetical language,' he continues, "'wrong" may be very well understood to mean only *harm* or *hurt*, what the law calls *damnum sine injuria*; . . . in this sense there is nothing absurd in Cæsar's saying that *he doth not wrong* (*i. e.*, doth not inflict any evil or punishment) *but with just cause*. . . . The exceptionable words were undoubtedly left out when the play was printed [in the Folio], and, therefore, what are we to think of the malignant pleasure with which Jonson continued to ridicule his deceased friend for a slip, of which posterity, without his information, would have been totally ignorant.'—STEEVENS cites the passage from Jonson's *Discoveries* and quotes that from the *Induction* to the *Staple of News*, but makes no comment other than that Jonson here quoted 'unfaithfully,' and MALONE quotes, in support of Tyrwhitt's interpretation of 'wrong,' 'Time's glory is . . . To wrong the wronger, till he render right.'—*Rape of Luc.*, 942; and SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) furnishes many other similar interpretations.—GIFFORD'S note on the line in the *Induction* to *The Staple of News* is much to the purpose: 'The attacks on Jonson for this quotation, which are multiplied beyond credibility, are founded on two charges, first, that he has falsified the passage, and secondly that he was actuated by malignity in adverting to it at all. I cannot believe that the passage is "quoted" (as Steevens says) "unfaithfully." It is sufficient to look at it in the printed copy to be convinced that it never came in this form from

[56, 57. Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, . . . cause Will he be satisfied] the pen of Shakespeare. One of the conspirators . . . kneels at the feet of Cæsar, with this short address: "Metellus Cimber throws before thy seat, An humble heart." And what is Cæsar's reply? "Know Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause will he be satisfied." How satisfied, and of what? Here is no congruity, and the poetry is as mean as the sense. In Jonson it stands thus: "*Met. Cæsar, thou dost me wrong. Cæs. Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause.*" Here is, at least, a reference to something. The fact seems to be that this verse, which closely borders upon absurdity without being absolutely absurd, escaped the poet in the heat of composition, and being unluckily one of those quaint slips which are readily remembered became a jocular and familiar phrase . . . of the day. To suppose, with Steevens and Malone, that Jonson derived all his knowledge of Shakespeare's works from the printed copy is not a little ridiculous: those gentlemen choose to forget that he [Jonson] passed his life among play-houses and players, and that he must have frequently seen *Jul. Cæs.* on the stage. There he undoubtedly heard the expression he has quoted. He tells us himself that, till he was past the age of forty, he could repeat everything that he had written. His memory, therefore, was most retentive, and as his veracity was never called in question, but by the duumvirate just mentioned, I cannot but believe that he has given the words as they were uttered. When *The Staple of News* was written cannot be told, but it was acted in 1625, nine years after the death of Shakespeare; it seems, however, not to have been published until 1641, when the author himself had long been dead; though the title-page bears date 1631. *Jul. Cæs.* was printed in 1623; but it does not necessarily follow from this that Jonson consulted the players' copy. He had no occasion to look into it for what he already knew; and if he had opened it at all, the probability is that he would have paid no attention to their botchery (for theirs I am persuaded it was) when the genuine words were so familiar to him. He wrote and spoke at a time when he might easily have been put to shame if his quotation had been unfaithful. . . . After relieving Jonson from the heaviest part of the charge—that of sophisticating a line "for the gratification of his malignity"—I have no desire to push the matter further, or seek, in any way, to exonerate him from the crime of having produced it at all. *Valeat quod valeat.* Whether it be a *satire*, as Whalley, a *sneer*, as Malone, a *scoff*, as Steevens, a piece of wanton *malice*, as Tyrwhitt calls it, or all of them together, as others say, the reader may determine at his pleasure. I would only remind him that this is THE FIRST PLACE in Jonson's works in which I have found any expression that could be construed (whether fairly or not) into an attack on Shakespeare, and that a small part of the tenderness that is felt for this great poet would not be altogether cast away on Marlowe, Lyly, Kyd, and others of some note in their day, whom he incessantly ridicules without stint and without mercy, though he had obligations to some of them, and had received provocation from none.—COLLIER: It is very evident that Jonson was only speaking from memory, 'shaken' (as he himself confesses in the same work) 'with age now and sloth,' because Metellus had not said, 'Cæsar thou dost me wrong' nor anything like it, though that might have been the upshot of his complaint. We have little doubt that the Folio represents the passage as written by Shakespeare, and that it was never, in fact, liable to the criticism of Jonson. [Has not Collier referred Jonson's criticism to a period later than its original utterance? The greater number of the Remarks in the *Discoveries* were, according to Gifford, made subsequently to 1630. This remark was not, however, made when Jonson

[56, 57. Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, . . . cause Will he be satisfied] was 'shaken with age,' but at the time when *Jul. Cæs.* was a popular play in the early part of 1600, and in his *Discoveries* Jonson is quoting what he himself had said in his younger days—see his own words as given above.—ED.].—CRAIK (p. 274) thinks that as these two affirmations do not 'hang very well together,' and their meaning is not 'effectively expressed,' that, therefore, the lines are presumptively wrong—that they are actually wrong he finds evidence in the passage from Jonson's *Discoveries*; because Jonson gives the lines as they stood originally, and he had evidently heard of no alteration of them. 'After all,' adds Craik, 'Cæsar's declaring that he never did wrong but with just cause would differ little from what Bassanio says: "Wrest once the law to your authority: To do a great right, do a little wrong."—*Mer. of Ven.*, IV, i, 215.'—WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 246) asks, if the true reading be as Jonson gives it, whether light is thrown on this by: 'He never did fall off, my sovereign liege, But by the chance of war'?—*1 Hen. IV.*: I, iii, 94. [Not a ray.—ED.].—HALLIWELL, in reference to the present lines, queries: 'How satisfied, and of what? Take Jonson's words as literally true [Cæsar, thou dost me wrong. Cæs. Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause], and the whole becomes clear; not clear, indeed, as to Shakespeare's meaning, but it unfolds a dialogue not more obscure than many others in his plays; and without such an arrangement the only alternative is to accuse Jonson of wilful misrepresentation for the sake of a jest against a deceased friend, a theory, I should imagine, the wildest critic would hardly venture to adopt.—CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note IV.*): Surely the first twelve lines of Cæsar's reply, to which Gifford makes no allusion, cannot have been written by any other hand than Shakespeare's. On the whole, it seems more probable that Jonson, quoting from memory, quoted wrong than that the passage was altered in consequence of his censure, which was first made, publicly, in 1625 [when *The Staple of News* was first acted.].—INGLEBY (*Still Lion*, p. 152): Where was the blunder? We say it was Jonson's and his fellow censors': that the line they laughed at ['Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause'] was and is unimpeachable good sense, and that it is the editor's duty to use Jonson's censure for the purpose of correcting the Folio reading, and restoring the passage to that form in which, as we believe, it flowed from the pen of Shakespeare.—WRIGHT (*Clarendon Ed.*): I am not convinced that any change is necessary. Cæsar claims infallibility in his judgements, and a firmness of temper resisting appeals to his vanity. . . . If it had not been for Jonson's story, no one would have suspected any corruption in the passage. The question is, whether his authority is sufficient to warrant a change. . . . The supposition [that the lines originally stood as Jonson quotes them] is not probable, because if his remarks are hypercritical, and the lines yield a tolerable sense, Shakespeare would have been aware of this as well as any of his commentators, and is not likely to have made a change which is, confessedly, unnecessary. On the other hand, if the players introduced the change it is not easy to see why they should have left out the words which Jonson puts in the mouth of Metellus, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong'; nor why they should have written, 'Know, Cæsar doth not wrong' instead of 'Cæsar did never wrong.' The argument that the passage is obviously corrupt because it ends with an imperfect line is of no weight, because it would equally apply to the proposed restoration, in which another imperfect line is introduced. On the whole, I am disposed to believe that Jonson loved his jest better than his friend, and repeated a distorted version of the passage without troubling himself about its accuracy, because it afforded him an opportunity of

Metel. Is there no voyce more worthy then my owne, • 58
To found more sweetly in great *Cæsars* eare,
For the repealing of my banish'd Brother? 60

Bru. I kisse thy hand, but not in flattery *Cæsar* :
Desiring thee, that *Publius Cymber* may 62

giving a hit at Shakespeare. It is worth while to remark that for Metellus to interrupt Cæsar with the petulant exclamation, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong,' is out of character with the tone of his speeches before and after, which is that of object flattery.—HUDSON (Ed. iii, wherein Jonson's quotation is substituted for the Folio reading) asks: 'How came the passage to be as the Folio gives it?' and thus answers: 'As Jonson had some hand in getting up the Folio, it is nowise unlikely that he may have made the alteration; though it would seem as if he might have seen that the change just spoilt the poet's dramatic logic. Or it may well be that the Editors, not understanding the two senses of "wrong" [as given by Tyrwhitt above], struck out the words *but with just cause*, and then altered the language at other points in order to save the metre. Either of these is, I think, much more probable than that Shakespeare himself made the change in order to "escape laughter." At all events, Jonson is better authority as to how Shakespeare wrote the passage than the Folio is that Shakespeare himself made the change.'—[See *Appendix: FLEAY on Date of Composition*, where the present passage, with several others, is used to show that *Jul. Cæs.* is the joint work of Jonson and Shakespeare. Those editors who opine that the passage stood as quoted twice by Jonson have undoubtedly presented a goodly array of reasons in justification; but, on the other hand, we have the direct evidence of the Folio that such is not the case; Wright's remark, that we have here an instance of 'Jonson's preferring his jest to his friend,' is a further corroboration when it is recalled that this very trait is one of those given by Drummond in an analysis of Jonson's character after the memorable visit to him in 1619. Under date of January 19 Drummond writes in his journal: 'He is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to losse a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him (especiallie after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth).'*—*ed. Laing, p. 40, *Sh. Soc. Papers*.—Even had the line been as Jonson quotes it his words would have been none the less malicious. 'Would he had blotted a thousand [lines],' *and then but one example given, which, as has been shown, is quite in keeping with other grandiloquent speeches of Cæsar, even if it were originally as Jonson has quoted it.—*ED.]

57. *satisfied*] W. W. [WILLIAMS (*Parthenon*, 2nd Aug., 1862, p. 442): Upon comparing the line in *Meas. for Meas.*, 'Do not satisfy your resolution with hopes that are fallible,' III, i, 170, with the present passage, we find the same word ['satisfy'] used apparently in the same sense, and translatable only by the same modern equivalent, [*i. e.*, *unsettle*]. What precise shade of meaning Shakespeare may have attached to it is another matter; but we must pause before tampering with either passage, when each is so confirmatory of the other.

60. *repealing*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *repeal*, vb, 3 b.): To recall (a person) from exile. [Among examples from other writers the two following, from Shakespeare, are given: 'The banish'd Bullingbrooke repeales himselfe.'*—Rich. II: II, ii, 49*; 'This healthfull hand whose banisht sence Thou hast recal'd.'*—All's Well, II, iii, 55.*

Have an immediate freedome of repeale. 63

Cæs. What *Brutus*?

Cassi. Pardon *Cæsar* : *Cæsar* pardon : 65

As lowe as to thy foote doth *Cassius* fall,
To begge infranchisement for *Publius Cymber*.

Cæs. I could be well mou'd, if I were as you,
If I could pray to mooue, Prayers would mooue me :
But I am constant as the Northerne Starre, 70
Of whose true fixt, and resting quality,
There is no fellow in the Firmament.

The Skies are painted with vnnumbred sparkes, 73

64. Brutus?] Brutus!—Rowe et seq. Jen. *true-fixt* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.
66. *lowe*] *loue* F₂. *true-fix'd* Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Knt.
70-79. In margin Pope, Han. Dyce, Sta. Wh. Ktly, Cam.+ *true*,
71. *true fixt*] *true*, *fixt* Rowe, +, *fix'd* Coll. Hal.

62. *Publius Cymber*] SYKES: Plutarch does not mention this brother's name. There is here possibly an echo of the Cataline conspiracy, 63 B. C., and Publius Gabinus Cimber, for whose banishment Caesar pleaded; but Gabinus was put to death.

63. *freedome of repeale*] CRAIK (p. 276): That is, a free unconditional recall. This application of the term 'freedom' is a little peculiar. It is apparently imitated from the expression *freedom of a city*. As that is otherwise called the municipal franchise, so this is called 'enfranchisement' in l. 67.—WRIGHT interprets thus. 'Liberty to be recalled from banishment.'—[May not 'of' here be equivalent to *resulting from, as a consequence of*, as in, 'We were dead of sleep.'—*Temp.*, V, i, 221? —ABBOTT, § 168, gives other examples of this use. The sentence will thus mean that Cimber may be granted immediate freedom *in consequence* of his recall from exile.—ED.]

65. *Pardon Cæsar : Cæsar pardon*] Possibly the reason for this form of repetition is that each word may receive a passionate emphasis. First on one, then on the other, thus: '*Pardon, Cæsar; Cæsar, pardon.*'—ED.

69. *If I could pray to mooue, etc.*] WRIGHT suggests that Shakespeare may have taken the hint for this speech from Plutarch's description of the character of Brutus: 'For as Brutus's gravity and constant mind would not grant all men their requests that sued unto him, but, being moved with reason and discretion, did alway incline to that which was good and honest: even so, when it was moved to follow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement persuasion, that calmed not until he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him a man could never obtain anything at his hands, nor make him do that which was unjust. Further, he thought it not meet for a man of calling and estimation to yield unto the requests and entreaties of a shameless and importunate suitor, requesting things unmeet: the which notwithstanding some men do for shame, because they dare deny nothing.'—*Life of Brutus*, § 4; ed. Skeat, pp. 109, 110.

73. *painted*] For this use of 'paint,' in the sense of *decorate*, compare: 'And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue Do paint the meadows with delight.'—*Love's Labour's*, V, ii, 907.—SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 3.) also compares: 'Pluck the wings from painted

They are all Fire, and euey one doth shine :
 But, there's but one in all doth hold his place. 75
 So, in the World ; 'Tis furnish'd well with Men,
 And Men are Flefh and Blood, and apprehensiue ;
 Yet in the number, I do know but One
 That vnassayleable holds on his Ranke,
 Vnshak'd of Motion : and that I am he, 80
 Let me a little shew it, euen in this :
 That I was constant *Cymbel* should be banish'd,
 And constant do remaine to keepe him so.
Cinna. O *Cæsar*.
Cæf. Hence : Wilt thou lift vp Olympos ? 85
Decius. Great *Cæsar*.
Cæf. Doth not *Brutus* bootlesse kneele ? 87

80. *Motion*] *notion* Upton (Obs. p. 224). 87. *Doth*] *Do* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han.

84. *Cinna.*] *Cim.* Rowe, + (—Han.). *kneele?*] *kneel.* Rowe, Pope.

butterflies.'—*Mid. N. Dream*, III, i, 175, but this is not, I think, quite the same; the wing of a butterfly might properly be said to be *painted*; to paint a meadow with what causes delight or to paint the sky with sparks is not only far more poetical, but is in one case subjective; in the other, objective.—Ed.

77. *apprehensiue*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 4.): Of intelligent beings: In the habit, or capable of grasping with the mind, perceptive; hence, quick to learn, intelligent, 'sharp.' [Compare: 'In apprehension how like a god.'—*Hamlet*, II, ii, 319.]

79. *holds on his Ranke*] JOHNSON: Perhaps, 'holds on his *race*'; continues his course. We commonly say: To *hold a rank*, and to *hold on a course* or *way*.—M. MASON: That is, *continues to hold it*. [Johnson's proposal] *race* would but ill agree with *unshak'd of motion*, or with the comparison to the polar star. 'Holds on his rank,' in one part of the comparison, has precisely the same import with 'hold his place' in the other.

80. *Vnshak'd of Motion*] MALONE: That is, unshaken by suit or solicitation, of which the object is to move the person addressed.—CRAIK (p. 276) suggests as another interpretation, 'unshaken in his motion, or with perfectly steady movement.'

83. *And constant do remaine*, etc.] HUDSON: All through this scene *Cæsar* is made to speak quite out of character, and in a strain of hateful arrogance, in order, apparently, to soften the enormity of his murder, and to grind the daggers of the assassins to a sharper point. Perhaps, also, it is a part of the irony which so marks this play, to put the haughtiest words in *Cæsar*'s mouth just before his fall.

87. *Doth not Brutus*] JOHNSON conjectures that this should read *Do not*—the reading of the Second Folio, of which Johnson was apparently unaware—but Stevens rightly, I think, decides that the present text is preferable, and thus interprets the line: 'See you not my own Brutus kneeling in vain? What success can you expect to your solicitations, when his are ineffectual?' Stevens also compares the passage from Homer (which Johnson quotes in his preface) wherein Achilles

Cask. Speake hands for me.

88

They stab Cæsar.

Cæf. *Et Tu Brutè?*—Then iall Cæsar.

Dyes 90

88. [Stabbing him in the Neck. Cæsar rises, catches at the Dagger, and struggles with him: defends himself, for a time, against him, and against the other Conspirators; but, stab'd by Brutus,... Capell. Casca stabs Cæsar in the neck. Cæsar catches hold of his arm. He is then stabb'd by several

other conspirators, and at last by Marcus Brutus. Mal. et seq. (subs.)

90. Dyes] Om. Fl. He submits; muffles up his face in his Mantle; falls and dies. Senate in confusion. Cap. Dies. The Senators and people r. tire in confusion Mal. Steev. Varr.

addressing his captive [Hector] says: 'When so great a man as Patroclus has fallen before thee, dost thou complain of the common lot of humanity?'—[*Iliad*, xxii, 331-333.]—MALONE: By 'Brutus' here Shakespeare certainly meant *Marcus Brutus*, because he has confounded him with Decimus (or Decius, as he calls him); and imagined that Marcus Brutus was the peculiar favorite of Cæsar. [See note on this name, I, ii, 1.]

90. *Et Tu Brutè?*] MALONE: Suetonius says, '—with three and twenty wounds he [Cæsar] was stabbed, during which time he gave but one groan (without any word uttered), and that was at the first thrust; though some have written that, as Marcus Brutus came running upon him, he said, *καὶ σὺ τέκνον, and thou my sonne*.'—Holland's Translation; [ed. Henley, i, 75]. . . . Plutarch [North's translation] says that, on receiving his first wound from Casca, 'he caught hold of Casca's sword, and held it hard; and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin, *O vile traitor, Casca; what dost thou?* and Casca in Greek to his brother, *Brother, help me*.' . . . Neither of these writers, therefore, we see, furnished Shakespeare with this exclamation. His authority appears to have been a line in *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, 1600, on which he formed his 3 *Henry VI*: '*Et Tu, Brutel? Wilt thou stab Cæsar too?*'—[Cambridge Edd., V, i, 53.]. This line Shakespeare rejected, . . . but it appears it had made an impression on his memory. The same line is also found in Nicholson's *Acolastus, his Afterwille*, 1600. So, in *Cæsar's Legend: Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587: 'O this, quoth I, is violence; then Cassius pierc'd my breast; And Brutus thou, my sonne, quoth I, whom erst I loved best.'—[ed. Haslewood, i, 274]. The Latin words probably appeared originally in the old Latin play. See notes on I, i, 1.—THOMSON (p. 65, *foot-note*): The words *καὶ σὺ τέκνον* are not in the Salmasian copy [of Suetonius's *Lives*], and I am strongly inclined to reject their authority. It is extremely improbable that Cæsar, who had never before avowed Brutus to be his son, should make so unnecessary an acknowledgement at the moment of his death. Exclusive of this objection, the apostrophe seems too verbose, both for the suddenness and the celerity of the occasion. But this is not all. Can we suppose that Cæsar, though a perfect master of the Greek, would at such a time have expressed himself in that language rather than the Latin, . . . which he spoke with peculiar elegance? Upon the whole, the probability is that the words uttered by Cæsar were *Et tu, Brutel* which, while equally expressive of astonishment with the other, and even of tenderness, are both more natural and more emphatic.—[Dion Cassius, who wrote at least one hundred years later than Suetonius, says: 'Thereupon they attacked him [Cæsar] from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Cæsar was unable

Cin. Liberty, Freedome ; Tyranny is dead, 91
Run hence, proclaime, cry it about the Streets.

Cass. Some to the common Pulpits, and cry out
Liberty, Freedome, and Enfranchisement.

Bru. People and Senators, be not affrighted : 95
Fly not, stand still : Ambitions debt is paid.

Cask. Go to the Pulpit *Brutus*.

Dcc. And *Cassius* too.

Bru. Where's *Publius* ?

Cin. Heere, quite confounded with this mutiny. 100

Met. Stand fast together, leaft some Friend of *Cæsars*
Should chance——

Bru. Talke not of standing. *Publius* good cheere,
There is no harme intended to your perfon,
Nor to no Roman else : so tell them *Publius*. 105

Cass. And leaue vs *Publius*, leaft that the people
Rufhing on vs, should do your Age some mischiefe. 107

101. *Friend*] *friends* Pope ii, Theob. 105. *to no*] *ot no* F.
Warb. Johns. Var. '73.

to say or do anything, but, veiling his face, was slain with many wounds. This is the truest account. In times past some have made a declaration like this, that to Brutus who struck him severely he said: "Thou, too, my child?"—Bk. xlv, § 10. —ED.]—FERRERO (ii, 353, *foot-note*): *Cæsar's* words to Brutus, as he wrapped himself in his toga, are certainly a myth. How could he wrap himself in his toga with his assassins striking at him from all sides? As for the invocation to Brutus (*tu quoque, Brute, fili mi*), it is merely a piece of sentiment tacked on to the fantastic legend which makes Brutus the child of *Cæsar*.

97. *Cask. Go to . . . Brutus*] STEEVENS: We have now taken leave of *Casca*. Shakespeare for once knew that he had a sufficient number of heroes on his hands, and was glad to lose an individual in the crowd. It may be added that the singularity of *Casca's* manners would have appeared to little advantage amidst the succeeding varieties of tumult and war. [Steevens is, however, here following Pope's assignment of speeches. The Folios give ll. 118, 119 to *Casca*; Pope, in his second edition, gives them to *Cassius*, see *Text. Notes* and *Comments, ad loc.*—ED.]

103. *cheere*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. subst. 3.): Disposition, frame of mind, mood, especially as showing itself by external demeanor, etc. Usually with qualification, as 'good,' 'glad,' 'joyful,' etc. [Murray gives as its derivation the old French word *chiere, chere*, face.]

105. *Nor . . . no*] For other examples of double or triple negatives for emphasis, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 406.

107. *your Age*] WRIGHT: *Publius* is here represented as an old man, and can, therefore, hardly be the same as Antony's sister's son, mentioned in IV, i. Shakespeare seems to have taken *Publius* as a convenient and familiar name for any Roman. See above, l. 67.

Bru. Do so, and let no man abide this deede,
But we the Doers. 108

Enter Trebonius.

110

Cass. Where is *Antony*?

Treb. Fled to his House amaz'd:
Men, Wiues, and Children, stare, cry out, and run,
As it were Doomefday.

Bru. Fates, we will know your pleasures : 115
That we shall dye we know, 'tis but the time
And drawing dayes out, that men stand vpon.

Cass. Why he that cuts off twenty yeares of life,
Cuts off so many yeares of fearing death.

Bru. Grant that, and then is Death a Benefit : 120
So are we *Cæsars* Friends, that haue abridg'd
His time of fearing death. Stoope Romans, stoope, 122

- | | |
|--|---|
| 110. SCENE II. Pope, + (—Var. 'y'). | Dyce i, Craik, Wh. Ktly, Cam.+, |
| 111. <i>Where is</i>] <i>Where's</i> Pope, Han. | Huds. Cass. Pope et cet. |
| Cap. Steev. Varr. Sing. i, Coll. Craik, | 119. <i>off</i>] of F ₄ . |
| Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. | 122–127. <i>Stoope Romans ... Liberty</i>] |
| 115. <i>will</i>] <i>welt</i> St. conj. | Casc. <i>Stoop Romans...Liberty</i> Pope, |
| 118. <i>Cask.</i>] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. | Warb. |

108. *abide*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. verb. 17. ¶.): Through confusion of form with *Abye* [*to pay the penalty, to atone for*], when that verb was becoming archaic, and through association of sense between *abye* (pay for) *a deed*, and *abide the consequences of a deed*, 'abide' has been erroneously used for *abye*. [Compare, for another example of this use, III, ii, 124.]

115. *we will know*] DEIGHTON: That is, we desire to know, etc.—MARK HUNTER: This [interpretation] seems inconsistent with what immediately follows, and with Brutus's philosophy. Brutus seems to mean, What destiny has in store for us shall be known one day; meantime we know we have to die. Compare what Brutus says before Philippi: 'But it sufficeth that the day will end And then the end is known.'—V, i, 142.

117. *stand vpon*] NARES: *To stand upon to anyone*, to be of great importance to him. [So, also, DYCE (*Gloss.*.)]

118, 119. *Cask. Why he . . . fearing death*] WRIGHT, who follows Pope's assignment (see *Text. Notes*), says: 'This speech . . . belongs to Cassius, who is a stoic.'—HUDSON (ed. iii, p. 190): Surely [this speech] is more characteristic of Casca than of Cassius. And I am the more unwilling to take it from Casca, as it is the last he utters.

122. *Stoope Romans, stoope*] POPE says, in reference to his assignment of this speech to Casca: 'In all the editions this speech is ascribed to Brutus, than which nothing is more inconsistent with his mild and philosophical character. But (as I often find speeches in the later editions put into wrong mouths, different from the first publish'd by the author) I think this liberty not unreasonable.'—[It will be remembered that it is Pope who says, in his *Preface*, that, were the names

And let vs bathe our hands in *Cæsars* blood 123
 Vp to the Elbowes, and besmeare our Swords :
 Then walke we forth, euen to the Market place, 125
 And wauing our red Weapons o're our heads,
 Let's all cry Peace, Freedome, and Liberty.
Cassi. Stoop then, and wafh . How many Ages hence 128

123. *bathe*] *bath* F₄, Cap.

to be omitted from the speeches in any play, it would not be difficult to place them correctly, so distinctly consistent are the characters to their utterances. Possibly this thought prompted him to this change and its justification.—ED.]—THEOBALD (*Letter* to Warburton; Nichols, II, 405): In this [change of speech] I think [Pope] has been more nice than wise. Brutus esteemed the death of Cæsar a sacrifice to liberty; and as such gloried in his heading the enterprize. Besides, our author is strictly copying history. 'Brutus and his followers, being yet hot with the murder, marched in a body from the Senate-house to the Capitol with their drawn swords, with an air of confidence and assurance.'—Plutarch, *Cæsar*, § 45. And: 'Brutus and his party betook themselves to the Capitol, and in their way shewing their hands all bloody, and their naked swords, proclaiming liberty to the people.'—*Ibid.*, *Brutus*, § 13.—[This note, with one or two slight changes, appears also in Theobald's edition, 1733. The passages from Plutarch contain, however, in both instances many verbal differences from North's translation.—ED.]

123. *bathe our . . . blood*] UPTON (p. 90): This was agreeable to an ancient and religious custom. So in Æschylus we read that the seven captains, who came against Thebes, sacrificed a bull, and dipped their hands in the gore, invoking at the same time the gods of war, and binding themselves with an oath to revenge the cause of Eteocles (*Seven Against Thebes*, v, 42). . . . By this solemn action Brutus gives the assassination of Cæsar a religious air and turn.—CAPELL (i, 105): For the action which is ushered in by these words we have seen a preparative [in that passage] where the same speaker opposes shedding any more blood but only Cæsar's, which, in his idea, was an offering to the goddess he worshipped most—public liberty; and from this idea results the action proposed by him; such action having many examples in ancient sacrifices, the more solemn particularly, as this is thought, by the speaker. [See *Appendix: Source of Plot*; PATON.]

127. *Let's all cry Peace*] KNIGHT (*Studies*, p. 416): We have seen the stoic Brutus . . . gradually warm up to the great enterprise of asserting his principles by one terrible blow, for triumph or for extinction. The blow is given. The excitement which succeeds is wondrously painted by the poet, without a hint from the historian. The calm of the gentle Brutus is lifted up, for the moment, into an attitude of terrible sublimity. It is he who says: 'Stoop, Romans, stoop. . . . Let's all cry, Peace, Freedom, and Liberty!' From that moment the character flags; the calmness returns; something also of the irresolution comes back. Brutus is too high-minded for his position.

128. *wash*] M. MASON: That is, *wash over*, as we say, washed with gold; Cassius means that they should steep their hands in the blood of Cæsar.

128. *How many Ages hence*, etc.] MACCALLUM (p. 280, *foot-note*): What a strange effect these words are apt to produce on auditor and reader! 'How true!' we say, 'The prophecy is fulfilled. This is happening now.' And then the reflec-

Shall this our lofty Scene be acted ouer,
In State vnborne, and Accents yet vnknowne ?

130

Bru. How many times shall *Cæsar* bleed in sport,
That now on *Pompey's* Basis lye along,
No worthier then the dust ?

Cassi. So oft as that shall be,
So often shall the knot of vs be cail'd,

135

129. [Dipping their swords in Cæsar's Blood. Rowe, +, Jen.

ouer] *o'er* Pope, +, Walker
(Crit. iii, 247), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

130. *State*] Mal. *States* Ff et cet.

131. *Bru.*] Casc. Pope, Han.

132. *lye*] *lyes* F₁. *lies* F₂F₃.

134. *Cassi.*] *Bru.* Pope, Han.
shall be] Om. Steev. conj.

tion comes that just because that is the case, there is no prophecy and no truth in the scene; the whole is being enacted in sport. We experience a kind of vertigo, in which we cannot distinguish the real and the illusory, and yet are conscious of both in their highest potency. And this is characteristic of all poetry, though it is not always brought so clearly before the mind. . . . Compare the reference to the 'squeaking Cleopatra' in *Ant. & Cleo.*, which is almost exactly parallel; compare, too, Shakespeare's favorite device of the play within the play, when we see the actors of a few minutes ago sitting like ourselves as auditors; and thus, on the one hand, their own performance seems comparatively real, but, on the other, there is the constant reminder that we are in their position, and the whole is merely spectacular.

130 *State*] MALONE is the only editor who retains this reading of the Folio, and thus interprets it: 'In theatric pomp yet undisplayed.' To this STEEVENS replies: 'But surely by "unborn states" our author must have meant communities which as yet have no existence.'—WRIGHT thinks the present reading an example of 'one of the commonest misprints in the First Folio'; viz.: the omission or insertion of an *s* at the end of words, for which see WALKER, *Crit.*, i, 233. Wright also calls attention to another omission of the final *s* in the word 'lye', l. 132; this last may, however, be due to the plural by attraction from the two words directly preceding 'lye.'—ED.

134. *So oft as that*, etc.] HUDSON: This [and the two preceding speeches], vain-gloriously anticipating the stage celebrity of the deed, are very strange; and unless there be a shrewd irony lurking in them, I am at a loss to understand the purpose of them. Their effect on my mind has long been to give a very ambitious air to the work of these professional patriots, and to cast a highly theatrical colour on their alleged virtue; as if they had sought to immortalize themselves by 'striking the foremost man of all this world.'—[Hudson is here, I think, a victim to the 'vertigo' mentioned by MacCallum in his note on l. 128 above. Has it, however, been noticed that although Shakespeare has here undoubtedly produced a novel effect, yet it is done at the expense of making his heroes theatrical patriots; this will possibly also account for a like tone in the speeches of Brutus, notably that one beginning 'Fates, we will know your pleasures.'—ED.]

135. *knot*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *substant.*, III, 18.): A small group, cluster, band, or company of persons or things (gathered together in one place, or associated in any way). [The present line quoted.]

The Men that gaue their Country liberty. 136

Dec. What, shall we forth?

Cass. I, euery man away.

Brutus shall leade, and we will grace his heeles

With the most boldest, and best hearts of Rome. 140

Enter a Seruant.

Bru. Soft, who comes heere? A friend of *Antonies*.

Ser. Thus *Brutus* did my Master bid me kneele;

Thus did *Mark Antony* bid me fall downe,

And being prostrate, thus he bad me say: 145

Brutus is Noble, Wife, Valiant, and Honest;

Cæsar was Mighty, Bold, Royall, and Louing: 147

136. *their*] *our* Steev. Varr. Sing. i.

137. *What*] *What, what* Rowe.

138. *man away*] *man: Away* Cap. conj.

140. *boldest, and best*] *bold, and the best* Rowe, Pope, Han.

141. *Enter...*] After *heere*, l. 142 Dyce, Sta.

142. *A...Antonies*] Given to Servant Pope, Han.

143. [Kneeling. Pope.

147. *Bold, Royall*] *royal, bold* Pope Theob. Han. Warb.

140. *most boldest*] For another example of this double superlative compare: 'most unkindest,' III, ii, 193; and see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 11.—CRAIK (p. 281) Calls attention to the form *the most Highest*, in the old version of the *Psalms*. 'Nor is there,' he continues, 'anything intrinsically absurd in such a mode of expression. If we are not satisfied to consider it as merely an intensified superlative, we may say that "the most boldest" should mean those who are *boldest among the boldest*. . . . In most cases, however, the double superlative must be regarded as intended merely to express the extreme degree more emphatically.'

141. *Enter a Seruant*] MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Artist*, p. 108). This simple stage-direction is the 'catastrophe,' the turning round of the whole action; the arch has reached its apex and the Reaction has begun. So instantaneous is the change, that though it is only the servant of Antony who speaks, yet the first words of his message ring with the tone of subtly-poised sentences which are inseparably associated with Antony's eloquence; it is like the first announcement of that which is to be a final theme in music, and from this point this tone dominates the scene to the very end. . . . In the whole Shakespearean Drama there is nowhere such a swift swinging round of a dramatic action as is here marked by this sudden upspringing of the suppressed individuality in Antony's character, hitherto so colourless that he has been spared by the conspirators as a mere limb of Cæsar. The tone of exultant triumph in the conspirators has in an instant given place to Cassius's 'misgiving' as Brutus grants Antony an audience; and when Antony enters, Brutus's first words to him fall into the form of an apology.—[That this is the turning point is quite true; but is there anything but the light of our knowledge of what is to follow to indicate it directly? The whole tone of Antony's message is completely submissive; and the apologetic tone of Brutus's first speech to him is no more so than his words to Publius directly after the murder. Cassius, it will be recalled, also had misgivings in regard to Antony from the first.—Ed.]

Say, I loue *Brutus*, and I honour him ; 148

Say, I fear'd *Cæsar*, honour'd him, and lou'd him.

If *Brutus* will vouchsafe, that *Antony* 150

May safely come to him, and be resolu'd

How *Cæsar* hath deferu'd to lye in death,

Mark Antony, shall not loue *Cæsar* dead

So well as *Brutus* liuing ; but will follow

The Fortunes and Affayres of Noble *Brutus*,¹ 155

Thorough the hazards of this vntrod State,

With all true Faith. So fayer my Master *Antony*.

Bru. Thy Master is a Wife and Valiant Romane,

I neuer thought him worfe :

Tell him, so please him come vnto this place 160

He shall be satisfied : and by my Honor

Depart vntouch'd.

Scr. Ile fetch him presently. *Exit Seruant.*

Bru. I know that we shall haue him well to Friend.

Cassi. I wish we may : But yet haue I a minde 165

That feares him much : and my misgiuing still

Falles shrewdly to the purpose.

Enter Antony.

Bru. But heere comes *Antony* :

Welcome *Mark Antony*. 170

Ant. O mighty *Cæsar* ! Dost thou lye so lowe ?

156. *Thorough*] *Through* Pope.

165. *haue I, I have* Pope ii.

168. *Enter Antony*] After *Antony*, l.

169 Dyce, Sta.

SCENE III. Pope, + (—Var. '73).

169, 170. *But...Antony*] One line Pope et seq.

171. [Kneeling over the body. Coll. ii. (MS).

160. *so please him come*] That is, *if it may* so please him *to* come; see, for this use of 'so,' ABBOTT, § 133; and for examples of the omission of *to* in the infinitive, *Ibid.*, § 349.—ED.]

164. *to Friend*] That is, *for a friend*; see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 189.

166. *my misgiuing*, etc.] WRIGHT: That is, my presentment of evil always turns out to be very much to the purpose, and is, therefore, to be regarded. . . . 'Shrewdly,' which literally means *mischievously*, is used as an intensive adverb.

171. O mighty *Cæsar*] DAVIES (ii, 242): Wilks, . . . as soon as he entered the stage, without taking any notice of the conspirators, walked swiftly up to the dead body of *Cæsar* and knelt down: he paused some time before he spoke; and, after surveying the corpse with manifest tokens of the deepest sorrow, he addressed it in a most affecting and pathetic manner. [A stage-direction in Collier's (MS) calls for this action on the part of *Antony*; and further that at l. 177 he should rise

Are all thy Conquests, Glories, Triumphes, Spoiles, 172
 Shrunke to this little Measure? Fare thee well.
 I know not Gentlemen what you intend,
 Who else must be let blood, who else is ranke : 175
 If I my selfe, there is no houre so fit
 As *Cæfars* deaths houre ; nor no Instrument
 Of halfe that worth, as those your Swords ; made rich
 With the most Noble blood of all this World.
 I do beseech yee, if you beare me hard, 180
 Now, whil't your purpled hands do reeke and smoake,
 Fulfill your pleasure. Liue a thousand yeeres,
 I shall not finde my selfe so apt to dye. 183

180. *yee*] *you* Sing. Ktly, Huds.

180. *you*] *ye* Theob. ii.

and address the assassins.—ED.]—WRIGHT: By apostrophising Cæsar's body Antony avoids the embarrassment of first meeting the conspirators.

175. *must be let blood*] Compare: 'His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret Castle.'—*Rich. III.* III, i, 183.

175. *ranke*] WRIGHT: That is, diseased from repletion. For such disorders blood-letting was the old remedy.

177. *deaths houre*] WRIGHT: The *Globe Edition*, I believe by an oversight, has *death hour*, as Collier also printed it in his one-volume edition. It stands 'death's hour' in the Folios, and we have the analogy of *deaths man*, although, on the other hand, Shakespeare uses *death-bed* everywhere except where he makes his Welsh Parson Evans say 'upon his death's-bed.'—*Merry Wives*, I, i, 53. In Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* we find 'death's wound.'—p. 61.

180. *beseech yee, if you*] For this use of 'ye' and 'you,' compare: 'Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong.'—I, iii, 101.

180. *beare me hard*] Compare: 'Caius Ligarius doth bear Cæsar hard,' II, i, 239; also, I, ii, 337, and note.

181. *reeke and smoake*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *reck*, verb. 1.): To emit smoke. (2) To emit hot vapour or steam; to smoke with heat; to exhale vapour (or fog). (c) of blood freshly shed, or of things smeared with this.—[Under this last division Craigie quotes the present line.—It is evident that originally the verbs 'to reek' and 'to smoke' were synonymous; then as that which emits vapour is itself moist the cause and its effect were merged. For a survival of the older word compare the local name for Edinburgh, 'Auld Reekie.'—ED.]

182. *Liue a thousand yeeres*] CRAIK (p. 284): That is, *Suppose I live; If I live; Should I live*. But, although the suppression of the conditional conjunction is common and legitimate enough, that of the pronoun, or nominative to the verb, is hardly so defensible. The feeling probably was that the 'I' in the next line might serve for both verbs.—WRIGHT compares: 'Live thou, I live.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, III, ii, 61; and also the elliptical phrase: '—so please him come.'—I. 160, above.

183. *apt*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. adj. 2. b.): Fit, prepared, ready.—[The present line quoted.—WRIGHT compares: 'Besides it were a mock Apt to be render'd,

No place will please me fo, no meane of death,
 As heere by *Cæsar*, and by you cut off, 185
 The Choice and Mafter Spirits of this Age.

Bru. O *Antony*! Begge not your death of vs :
 Though now we must appeare bloody and cruell,
 As by our hands, and this our present Acte
 You see we do : Yet see you but our hands, 190
 And this, the bleeding businesse they haue done :
 Our hearts you see not, they are pittifull :
 And pitty to the generall wrong of Rome,
 As fire driues out fire, so pitty, pitty
 Hath done this deed on *Cæsar*. For your part, 195
 To you, our Swords haue leaden points *Marke Antony* :

184-186. Mnemonic Warb.

184. *meane*] means Pope, Han.

for some one to say, Break up the senate, till another time.' But is this a parallel use? Decius means, I think, not that the mock would be *fitting*, but that it would be *likely*; which last meaning of 'apt' Murray gives under 4. a.—Ed.]

184. *meane*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. *subst.* 4) gives numerous examples of 'mean' in the sense of that which is used to effect a purpose; it is, however, oftener used in the plural, as Schmidt remarks.—Ed.

185. *by Cæsar, and by you*] That is, here *beside* Cæsar, and *at your hands*.

186. *The Choice and Master Spirits*] CRAIK (p. 284): 'Choice' here may be understood either in the substantive sense as the *élite*, or, better perhaps, as an adjective in concord with spirits.—[SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. *Choice*, 5. The best part, select assemblage) quotes: '—a braver choice of dauntless spirits Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er Did never float upon the swelling tide.'—*King John*, II, i, 72; and MURRAY, *N. E. D.*, likewise quotes these lines from *King John* as the only example of 'choice' used as a substantive as suggested above by Craik. His alternative interpretation that this word is better taken as an adjective in concord with spirits is the 'choice' of the present Ed.]

194. *As fire . . . fire*] MALONE: So in *Coriol.*, 'One fire drives out one fire; one nail one nail.'—IV, vii, 54.—STEEVENS: Again in *Two Gentlemen*: 'Even as one heat another heat expels, Or as one nail by strength drives out another.'—II, iv, 192.—CRAIK remarks that this illustration is a favorite one with Shakespeare, and, besides the two passages quoted by Malone and Steevens, gives: 'Tut, man, one fire burns out, another's burning.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, I, ii, 46; and says: 'This is probably also the thought which we have in the heroic Bastard's exhortation to his uncle in *King John*: "Be stirring as the time; be fire with fire; Threaten the threatener."—V, i, 48.'—DELIUS adds another passage from *King John*: 'And falsehood falsehood cures, as fire cures fire Within the scorched veins of one new burn'd.'—III, i, 277.

194. *fire*] For other examples wherein words ending in *-ire* and *-our* are at times either monosyllabic or disyllabic for metrical reasons, see WALKER, *Vers.*, 136, or ABBOTT, § 475.

Our Armes in strength of malice, and our Hearts

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197. *in strength of malice,*] *exempt from malice,* Pope, + (—Var. '73). *no strength of malice;* Cap. Jen. Sing. ii, Ktly, Huds. *in strength of amity,* Sing. (N. & Q., 24 Jan., 1857), Huds. iii. *in strength of friendship* Ktly conj.

in strength of welcome, Coll. ii. (MS), Craik. *in strength of manhood,* Coll. iii. *in strength of justice,* Cartwright. *unfraught of malice* Anon. ap. Cam. *Forspent of malice* Anon. ap. Cam.

197. **Our Armes in strength of malice]** STEEVENS: To you (says Brutus) our swords have leaden points; our arms, strong in the deed of malice they have just performed, and our hearts united like those of brothers in the action, are yet open to receive you with all possible regard. The supposition that Brutus meant their hearts were of brothers' temper in respect of Antony seems to have misled those who have commented on this passage before.—[Who are these commentators to whom Steevens here refers? His note appears for the first time in the *Variorum* of 1773, and Capell's *Notes* were not published until 1779, so it is impossible that Steevens could have seen them. He proposes, 'if alteration were necessary,' to read: 'our arms *no* strength of malice'; but this is the reading in Capell's *text* which appeared about 1761 or 1762. Steevens does not, however, call attention to the fact that this emendation rightfully belongs to a predecessor; and the absence of Capell's name throughout the other *Variorum* editions seems to indicate an intentional neglect.—ED.]—CAPELL (i, 106): 'Strength of malice' is strength proceeding from malice, strength set on work by it; and the speaker purges his *arm*, and the arms of his company, from imputation of any such strength to guide the 'swords' that he talks of, or any other: and this sense is procured for us by means simple, and critical, and with it a flow becoming an orator.—BADHAM (p. 287): 'No strength of malice' [as Capell's text reads] would imply that there was malice, but that it was of an impotent kind. Besides, there is great awkwardness of construction in having three clauses of which the first and the last have each its appropriate verb, 'have' and 'receive in,' while the middle one is obliged to borrow from its neighbor. [In order to overcome this difficulty Badham proposes: *Our arms unstring their malice.*]—SINGER (*Notes & Queries*, 24 Jan., 1857, p. 61): We may be disposed to ask [Dr Badham] what arms are to *unstring their malice*? I regret exceedingly that I did not give this passage the attention I have done since, when I printed the play; I have since thought it certain that we should find a solution of the difficulty from some parallel passage in the poet, and I have not been disappointed. In *Ant. & Cleo.*, when Mark Antony is leaving Octavius, he says on embracing him: 'Come, Sir, come, I'll wrestle with you in my strength of love.'—III, ii, 61. Who can doubt, therefore, that we should read: 'Our arms in strength of *amity*'? Here all is congruous. The metaphorical antithesis is palpable between the leaden points of the swords—*weak* and *untempered*—and the transference of the qualities of *strength* and *temper* to the arms of amity and hearts of brothers.—[Singer, in defence of his emendation, says that the word was likely written *amitie* in the MS, as sometimes it is so printed in the Folio, and might thus be easily mistaken by the compositor for 'malice.' In *Notes & Queries*, 10 April, 1858, he repeated this suggested change, without referring to his former note, and added in corroboration another quotation from *Ant. & Cleo.*: 'that which is the strength of their amity shall prove the immediate author of their variance.'—II, vi, 137.—ED.]—GRANT WHITE: That is, our arms, even in the intensity of their hate to Cæsar's tyranny, and our hearts, in their brotherly love to all Romans, do receive you in.—JOHN

Of Brothers temper, do receiue you in, 198
With all kinde loue, good thoughts, and reuerence.

Cassi Your voyce shall be as strong as any mans, 200
In the disposing of new Dignities.

Brut. Onely be patient, till we haue appeas'd
The Multitude, beside themselves with feare,
And then, we will deliuer you the cause,
Why I, that did loue *Cæsar* when I strooke him, 205
Haue thus proceeded.

Ant. I doubt not of your Wifedome : 207

198. *in*] *in them* Ktly.

205. *strooke*] *struck* Cap.

206. *Haue thus proceeded*] *Proceeded*
thus Pope, + (—Var. '73).

207. *Wifedome*] *wifdom* F₃F₄.

HUNTER: Our arms with strength like that of malice, and, at the same time, our hearts full of brotherly affection, embrace and welcome you. . . . Brutus alludes to Antony's saying: 'if you bear me hard.' Observe also what is said a little farther on about 'ingratitude more strong than traitors' arms.'—WRIGHT: That is, strong, as if nerved in malice against you, the death grip of enemies being stronger than the most loving embrace. The same apparently contradictory figure is used in *Hamlet*: 'The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried, Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.'—I, iii, 63; where 'grapple' naturally describes a hostile and not a friendly act. . . . If any change be necessary, Singer's [see *Text. Notes*] is the best that has been proposed, 'malice' and *amitie* being words which might be confounded by a printer. But it gives a rather feeble sense, and I prefer to leave the text as it stands, although the figure may be a violent one.—MACMILLAN: Brutus means that towards him they had no more malice than brothers have towards one another. 'Of brothers' temper' is an adjectival phrase qualifying 'arms' and 'hearts,' and itself modified by the adverbial phrase 'in strength of malice.' The disorder in the arrangement of the sentence is probably due to 'and our hearts' being added as an after thought in the middle of the sentence. Compare: 'And my heart too.'—IV, iii, 130. For 'strength,' such a small amount of strength that it is equivalent to weakness, compare *Hecuba*, 227, where ἀλκῇ means powerlessness. Compare also *Cymbeline*, where 'malice' expresses *absence of malice*: 'The power that I have on you is to spare you; The malice towards you to forgive you: live.'—V, v, 419.

200, 201. *Your voyce . . . new Dignities*] BOSWELL: Here, as Blakeway observes, Shakespeare has maintained the consistency of Cassius's character, who, being selfish and greedy himself, endeavors to influence Antony by similar motives. Brutus, on the other hand, is invariably represented as disinterested and generous, and is adorned by the poet with so many good qualities that we are almost tempted to forget that he was an assassin.—MARK HUNTER: It is significant that Brutus, so scrupulous not to stain the honesty of his cause by the imposition of an oath, should suffer such an utterance as this of Cassius to pass without protest, and with apparent approval. He either cannot or will not see the true character of his associates, and the punishment which waits on a blindness, at once intellectual and moral, is near at hand.

Let each man render me his bloody hand. 208
 First *Marcus Brutus* will I shake with you ;
 Next *Caius Cassius* do I take your hand ; 210
 Now *Decius Brutus* yours ; now yours *Metellus* ;
 Yours *Cinna* ; and my valiant *Caska*, yours ;
 Though laft, not leaft in loue, yours good *Trebonius*
 Gentlemen all : Alas, what fhall I fay,
 My credit now ftands on fuch flippery ground, 215
 That one of two bad wayes you muft conceit me,
 Either a Coward, or a Flatterer.
 That I did loue thee *Cæfar*, O 'tis true :
 If then thy Spirit looke vpon vs now,
 Shall it not greeue thee deerer then thy death, 220
 To fee thy *Antony* making his peace,
 Shaking the bloody fingers of thy Foes ?
 Moft Noble, in the prefence of thy Coarfe, 223

208. [Taking them one after the
 other. Coll. ii. (MS).]

214. *all*:] *all*—Rowe et seq.

216. *wayes*] *waies* F₃.

218. [Turning to the body and bend-
 ing over it. Coll. ii. (MS).]

222, 223. *Foes? ... Coarfe,*] *foes, ... corse?*
 Rowe et seq.

208. Let each man render me his bloody hand] MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Artist*, p. 198): The quick subtlety of Antony's intellect has grasped the whole situation, and with irresistible force he slowly feels his way towards using the conspirators' aid for crushing themselves and avenging their victim. The bewilderment of the conspirators in the presence of this unlooked-for force is seen in Cassius's unavailing attempt to bring Antony to the point, as to what compact he will make with them. Antony, on the contrary, reads his men with such nicety that he can indulge himself in sailing close to the wind, and grasps fervently the hands of the assassins while he pours out a flood of bitter grief over the corpse. It is not hypocrisy nor a trick to gain time, this conciliation of his enemies. Steeped in the political spirit of the age, Antony knows, as no other man, the mob which governs Rome, and is conscious of the mighty engine he possesses in his oratory to sway that mob in what direction he pleases; when his bold plan has succeeded, and his adversaries have consented to meet him in contest of oratory, then ironical conciliation becomes the natural relief to his pent-up passion: 'Friends am I with you all and love you all.' It is as he feels the sense of innate oratorical power and of the opportunity his enemies have given to that power that he exaggerates his temporary amity with the men he is about to crush; it is the executioner arranging his victim comfortably on the wrack before he proceeds to apply the levers.

213. *last, not least in loue*] MALONE: So in *Lear*: 'Although the last, not least in our dear love.'—I, i, 85. [The Quarto reading.]

220. *deerer*] For examples of 'dear' thus used intensively, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*), or Shakespeare *passim*.

222, 223. *Foes? . . . Coarse,*] THISELTON (p. 25): The exquisite rhetoric of

Had I as many eyes, as thou hast wounds,
 Weeping as fast as they streame forth thy blood, 225
 It would become me better, then to close
 In tearmes of Friendship with thine enemies.
 Pardon me *Julius*, heere was't thou bay'd braue Hart,
 Heere did'st thou fall, and heere thy Hunters stand
 Sign'd in thy Spoyle, and Crimfon'd in thy Lethee. 230

228. *Hart*] *Heart* Ff, Craik.

Theob. Han. Craik, Coll. iii. *slaughter*

230. *Lethee*] *Lethe* F₄. *death* Pope,

Kinnear. *earth* Herr. *Lethe* F₂F₃ et cet.

this passage is murdered by the rude hands of our modern 'improvers,' who make the note of interrogation after 'foes' and the comma after 'coarse' change places [see *Text. Notes*]. The slightest attention to the careful Folio punctuation would have disclosed the obvious fact that the passage is composed of two sets of five lines each, in which each line in order of the second set is adjusted so as to balance each line in order of the first set. . . . It might also have occurred to those who had overlooked this that the presence of Cæsar's corpse would hardly aggravate the grief of Cæsar's spirit, while it would clearly increase Antony's sense of the unbecomingness of the occasion chosen for making terms with Cæsar's enemies.

228. *bay'd*] WRIGHT: Cotgrave gives: 'Abbayer, to barke, or bayt at'; and 'Abbois: m. barkings, bayings.' Under the last he has the phrase: 'Aux derniers abbois, at his last gaspe, or, breathing his last; also, put to his last shifts, driuen to vse his last helper: A metaphor from hunting; wherein a Stag is sayd, *Rendre les abbois*, when wearie of running he turnes vpon the hounds, and holds them at, or puts them to, a bay.'

229. *heere . . . stand*] WRIGHT: This was probably suggested by the expression in North's Plutarch, where Cæsar is described as 'hacked and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters.'—(ed. Skeat, p. 101).

230. *Crimson'd in thy Lethee*] CAPELL (*Glossary*, s. v. *lethe*) says that this is a 'Term us'd by hunters, to signify the blood shed by a deer at its fall, with which it is still a custom to mark those who come in at the death.'—This explanation has been accepted, and repeated, by subsequent editors; I have been unable, however, to verify this use of the word by any other example. Turbervile, Markham, and the Duke of York in their detailed and explicit directions for the hunting of the Hart do not give the smearing of the hunters with blood, as one of the proper ceremonials connected therewith; nor does the word 'lethe' appear in their Glossaries of hunting terms.—W. A. BAILLIE-GROHMAN, the able co-editor of the modern reissue of the Duke of York's book, *The Master of Game*, is my authority that 'the word "lethe" is not in use, nor does it appear in any of the old accounts of deer-hunting.'—In a sketch by John Leech (*Punch; Almanac*, 1861), Mr Briggs, having killed his first stag on the Scottish moors, is shown with the chief huntsman smearing the face of the successful hunter with the blood of the deer as a sign that he has won the 'Freedom of the Forest.' From this we may infer that this signing of the hunter was, at that time, a local custom; how much older it may be I am unable to say.—STEEVENS, in support of his statement that 'lethe' is used by the old translators of 'novels' for *death*, quotes: 'The proudest nation that great Asia nurst Is now extinct in lethe.'—Heywood; *Iron Age*, Pt ii. (ed. Pearson, vol. iii, p. 394); but, as Craik shows, in this line by Heywood, 'lethe' may plainly be taken in its proper and

O World! thou wast the Forreft to this Hart, 231
 And this indeed, O World, the Hart of thee.
 How like a Decree, stroken by many Princes,
 Dost thou heere lye?

Cassi. *Mark Antony.* 235

Ant. Pardon me *Caius Cassius* :
 The Enemies of *Cæsar* shall say this: 237

231-234. In margin Pope, Han.	Cam.+.	<i>stricken</i> Fi et cet.
232. <i>Hart</i>] <i>heart</i> Theob. et seq.	235. Antony]	Antony— Rowe et
233. <i>stroken</i>] <i>strooken</i> Cap. <i>strucken</i>	seq. (subs.)	
Var. '78, '85, Ran. Dyce, Craik, Sta.		

usual sense of *forgetfulness*, *oblivion*. 'No other example,' he adds, 'is produced by the Commentators. Shakespeare, too, repeatedly uses "lethe," and nowhere, unless it be in the present passage, in any other than its proper sense. If, however, "lethe" and *lethum* or *letum*,—which may, or may not, be connected,—were really sometimes confounded by the popular writers of the early part of the seventeenth century, they are kept in countenance by the commentators of the eighteenth.'—Both the Rev. JOHN HUNTER and WRIGHT suggest that 'lethe' may be here used in a derivative sense from the Latin word *lethum*, meaning *death* or *destruction*.—R. G. WHITE declares that, in spite of Steevens's assertion that 'lethe' is used for *death* and that Theobald and Collier's MS thus read, he is reluctant to abandon the apprehension that 'lethe' here means 'the stream which bears thee to oblivion.'—DELIUS says: 'Since Shakespeare has shown in other passages that he understood the word "lethe" to be the name of a river of the infernal regions, *i. e.*, of death; so here, by a transferred application, the word is used for the blood, the stream of death.'—If any explicit explanation of the use of the word be needed, do we not at once understand it to be a poetic name for life-blood? The foregoing note, by Delius, is quite sufficient. As one of the other infernal rivers was Cocytus, a river of blood, Shakespeare may have here confused it with Lethe, which caused oblivion.—ED.

231, 232. O World . . . Hart of thee] COLERIDGE (p. 134): I doubt the genuineness of these two lines; not because they are vile, but, first, on account of the rhythm, which is not Shakespearean, but just the very tune of some old play, from which the actor might have interpolated them; and secondly, because they interrupt not only the sense and connection, but likewise the flow both of the passion and (what is with me still more decisive) of the Shakespearean link of association. As with many another parenthesis or gloss slipped into the text, we have only to read the passage without it to see that it never was in it. I venture to say there is no instance in Shakespeare fairly like this. Conceits he has, but they not only rise out of some word in the line before, but also lead to the thought in the line following. Here the conceit is a mere alien: Antony forgets an image when he is even touching it, and then recollects it when the thought last in his mind must have led him away from it.

● 237. shall say this] CRAIK (p. 295): By 'shall' Shakespeare here meant no more than would now be expressed by *will*; yet to us the 'shall' elevates the expression beyond its original import, giving it something, if not quite of a prophetic, yet of an impassioned, rapt, and, as it were, vision-seeing character. [See also l. 247, below.]

Then, in a Friend, it is cold Modestie. 238

Cassi. I blame you not for praising *Cæsar* so,
But what compact meane you to naue with vs ? 240

Will you be prick'd in number of our Friends.

Or shal! we on, and not depend on you?

Ant. Therefore I tooke your hands, but was indeed
Sway'd from the point, by looking downe on *Cæsar*.
Friends am I with you all, and loue you all, 245

Vpon this hope, that you shall giue me Reasons,
Why, and wherein, *Cæsar* was dangerous.

Bru. Or else were this a sauage Spectacle :
Our Reasons are so full of good regard,
That were you *Antony*, the Sonne of *Cæsar*, 250
You should be satisfied.

Ant. That's all I seeke,
And am moreouer futor, that I may
Produce his body to the Market-place,
And in the Pulpit as becomes a Friend, 255
Speake in the Order of his Funerall.

248. *were this*] *this were* Pope ii,
Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. '73.

250. *you Antony,*] *you Antony* F₃F₄,
Rowe, Pope. *you, Antony*, Theob. et seq.

238. *cold Modestie*] That is, *moderation*. Compare Bassanio's admonition to Gratiano: 'Pray thee take pain To allay with some cold drops of modesty Thy skipping spirit.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, II, ii, 194.—Ed.

241. *prick'd*] That is, *nominated*, as by a puncture opposite the name. Compare IV, i, where this word is used three times in this sense within the first twenty lines.

245. *Friends am I*] Compare: 'I would be friends with you and have your love.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, I, iii, 139.

249. *Reasons . . . good regard*] GOLL (p. 64): Brutus murders Cæsar with firm faith in his reasons, and their power to convince others as they have convinced him. He does not even know that his own convictions are drawn from entirely different sources than these good, well-considered reasons, neither does he recognise the scant power of these good reasons to convince others. From his own need of reason as a support for his action, he concludes that, by giving this same support to others, he will be able to govern their actions. He does not see that he merely needed to look into his own soul to understand clearly that it is deep emotion stored through generations, and personal interests, which decide actions, not 'reasonings' which these emotions or interests accidentally create—reasonings generally of value only to him who originates them.

256. *Order*] JOHN HUNTER: 'Order' here means *formal arrangement* or *cere-mony*, and has reference to the liturgical word for a prescribed religious service, as 'The Order for the Burial of the Dead.'

Bru. You shall *Marke Antony*. 257

Cass. *Brutus*, a word with you :

You know not what you do; Do not consent
That *Antony* speake in his Funerall : 260

Know you how much the people may be mou'd
By that which he will vtter.

Bru. By your pardon :

I will my felfe into the Pulpit first,
And shew the reason of our *Cæsars* death. 265

What *Antony* shall speake, I will protest
He speakes by leaue, and by permision :
And that we are contented *Cæsar* shall
Haue all true Rites, and lawfull Ceremonies,
It shall aduantage more, then do vs wrong. 270

Cass. I know not what may fall, I like it not.

Bru. *Mark Antony*, heere take you *Cæsars* body : 272

258. *with you*] Om. Steev. conj.

259. [Aside. Rowe et seq.

260. *speake*] *shall speak* Han.

262. *vtter.*] *utter*, F.

263-271. Marked as aside Cap.

269. *true*] *due* Pope, +, Walker (Crit.

ii, 230), Coll. iii. (MS), Huds. iii.

272. *you*] *your* Pope.

259. **Do not consent**] F. GENTLEMAN: The real patriot is finely distinguished here from the pretended one; Brutus, conscious that he struck for liberty alone, suspects no ill consequences from Antony's having the rostrum; while Cassius, who acted from malevolence and ambition, justly forebodes the real event.

264. **I will . . . the Pulpit first**] HUDSON: Note the high self-appreciation of Brutus here in supposing that if he can have a chance to speak to the people, and to air his wisdom before them, all will go right. Here, again, he overbears Cassius, who now begins to find the effects of having stuffed him with flatteries, and served as a mirror to 'turn his hidden worthiness into his eye.'—MACCALLUM (p. 251): The infatuation is almost incredible, and it springs not only from generosity to Antony and Cæsar, but from the fatal assumption of the justice of his cause, and the Quixotic exaltation the assumption brings with it. For were it ever so just, could this be brought home to the Roman populace? Brutus, who is never an expert in facts, has been misled by the inventions of Cassius, which he mistakes for the general voice of Rome. Here, too, Shakespeare departs from his authority to make the duping of his hero more conspicuous. For in Plutarch these communications are the quite spontaneous incitements of the public, not the contrivances of one dissatisfied aristocrat.

269. **Ceremonies**] For examples where 'ceremony' is pronounced as a trisyllable, falsely, I think, see WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 73; compare also II, i, 221.

270. **advantage**] WRIGHT compares: 'What advantageth it me if the dead rise not?'—I *Corinthians*, xv, 32.—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Advantage*, verb, 4. *To be of benefit or profit*) quotes this same passage from St Paul's *Epistle*.

You shall not in your Funerall speech blame vs,
 But speake all good you can deuife of *Cæjar*,
 And say you doo't by our permission :
 Else shall you not haue any hand at all
 About his Funerall. And you shall speake
 In the same Pulpit whereto I am going,
 After my speech is ended.

Ant. Be it so : 280

I do desire no more.

Bru. Prepare the body then, and follow vs. *Exeunt.*

Manet Antony.

O pardon me, thou bleeding peece of Earth :
 That I am meeke and gentle with these Butchers. 285
 Thou art the Ruines of the Noblest man
 That euer liued in the Tide of Times.
 Woe to the hand that shed this costly Blood.
 Ouer thy wounds, now do I prophesie,
 (Which like dumbe mouthes do ope their Ruby lips,
 To begge the voyce and vtterance of my Tongue) 290
 A curse shall light vpon the limbes of men ; 292

276. *Else...not*] *Else you shall not*
 Rowe ii *You shall not else* Pope, Han.

282. *Exeunt*] *Ff.* *Exeunt* Con-
 spirators. Theob. +, Varr. Ran. Ex-
 eunt all but Antony. Cap. et cet.

283. SCENE IV. Pope.

284. *bleeding...Earth*] *piece of bleeding*
earth Var. '03, '13, '21, Sing. i.

288. *hand*] *hands* Wh. i, Huds. iii.

292. *limbes of*] *kind of* Han. *line of*
 Warb. *times of* Walker (Crit. iii, 247).
loins of Coll. ii. (MS), Craik. *lives of*
 Hal. *tombs of* Sta. conj. *minds of*
 Jervis, Dyce ii, iii, Cartwright conj.
souls of Huds. iii. (conj.). *heads of*
 John Hunter conj. Herr, Kinnear.
bonds of Joicey (N. & Q., 25 July,
 1891).

273. **blame vs**] CRAIK (p. 297) points out that both 'sense and prosody' make the emphasis here fall on '*us*.'

282. **Exeunt**] T. R. GOULD (p. 152): After Cæsar had been encompassed and stabbed by the conspirators, and lay extended on the floor of the Senate-house, J. B. Booth [as Cassius] strode right across the dead body, and out of the scene, in silent and disdainful triumph.

292. **limbes of men**] JOHNSON: I think it should be '*lives of men*'; unless we read *lymms*, that is, these *bloodhounds* of men. The uncommonness of the word *lymm* easily made the change.—CAPELL (i, 297): The Poet's idea and that he meant to excite by the word 'limbs,' is—that of wounds and dismemb'rings, consequences of the 'curse' here intended, the curse of war; prophetically denounc'd by the speaker, not on *man* universally, as the corrections import, but on *some men*, members of Cæsar's empire, agreeable to what immediately follows concerning '*Italy*.' Both the readings [of Hanmer and Warburton, see *Text. Notes*] create a great anticlimax; and in one of them the alliterative beauty is lost that occa-

Domesticke Fury, and fierce Ciuill|strife, 293
 Shall cumber all the parts of Italy :
 Blood and destruction shall be so in vse, 295
 And dreadfull Obiects so familiar,
 That Mothers shall but smile, when they behold
 Their Infants quartered with the hands of Warre:
 All pittie choak'd with custome of fell deeds,
 And *Cæsars* Spirit ranging for Reuenge, 300
 With *Ate* by his side, come hot from Hell,

298. *with*] by Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. 301. *Ate*] *Atē* Theob. et seq.

sion'd 'limbs.'—STEEVENS: Antony means that a future curse shall commence in distempers seizing on the limbs of men, and be succeeded by commotion, cruelty, and desolation over Italy. So in Phaer's *Æneid*: 'The skies corrupted were, that trees and corne destroyed to nought, And limmes of men consuming rottes.'—Bk. iii. Sig. E. l. ed. 1596.—MALONE: By men Antony means not mankind in general, but those *Romans* whose attachment to the cause of the conspirators, or wish to revenge *Cæsar's* death, would expose them to *wounds* in the civil wars which Antony supposes that event would give rise to. The generality of the curse here predicted is limited by the subsequent words, 'the parts of Italy' and 'in these confines.'—COLLIER, in his second edition, adopts the emendation of the MS, '*loins* of men,' and says: 'That is, the *generations* of mankind. There can be no doubt among impartial readers that we have here recovered the true word of the poet.'—CRAIK pronounces this as 'one of the most satisfactory and valuable emendations which have ever been made.'—DYCE, on the other hand, declares it to be 'vile.'—R. G. WHITE: I am almost sure that Shakespeare wrote *the finnes of men*.—WRIGHT: Is any change necessary? Lear's curses were certainly levelled at his daughter's limbs. Compare the curse which Timon invokes upon Athens: 'Thou cold sciatica Cripple our senators, that their limbs may halt As lamely as their manners!'—*Timon*, IV, i, 21.—From bodily plagues Antony rises to the quarrels of families, and reaches a climax in fierce civil strife.—[Are Lear's curses levelled at his daughter's limbs? He exclaims: 'Strike her young bones You taking airs with lameness.'—II, iv, 165; but, as Wright himself explains in the *Clarendon Edition*, this refers to her 'unborn infant.'—ED.]—PERRING (p. 366) compares *Rich. III*: II, i, where Lady Anne invokes a curse on the hands, the heart, and the blood of the murderer of her husband and of her husband's father.—F. ADAMS (*N. & Q.*, 23 July, 1892, p. 63): What is implied by the curse [on the limbs] may be their perversion into instruments of 'Domestic fury and fierce civil strife.' Limbs working such internecine carnage as Antony pictures may not inaptly be deemed curse-smitten. The fine figure of 'infants quartered with the hands of war' seems to point to the interpretation I suggest.

299. *choak'd*] WRIGHT: That is, *being choked*.—MARK HUNTER: Perhaps it is better to understand *shall be*, in which case this line is connected with what follows, rather than what goes before, and the comma after 'deeds' should exchange places with the colon after 'Warre.'

301. *Ate*] CRAIK (p. 299): This Homeric goddess had taken a strong hold of Shakespeare's imagination. In *Much Ado*, Benedick, inveighing to Don Pedro against Beatrice, says: 'You shall find her the infernal *Ate* in good apparel.'—II, i,

Shall in these Confines. with a Monarkes voyce,
Cry hauocke, and let slip the Dogges of Warre,

302

263. In *King John*, Elinor is described by Chatellon as 'an Ate stirring him [John] to blood and strife.'—II, i, 63. And in *Love's Labour's*, Biron, at the representation of the Nine Worthies, calls out, 'More Ates, more Ates; stir them on! stir them on!'—V, ii, 694. Where did Shakespeare get acquainted with this divinity, whose name does not occur, I believe, even in any Latin author?—[The following passage from Chapman's *Homer*, *Iliad*, xix, 91-94, may perhaps have furnished Shakespeare with his knowledge of 'Ate': 'And more; all things are done by strife; that ancient seed of Jove, Ate, that hurts all, perfects all, her feet are soft, and move Not on the earth, they bear her still aloft men's heads, and there She harmful hurts them.'—Ed. Hooper, ii, 159.—Ed.]

302, 303. with a Monarkes voyce, Cry hauocke] JOHNSON: Sir William Blackstone has informed me that, in the military operations of old times, *havock* was the word by which declaration was made that no quarter should be given. In a tract entitled *The Office of the Constable and Mareshall in the Tyme of Werre*, contained in *The Black Book of Admiralty*, there is the following chapter: 'The peyn of hym that crieth havock and of them that followeth hym, etit. V. Item: Si quis inventus fuerit qui clamorem incepit qui vocatur *Havok*. Also that no man be so hardy to crye *Havok* upon payne that he that is begynner shall be deede therefore: & the remanent that doo the same or folow, shall lose their horse & harneis: and the persones of such as foloweth and escrien shall be under arrest of the Conestable and Maresshall warde unto tyme that they have made fyn; and found suretie no morr to offende; and his body in prison at the Kyng will'—M. H. (*Gentlemen's Maga.*, April, 1700; p. 307) opines that 'For havock should be substituted *Hat vous*, which Shakespeare collected from Manwood's *Forest Laws*, published in the reign of James I, where it is ordained that "none shall let slip his greyhound till the huntsman has cried, '*Hat vous*.'"'—[It is, I think, evident, though Johnson does not call attention to it, that to 'cry Havoc' was the prerogative of the Monarch; which explains Antony's particular use of the words 'with a monarch's voice.'—MALONE cites *Coriol.*, III, i, 275: 'Do not cry havoc where you should but hunt With modest warrant.'—'A passage,' says WRIGHT, 'which well illustrates the present line.'—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Havoc*. 1.) gives as a partial explanation of the origin that it is from the 'Anglo French *havok*, altered in some way from Old French *havot* (c. 1150 in Du Cange *havo*), used in same sense, especially in phrase *crier havot*. Probably of Teutonic origin.' A careful search of the five hundred pages of Manwood's *Treatise of the Lawes of the Forrest*, ed. 1615, and also of that of 1598, has failed in locating the phrase to which M. H. refers.—ED.]

303. let slip] MALONE: To 'let slip a dog' at a deer was the technical phrase of Shakespeare's time.

303. the Dogges of Warre] STEELE (*Tatler*, No. 137, February 23, 1709) compares the departure of the Duke of Marlborough from Harwich to that of Henry V. from Southampton and quotes: 'Then should the warlike Harry, like himself, Assume the part of Mars, and at his heels, Leashed in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire Crouch for employments.'—*Ilen. V. Prologue*, l. 5. 'Shakespeare,' says Steele, 'understood the force of this particular allegory so well that he had it in his thoughts in another passage, which is altogether as daring and sublime as the former.' He then quotes the present line. Tollet, who contributed

That this foule deede, shall smell about the earth
With Carrion men, groaning for Buriall. 305

Enter Octavius's Servant.

You serue Octavius Cæsar, do you not?

Ser. I do Marke Antony.

Ant. Cæsar did write for him to come to Rome.

Ser. He did receiue his Letters, and is comming, 310
And bid me say to you by word of mouth——

O Cæsar!

Ant. Thy heart is bigge : get thee a-part and weepe :
Pasion I see is catching from mine eyes,
Seeing those Beads of sorrow stand in thine, 315
Began to water. Is thy Master comming?

Ser. He lies to night within seven Leagues of Rome.

Ant. Post backe with speede,
And tell him what hath chanc'd :
Heere is a mourning Rome, a dangerous Rome, 320

306. Octauio's] Ff. Octavius's	314. catching from] catching, for Ff,
Rowe, + (—Var. '73). A Capell et	Rowe et seq.
seq.	315. Beads] beds Pope.
309. for] to Cap.	316. Began] Begin Han. Jen. Dyce ii,
to Rome] Rome F.	iii, Coll. iii, Huds. iii.
311. [Seeing the body. Rowe, +.	310, 320. One line Rowe et seq.

sundry notes and observations to Johnson and Steevens's edition of 1773, may possibly not have read this passage in the *Tatler*, but he notes the similarity in thought and remarks that in this passage Shakespeare doubtless intended that *Famine*, *Sword*, and *Fire* were to be typified as the 'Dogs of War.'—MALONE quotes Tillet and cites only the number of the *Tatler*.—CRAIK (p. 301): To this [passage from *Henry V.*] we might add what Talbot says to the Captains of the French forces before Bordeaux: 'You tempt the fury of my three attendants, Lean Famine, quartering Steel, and climbing Fire.'—1 *Henry VI.*: IV, ii, 10. In illustration of the former passage Steevens quotes what Holinshed makes Henry V. to have said to the people of Rouen: 'He declared that the Goddess of Battle, called Bellona, had three handmaidens ever of necessity attending upon her, as Blood, Fire, and Famine.' And at that from 1 *Henry VI.* Malone gives the following from Hall's *Chronicle*: 'The Goddess of War, called Bellona, . . . hath these three hand-maids ever of necessity attending on her: Blood, Fire, and Famine.' . . . It might, perhaps, be questioned whether the words 'And let slip the dogs of war' ought not to be considered as also part of the exclamation of Cæsar's spirit.

305. groaning for Buriall] WRIGHT: It is not an uncommon thing in some parts of the country still to say of a corpse which begins to show signs of decomposition that 'it calls out loudly for the earth.'

306. Octauio's] For this form compare V, ii, 6 and I, ii, 8.

314. Passion . . . is catching] DOUCE (p. 366) compares: 'Mine eyes even sociable to the shew of thine Fall fellowly drops.'—*Temp.*, V, i, 63.

No Rome of safety for *Octavius* yet,
 Hie hence, and tell him so. Yet stay a-while,
 Thou shalt not backe, till I haue borne this course
 Into the Market place: There shall I try
 In my Oration, how the People take
 The cruell issue of these bloody men,
 According to the which, thou shalt discourse
 To yong *Octavius*, of the state of things.
 Lend me your hand. *Exeunt* 329

[Scene II.]

Enter Brutus and goes into the Pulpit, and Cassius, with the Plebeians. 1

Ple. We will be satisficd: let vs be satisfied.

Bru. Then follow me, and giue me Audience friends.

Cassius go you into the other streete, 5

322. *a-while*] *F₂. awhile F₄, Knt, Sta.*
Dyce, Cam.+. *a while F₃ et cet.*

323. *borne*] *born F₃F₄.*
course] *Coarse F₃F₄, Rowe.*
corse Pope et seq.

328. *yong*] *young Ff.*

329. *Exeunt*] *Exeunt with Cæsar's*
body. Rowe et seq. (subs.)

Scene continued. Ff. SCENE V.
Pope,+. SCENE III. Jen. SCENE II.
Rowe et cet.

The Forum.

1, 2. *Enter...Plebeians.*] *Enter a*
Throng of Citizens, tumultuously; Bru-
tus and Cassius. Cap. Enter Brutus
and Cassius with Plebeians. Var. '73,
'78. Enter Brutus and Cassius with
throng of Citizens. Mal. et seq.

1. *goes...Pulpit*] *mounts the Rostra*
Pope,+.

3. *Ple.*] *Cit. Capell et seq. (through-*
out).

321. **Rome of safety**] For this play on the word in accordance with the similarity in pronunciation between *Room* and 'Rome,' see I, ii, 172.

328. **the state of things**] Appian (*Civ. Wars*; Bk, ii, ch. xvii, §§ 120 et seq) gives a circumstantial account of the incidents following Cæsar's murder. It is, as his translator Horace White notes, 'a very strong picture of the corruption of Roman Society at that time, and of its incapacity for self-government.'—Ed.

2. **the Plebeians**] STAPPER (p. 313): Shakespeare has portrayed his Romans truthfully, in so far as they are Englishmen,—so far goes his historical exactitude, and no further. As to the incongruous details with which these plays abound, I attach no importance to them whatever, but the case is very different when it comes to confusing, as he has done, the early days of the Republic with those of the Empire, and no greater mistake could be made than to confound the proud, brave Plebeians of Rome, at the beginning of her greatness, with the degraded populace of the Rome of later times.

And part the Numbers :

6

Those that will heare me speake, let 'em stay heere ;

Those that will follow *Cassius*, go with him,

And publike Reasons shall be rendred

Of *Cæsars* death.

10

1. *Ple.* I will heare *Brutus* speake.

2. I will heare *Cassius*, and compare their Reasons,
When severally we heare them rendred.

3. The Noble *Brutus* is ascended: Silence.

Bru. Be patient till the last.

15

7. *me*] *my* Rowe ii.

9. [Exit *Cassius* with some of the
Plebeians. Rowe (Exeunt... Rowe ii, +).
Exit *Cassius* with some of the Citizens.

Brutus goes into the Rostrum. Cap. et
seq.

9, 13. *rendred*] *Ff*, Rowe. *renderèd*
Dyce. *rendered* Pope et cet.

13. *severally*] *sevrally* Pope, +.

9. *rendred*] CRAIK (p. 303): It may be observed that in the Folio, where the elision of the *e* in the verbal affix *-ed* is usually marked, the spelling is here 'rendred'; but this may leave it still doubtful whether the word was intended to be represented as of two or of three syllables. It is the same in l. 13.

11. 1. *Ple.*] F. C. KOLBE (*Irish Monthly*, Sep., 1896; p. 512): Four citizens are taken as the chief spokesmen,—they are the typical moving spirits of a crowd; you find their counterparts in every market-place. Each speaks about a dozen times, and by putting all their speeches together and watching their sequence, a tolerably complete induction can be made. No. 1 is a practical man and an originator: all the practical suggestions originate from him, and he sticks to his own plans, whatever the others might say; it is he who wants to start a discussion of his own when Antony is going to speak; he assumes the leadership; he never addresses Brutus or Antony as the others do, but speaks always directly to the mob. No. 2 listens and reflects and is sympathetic; he does not make suggestions himself, but is very quick to pick up, and carry on, and improve upon suggestions when made by others; he is a useful echo; we may note it is he who is most moved by an appeal to the pocket. Nos. 1 and 2 work together like a voice and a speaking trumpet; or, to borrow a very different metaphor from history, No. 1 lays the egg and No. 2 hatches it. No. 3 is the type of the personal partisan; he is good-natured and responsive, one of those men who answer when a question is put to nobody in particular; he has a powerful bump of admiration; ideas are nothing to him, persons, everything; it is men like him that make tyranny possible; with him it is 'noble Brutus,' and 'noble Antony,' and 'O royal Cæsar'; it is he who says of Brutus: 'Let him be Cæsar'; and his fears are, like his hopes, on men, 'I fear there will a worse come in his place.' No. 4, too, has a marked personality; he is impatient, hot tempered, talkative, and suspicious; he also has a strong bump, that of inquisitiveness; he represents the well-known *prying* tendency of a mob. Such are the men Mark Antony sets himself to win. He finds them shouting for Brutus and execrating Cæsar. He begins by assuming their attitude,—'For Brutus's sake I am beholding to you' and 'I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.' His tactics are to overdo their enthusiasm, and thus make them come to question it themselves.

Romans, Countrey-men, and Louers, heare mee for my 16

16. *Louers*] *Friends* Pope, Han.

16. **Romans, Countrey-men, and Louers**] **WARBURTON**: There is nowhere, in all Shakespeare's works, a stronger proof of his not being a scholar than this; or of his not knowing of the genius of learned antiquity. This speech of Brutus is wrote in imitation of his famed laconic brevity, and is very fine in its kind: but no more like that brevity than his times were like Brutus's. The ancient laconic brevity was simple, natural, and easy; this is quaint, artificial, jingling, and abounding with forced antitheses. In a word, a brevity that, for its false eloquence, would have suited any character, and for its good sense would have become the greatest of our author's time; but yet, in a style of declaiming, that sits as ill upon Brutus as our author's trousers or collar-band would have done.—**M. MASON**: I cannot agree with Warburton that this speech is very fine in its kind. I can see no degree of excellence in it, but think it a very paltry speech for so great a man on so great an occasion. Yet Shakespeare has judiciously adopted in it the style of Brutus—the pointed sentences and labored brevity which he is said to have affected.—**CAPELL** (i, 107): Every true admirer of Shakespeare has good cause for wishing that there had been some authority to question this speech's genuineness, but editors afford it not; and it has the sanction besides of many likenesses to other parts of his work, and of this in particular; in which we have already seen too great a number of things hardly defensible. . . . The truth is, his genius sank in some measure beneath the grandeur of Roman character, at least in this play, which we may judge from thence to have been the first he attempted. The oratory of this speech has no resemblance whatever to that which Brutus affected, which was a nervous and simple laconism.—**STEEVENS**: This artificial jingle of short sentences was affected by most of the orators in Shakespeare's time, whether in the pulpit or at the bar. The speech of Brutus may, therefore, be regarded rather as an imitation of the false eloquence then in vogue than as a specimen of laconic brevity.—**SINGER**: It is worthy of remark that Voltaire, who has stolen and transplanted into his tragedy of Brutus the fine speech of Antony to the people, and has unblushingly received the highest compliments upon it from the king of Prussia and others, affects to extol this address by Brutus, while he is most disingenuously silent on that of Antony, which he chose to purloin.—**VERPLANCK**: Tacitus, *De Oratoribus*, says that Brutus's style was censured as '*otiosum et disjunctum*,' [ch. xviii.]. The broken up style, without oratorical continuity, is precisely that assumed by the dramatist.—**KNIGHT** (*Studies*, p. 417): The speech of Antony may not be equal to Demosthenes, and the speech of Brutus may not be a very paltry speech. But each being written by the same man, we have a right to accept each with a conviction that the writer was capable of making a good speech for Brutus as well as for Antony; and that if he did not do so, he had very abundant reasons. It requires no great refinement to understand his reasons. The excitement of the great assertion of republican principles . . . had been succeeded by a calm. . . . Brutus will present calmly and dispassionately the 'reasons of our Cæsar's death.' He expects that Antony will speak with equal moderation.—**LLOYD** (*Crit. Essay*, ap. Sing. ii, p. 513): Shakespeare found the model of the curt, sententious oratory of Brutus in Plutarch's description of his written style: 'They do note that in some of his epistles he counterfeited that brief compendious manner of the Lacedæmonians. As, when the war was begun, he wrote to the Pergamenians in this sort: "I

[16. Romans, Countrey-men, and Louers, heare mee for my cause]

understand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offended me; if against your wills, show it by giving me willingly." These were Brutus's manner of letters, which were honored for their briefness.' [§ 2; ed. Skeat, p. 107.]-HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 234): The speech in question is far enough indeed from being a model of style either for oratory or anything else; but it is finely characteristic; while its studied primness and epigrammatic finish contrast most unfavourably with the frank-hearted yet artful eloquence of Antony.—DOWDEN (p. 302, *foot-note*) compares, for the style of this speech, that of Brutus to Cassius: 'That you do love me, I am nothing jealous: What you would work me to, I have some aim,' etc.—I, ii, 178 et seq., and also the last lines of the same speech.—WRIGHT: The speech of Brutus is that of one who is convinced of the goodness of his cause, but at the same time is sensible of the difficulty of convincing others. It is, therefore, laboured, formal, and guarded. He does not attempt to move the feelings of his hearers to sympathy with him, but is argumentative and logical throughout. To stir emotion is as foreign to his purpose as to show emotion is contrary to his nature.—R. G. MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 175): It is a master-stroke of Shakespeare that he utilises the euphuistic prose of his age to express impassiveness in Brutus's oration. . . . The mob are swaying with fluctuating passions; . . . Brutus, called on to speak for the conspirators, still maintains the artificial style of carefully balanced sentences, such as emotionless rhetoric builds up in the quiet of a study.—MARK HUNTER (*Introd.*, clxiii.): It is characteristic of Brutus, who is ready enough to indulge in persuasive eloquence and impassioned sentiment when such are wholly superfluous, that when a passionate appeal to the emotions of his hearers is most required, he should disdain the emotional note, and clothe his words in the coldest rhetoric. It is no less characteristic that the arguments, ostensibly addressed to the intellect, the 'reasons' of whose logical cogency he is so confident, should prove on examination to be no reasons at all, but a mere assertion backed up by a reference to the absolute trustworthiness of the speaker—himself.—ROLFE (*Poet-Lore*, vol. vi, No. 1, p. 10): It is to be noted that the speech of Brutus is in *prose*,—the only instance of the kind in all Shakespeare. It is the poet's way of emphasizing the mistake that Brutus makes. Confident in the purity of his motives, in his love of liberty and of Rome, he assumes that a plain straightforward statement of the 'reasons' that have influenced him and his confederates must commend itself to his fellow-citizens, and that no arts or rhetoric are needed to enforce and impress it.—ROSSI (p. 105) also calls attention to this prose, and considers that this form was here used in order that the whole speech might thus be kept within the bounds of truth and simplicity; Brutus is not looking for any reward for himself, but calmly awaits the judgement of the People.—[Cicero, writing to Atticus on the 18th of May, B. C. 44, from Arpinum, says: 'Our friend Brutus has sent me his speech delivered at the public meeting on the Capitol, and has asked me to correct it before publication without any regard to his feelings. It is, I may add, a speech of the utmost finish as far as the sentiments are concerned, and in point of language not to be surpassed. Nevertheless, if I had had to handle that cause, I should have written with more fire. But the theme and the character of the writer being as you see, I was unable to correct it. For, granting the kind of orator that our Brutus aims at being, and the opinion he entertains of the best style of speech, he has secured an unqualified success. Nothing could be more finished. But I have always aimed, rightly or wrongly, at some-

caufe, and be ſilent, that you may heare. Beleeue me for
mine Honor, and haue reſpect to mine Honor, that you
may beleeue. Cenſure me in your Wiſedom, and awake
your Senſes, that you may the better Iudge. If there bee
any in this Affembly, any deere Friend of *Cæſars*, to him
I ſay, that *Brutus* loue to *Cæſar*, was no leſſe then his. It
then, that Friend demand, why *Brutus* roſe againſt *Cæſar*,
this is my anſwer : Not that I lou'd *Cæſar* leſſe, but
that I lou'd Rome more. Had you rather *Cæſar* were li-
uing, and dye all Slaues ; then that *Cæſar* were dead, to
liue all Free-men ? As *Cæſar* lou'd mee, I weepe for him ;

20-35. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

22. Brutus] Brutus's Pope, +.

21. to him] Pope, +, Cap. to them

27. Free-men] free men Johns. et
ſeq.

thing different. However, read the ſpeech yourſelf, unleſs indeed you have read
it already, and tell me what you think of it. However, I fear that, miſled by your
ſurname, you will be ſomewhat hyper-Attic in your criticism. But if you will
only recall Demosthenes's thunder, you will underſtand that the moſt vigorous
denunciation is conſiſtent with the pureſt Attic ſtyle. But of this when we meet.'—
(*Ad Att.*, A xv, 1 b; ed. Shuckburgh, iv, 50). This has, of course, no bearing on
the preſent ſpeech by Shakeſpeare; but is intereſting ſolely as a contemporary criti-
ciſm on the actual ſpeech of Brutus.—Ed.]

19. Censure] That is, *pass judgment, estimate.*

21. *Cæsars*] JOHN HUNTER: This is a poſſeſſive, uſed objectively, and com-
prehending both poſſeſſor and thing poſſeſſed; it means *what pertained to Cæſar*.
The noun *friends* might, indeed, be ſupplied to complete the conſtruction.

24, 25. *Cæſar leſſe*, but . . . *Rome more*] WRIGHT: This feature of Brutus's
character . . . may have been ſuggeſted by Plutarch. 'But Brutus, preferring the
reſpect of his country and commonwealth before private affection, and perſuading
himſelf that Pompey had juſter cauſe to enter into arms than Cæſar, he then took
part with Pompey.'—*Life of Brutus*, ed. Skeat, p. 108.—[P. Lentulus Spinther ſays,
in a letter to Cicero, 29th May, B. C. 43 (Shuckburgh, iv, 275): "loving my country
more" I was the firſt to proclaim war againſt all my friends.' An expreſſion
curiouſly ſimilar to the preſent paſſage. In a foot-note the translator and editor
gives the original Greek: *φιλῶ τέκν' ἄλλα πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶν*; and ſays that
this line is 'ſaid to be from the *Erechtheus* of Euripides.'—Ed.]

26, 27. *dye all Slaues . . . liue all Free-men*] The ſpeech of Brutus to
the Plebeians, as given by Appian (Bk, II, ch. xix, § 137), contains the following:
'If he [Cæſar] had required us to ſwear not only to condone the paſt, but to be
willing ſlaves for the future, what would our preſent accuſers have done? For
my part I think that, being Romans, they would have choſen to die many times
rather than take an oath of voluntary ſervitude.' The ſimilarity in thought is,
I think, but a coincidence; that Shakeſpeare conſulted a tranſlation of Appian is,
of course, poſſible, but Plutarch has apparently furniſhed him with all the material
neceſſary.—Ed.

27. *Free-men*] CRAIK (p. 305) maintains that this ſhould be printed as one

as he was Fortunate, I reioyce at it ; as he was Valiant, I 28
honour him : But, as he was Ambitious, I slew him. There
is Teares, for his Loue : Ioy, for his Fortune : Honor, for 30
his Valour : and Death, for his Ambition. Who is heere
so base, that would be a Bondman ? If any, speak, for him
haue I offended. Who is heere so rude, that would not
be a Roman ? If any, speak, for him haue I offended. Who
is heere so vile that will not loue his Countrey ? If any, 35
speake, for him haue I offended. I pause for a Reply.

All. None *Brutus*, none.

Brutus. Then none haue I offended. I haue done no
more to *Cæsar*, then you shall do to *Brutus*. The Queſti-
on of his death, is inroll'd in the Capitoll : his Glory not 40

29, 30. *There is*] *There are* Pope, +,
Varr. Ran.

31-36. As six lines, verse Johns.

31. *Who is*] *Who's* Pope, + (—Var.
'73).

36. *Reply.*] *Reply*—Rowe, +.

37. *All*] Ff, Rowe, +, Coll. Hal. Wh.
Cam. +, Huds. Cit. Capell et cet.

[Several speaking at once. Mal.

Knt, Craik.

Brutus] Ff.

39. *shall*] *should* Mal.

word, *freemen*, since Shakespeare cannot have intended that prominence should be given to the word 'men,' 'the notion conveyed by which is equally contained in "slaves"; for which we might have had *bondmen*, with no difference of effect.'

29. as he was Ambitious, I slew him] Both Brutus and Antony use 'ambition' and 'ambitious' in the sense of *inordinate desire for rank, honours, or preferment*, as given by Murray (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 1.). In the majority of passages wherein these words occur in Shakespeare they bear a meaning rather more discreditable than otherwise. The word *ambitio* was used in the time of the Republic to characterise the canvassing for votes by a candidate in a perfectly legitimate manner; the word *ambitus*, on the other hand, implied the use of underhand methods —Ed.

33. rude] That is, *devoid of refinement, uncultured*. 'Rude' is here probably used for its alliteration with 'Roman'; just as 'base,' l. 32, is coupled with 'bondman.' —Ed.

39, 40. The Question . . . inroll'd in the Capitoll] HUDSON: That is, the *reason* of his death is made a matter of solemn official record in the books of the Senate, as showing that the act of killing him was done for public ends, and not from private hate.—[Shakespeare, perhaps, here refers to the legislative acts of the Senate called *Senatusconsulta*, so named because the Consul was said *Senatum consulere*.—SMITH (*Dict. of Greek & Roman Antiquities*, s. v. *Senatusconsultum*) says: 'When a *Senatusconsultum* was made on the motion of a person, it was said to be made "in sententiam ejus." If the S. C. was carried, it was written on tablets and placed in the *Ærarium* [the common Treasury of the state]: the S. C. *de Bacchanalibus* provides that it shall be cut on a bronze tablet, but this was for the purpose of its being put up in a public place where it could be read. The S. C. were originally entrusted to the care of the tribunes and the ædiles, but in the time of Augustus the quæstors had the care of them. (Dion Cassius, iv, 36, and the note of Reimar.) Under the later emperors the S. C., "quæ ad principes pertinebant,"

extenuated, wherein he was worthy; nor his offences enforced, for which he suffered death. 41

Enter Mark Antony, with Cæsars Body.

Heere comes his Body, mourn'd by *Marke Antony*, who though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the Commonwealth, as which of you shall not. With this I depart, that as I slewe my best Louer for the good of Rome, I haue the same Dagger for my selfe, when it shall please my Country to need my death. 45 50

All. Liue *Brutus*, liue, liue.

1. Bring him with Triumph home vnto his house.

2. Giue him a Statue with his Ancestors.

3. Let him be *Cæsar*.

4. *Cæsars* better parts, 55

41. *nor his*] *not his* F₄.

42. [Comes down. Cap.

43. Enter...Body.] Enter Antony and certain of his House, bearing Cæsar's Body. Cap. Enter Antony and others with Cæsar's Body. Mal. et seq.

47. *shall not.*] *shall not?* F₄ et seq.

51. *liue, liue.*] *liue!* Pope, Han.

52, 53, 54, 55. 1., 2., 3., 4.] 1 Pleb., 2 Pleb., 3 Pleb., 4 Pleb. Rowe, + (throughout). 1. C., 2. C., 3. C., 4. C. Capell. 1. Cit., 2. Cit., 3. Cit., 4. Cit. Mal. et seq.

were preserved in "libri elephantini." (Vopiscus, *Tacitus*, c. 8.)'—That Shakespeare evidently knew of such a custom is shown by the present passage; whence he obtained that information is of small import.—ED.]

41, 42. *enforc'd*] WRIGHT: That is, *urged unduly, exaggerated*. 'Extenuate' and 'enforce' are here contrasted, as in: 'know We will extenuate rather than enforce.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, V, ii, 125.

48. *Louer*] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 1.): One who is possessed by sentiments of affection, or regard towards another; a friend or well-wisher. Now rare.—[The present line, among numerous other examples, quoted. Compare also l. 15, *supra*; and II, iii, 9, where Artemidorus subscribes himself to Cæsar 'Thy Louer.'—ED.]

48-50. I haue . . . to need my death] SNIDER (ii, 253): One naturally asks who is to be judge whether his country needs his death—the country or himself? If the country, then he would be a criminal publicly condemned, and there would be no necessity for his dagger. . . . But, if he was to be the judge himself, why did he commit such villainous acts that, in his own opinion, his country needed his death? All this was intentional, no doubt, on the part of Shakespeare, for it comports too well with the contradictory character of Brutus to admit of any other supposition.

54. Let him be Cæsar] STAFFER (p. 328): What must have been the bitterness of mind and spirit experienced by Brutus when, in answer to his proclamation of liberty from the Forum, he heard the stupid people cry: 'Let him be Cæsar!'

Shall be Crown'd in *Brutus*.

56

1. Wee'l bring him to his House,
With Showts and Clamors.

Bru. My Countrey-men.

2. Peace, silence, *Brutus* speakes.

60

1. Peace ho.

Bru. Good Countrymen, let me depart alone,
And (for my sake) stay heere with *Antony*:

Do grace to *Cæsars* Corpes, and grace his Speech

Tending to *Cæsars* Glories, which *Marke Antony*

65

(By our permission) is allow'd to make.

I do intreat you, not a man depart,

Saue I alone, till *Antony* haue spoke.

Exit

1 Stay ho, and let vs heare *Mark Antony*.

3 Let him go vp into the publike Chaire,

70

Wee'l heare him: Noble *Antony* go vp.

56. *Shall be*] *Shall now be* Pope, Han.
Cap. Steev. Varr. Sing. i, Coll. i, ii,
Craik, Sta. Wh. i, Hal. Dyce ii, iii,
Huds.

Brutus.] *Brutus, Live! live! Bru-*
tus, live! Mitford.

57, 58. One line Cap. et seq.

64. *Corpes*] *Corps* F₁, F₄.

65. *Glories*] *glory* Walker (Crit., i,
250), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

68. SCENE VI. Pope, Han. Warb.
Johns.

70. *publike*] *publique* F₃. *publick* F₄.

Had the empire depended only upon the genius of one man, Brutus, in killing Cæsar, might have saved the Republic, but, in point of fact, the Empire was rooted in the general state of things. It was in not perceiving this that the error of Brutus lay, and from this also resulted the utter failure of his enterprise.—*VERITY*: No words could well be more distasteful to Brutus. He has just told the Citizens that patriotism alone led him to 'rise against Cæsar,' and here he is treated as if he were an ambitious schemer who for his own advantage had struck down a rival. The Crowd all through ignore principles and care only for persons—now Pompey, now Cæsar, now Brutus, now Antony—and their favour is readily transferred from the philosophic Brutus who does not understand them to the practical Antony who does.

56. *Shall be Crown'd*] *CRAIK* (p. 307), referring to the word '*now*,' inserted by Pope for the sake of the metre, is doubtful as to its being the correct word, but is certain that some addition is necessary, since this line as it now stands is 'not a possible commencement of a verse.'—*STAUNTON* suggests that the line read either *shall all* or *shall well*, etc.

62. *let me . . . alone*] *VERITY*: Here Brutus makes his third great mistake, viz., in leaving Antony to say what he likes and have the last word. [The other two mistakes are, his sparing Antony at the time of the assassination of Cæsar, and allowing him to speak on this occasion.]

65. *Glories*] *WALKER* (Crit., i, 250) quotes this line as an example wherein a final *s* has been interpolated in the Folio, remarking that the error in question is frequent in this play. Compare II, i, 243.

- Ant.* For *Brutus* sake, I am beholding to you. 72
- 4 What does he say of *Brutus*?
- 3 He says, for *Brutus* sake
- He findes himselfe beholding to vs all. 75
- 4 'Twere best he speake no harme of *Brutus* heere?
- 1 This *Cæsar* was a Tyrant.
- 3 Nay that's certaine:
- We are blest that Rome is rid of him.
- 2 Peace, let vs heare what *Antony* can say. 80
- Ant.* You gentle Romans.
- All.* Peace hoe, let vs heare him.
- An.* Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears: 83

72. *beholding*] *beholden* F₄, Rowe, +,
Jen. Craik, Sta. Ktly.

[Goes into the pulpit. Cam. +.

75. *beholding*] *beholden* F₄, Rowe, +,
Craik, Sta. Ktly.

76. *he speake*] *speake* or *speake* Ff,
Rowe.

78. *that's*] *thats* F₂.

79. *blest*] *glad* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han.
Cam. +. *most blest* Cap. *bless'd* Steev.
et seq.

81. *Romans.*] *Romans*— F₄.

83-117. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

72, 75. *beholding*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): The sense [*under obligation, obliged*] evidently originated in an error for *beholden*, either through confusion of the endings (*cf.* especially the 15th century spelling *-yne* for *-en*), or, more probably, after *beholden* was shortened to *beholde*, *behold*, and its grammatical character obscured, the general acceptance of 'beholding' may have been due to a notion that it meant *looking* (e. g., *with respect, or dependence*), or to association with the idea of *holding of* or *from* a feudal superior. (It was exceedingly common in the 17th century, for which no fewer than ninety-seven instances have been sent in by our readers.)

83. *An. Friends . . . Countrymen*] DAVIES (ii, 242): The only hint which Shakespeare has here borrowed from Plutarch is Antony's shewing the dead body of Cæsar to the populace: it is composed of such topics as were most conducive to the desired effect. . . . The Duke of Buckingham has very prudently preserved almost the whole of Antony's oration as the author wrote it, though he has presumed to alter every other scene in the play.—WRIGHT: There is no reason to suppose that Shakespeare went beyond North's *Plutarch* for hints when he wrote the speeches of Brutus and Antony. Those which are put into their mouths by Appian, and of which there was a translation in English published in 1578, have no points of resemblance to these. Like Brutus, Antony speaks under constraint, but for a different reason.—[WARDE (ed. 2; ii, p. 140) is also of the opinion that the evidence in favor of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Appian is insufficient.—ED.]—MACCALLUM (p. 646): [The oration given to Antony by Appian] may be analysed and summarised as follows: Antony begins by praising the deceased as a consul a consul, a friend a friend, a kinsman a kinsman. He recites the public honours awarded to Cæsar as a better testimony than his private opinion, and accompanies the enumeration with provocative comment. He touches on Cæsar's sacrosanct character and the unmerited honours bestowed on those who slew him, but acquits the citizens of unkindness on the ground of their presence at the funeral. He

I come to bury *Cæsar*, not to praise him :
 The euill that men do, liues after them, 85
 The good is oft enterred with their bones,
 So let it be with *Cæsar*. The Noble *Brutus*,
 Hath told you *Cæsar* was Ambitious :
 If it were so, it was a greeuous Fault,
 And greeuously hath *Cæsar* answer'd it. 90
 Heere, vnder leaue of *Brutus*, and the rest
 (For *Brutus* is an Honourable man,
 So are they all; all Honourable men)
 Come I to speake in *Cæsars* Funerall.
 He was my Friend, faithfull, and iust to me ; 95
 But *Brutus* sayes, he was Ambitious,
 And *Brutus* is an Honourable man.
 He hath brought many Captiues home to Rome,
 Whose Ransomes, did the generall Coffers fill :
 Did this in *Cæsar* seeme Ambitious ? 100
 When that the poore haue cry'de, *Cæsar* hath wept :

86. *entered*] *interrèd* Dyce.
their bones] *the bones* F₄, Rowe i.

87. *The*] Om. Pope, + (—Var. '73).
 99. *Ransomes*] *Ransons* Rowe ii.

avows his own readiness for revenge, and thus censures the policy of the Senate, but admits that that policy may be for the public interest. He intones a hymn in honour of the deified Cæsar; reviews his wars, battles, victories, the provinces annexed, and the spoils transmitted to Rome, and glances at the subjugation of the Gauls as the payment of an ancient score. He uncovers the body of Cæsar and displays the pierced and blood-stained garment to the wrath of the populace. He puts words in the mouth of the dead, and makes him cite the names of those whom he had benefited and preserved that they should destroy him. And the people brook no more. . . . It is quite possible that Shakespeare, while retaining Plutarch's general scheme, may have filled it in with suggestions from Appian. . . . Apparent loans from the same quarter in *Antony & Cleopatra* show that he was acquainted with the English translation [by Henry Bynniman, 1578].

84. **to bury Cæsar**] WRIGHT: Shakespeare was, no doubt, thinking of his own time and country. The custom of burning the dead had not been in use in Rome very long before the time of Cæsar

91. **vnder leaue**] MARK HUNTER: If Antony has not himself overheard Brutus's speech, we may suppose he had instructed some dependent to be present, who in the interval between his master's entrance and Brutus's departure found time rapidly to 'post' Antony in all that had passed. This would make a good piece of stage-business. [Hunter adds that he has learned later that such an action was adopted by Tree in his revival of *Jul. Cæs.*]

101. **When that**] CRAIK (p. 312): The 'that' in such a case as this is merely a summary or compendious expression of what follows, which was convenient, perhaps, in a ruder condition of the language, as more distinctly marking out the

Ambition should be made of sterner stuffe,
 Yet *Brutus* sayes, he was Ambitious : 102
 And *Brutus* is an Honourable man.
 You all did see, that on the *Lupercall*, 105
 I thrice presented him a Kingly Crowne,
 Which he did thrice refuse. Was this Ambition?
 Yet *Brutus* sayes, he was Ambitious :
 And sure he is an Honourable man.
 I speake not to disprove what *Brutus* spoke, 110
 But heere I am, to speake what I do know ;
 You all did loue him once, not without cause,
 What cause with-holds you then, to mourne for him ?
 O Iudgement ! thou are fled to brutish Beasts, 114

105. on] at Pope, Han.

114. thou are] thou art Ff.

clause to be comprehended under the 'when.' We still commonly use it with *now*, when it serves to discriminate the conjunction from the adverb, although not with other conjunctions which are never adverbs.

105. on the *Lupercall*] HUDSON interprets this, on the day when the feast of *Lupercalia* was held.—WRIGHT remarks that Shakespeare here speaks of 'the *Lupercal* as if it were a hill, when in reality it was a cave.' The words given to Marullus in I, i, 77, 'You know it is the feast of *Lupercal*,' prove sufficiently that there was no confusion in Shakespeare's mind; and, therefore, Hudson's interpretation is the one preferred by the present Ed.

109. Honourable man] LLOYD (*Crit. Essay*; ap. Sing. ii, p. 513): The ambiguous tones in which Antony harps upon his consideration for Brutus especially, and then his associates, as honourable men, come down from Cicero; the second Philippic furnishes his very words: [Lloyd gives the Latin; the following translation is by Yorge] 'However remark the stupidity of this fellow,—I should say, of this brute beast. For thus he spoke: "Marcus Brutus whom I name to do him honour, holding aloft his bloody dagger, called upon Cicero, from which it must be understood that he was privy to the action." . . . You wise and considerate man, what do you say to this? If they are parricides, why are they always named by you, both in this assembly and before the Roman people, with a view to do them honour?'—§§ xii, xiii; (ed. Bohn, p. 310.)—HUDSON: Of course, these repetitions of 'honourable man' are intensely ironical; and for that very reason the irony should be studiously kept out of the voice in pronouncing them. I have heard speakers and readers utterly spoil the effect of this speech by specially emphasizing the irony; the proper force of which, in this case, depends on its being so disguised as to seem perfectly unconscious. For, from the extreme delicacy of his position, Antony is obliged to proceed with the utmost caution until he gets, and sees he has got, the audience thoroughly in his power.

114. Iudgement! thou are fled to brutish Beasts] A passage in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, '—reason long since is fled to animals, you know,' III, i, provoked the following note from Gifford (ed., p. 100): 'I wonder the commentators have not . . . pointed out this [line in Jonson] as designed to sneer at

And Men haue loft their Reason. Beare with me, 115
 My heart is in the Coffin there with *Cæsar*,
 And I must pawse, till it come backe to me.

1 Me thinks there is much reason in his sayings.

2 If thou consider rightly of the matter,
Cæsar ha's had great wrong. (his place. 120

3 Ha's hee Masters? I feare there will a worke come in

119. 2] Om. Ff, Rowe, +. 2 Cit.
 Capell et seq.

121. *Ha's hee Masters?*] As separate
 line Cap. et seq.

121. *Ha's hee*] *Hal has he* Anon. ap.
 Cam. *That he has* H. Morley, M.
 Hunter. *That has he* Macmillan conj.

Masters?] *my masters?* Cap.
 S. Walker, Ktly. *not, masters?* Craik,
 Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

Shakespeare, ['Judgement thou art fled,' etc.]. It is true that *Every Man out*, etc., was published several years before *Jul. Cæs.*, [*i. e.*, in 1600], but that, I find, is no conclusive argument in favour of Jonson, for "he might have seen the lines in manuscript"; or, as the manuscript was certainly not in existence at this time, he might have known that Shakespeare intended to make use of such an expression.'—WHALLEY explains that Jonson's allusion is 'designed as a sneer on those philosophers who, from the tractable and imitative qualities in brutes, maintained that they were reasonable creatures.' These remarks would hardly be worth noting were it not that KOEPEL (*Jahrbuch*, xliii, p. 211) has apparently taken Gifford seriously, inasmuch as Gifford has not made any use of this seeming similarity in thought to establish the date of composition of *Jul. Cæs.* because he considered the Roman tragedies to belong to a later date. Koepel then quotes a line from the anonymous play: *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll*, 1600: 'Then reason's fled to animals, I see.'—III, ii; (ed. Bullen, p. 129), and uses this as a proof that both Jonson and the anonymous author are here referring to the present line in *Jul. Cæs.*, which play must, therefore, have been well known prior to 1600. It may not be denied that there is a similarity in all three passages; but that both the author of *Doctor Dodypoll* and Jonson were herein copying from Shakespeare is not so manifest. Doctor Dodypoll's progenitor may perhaps be referring to the line in Jonson's play; but may he not quite as well refer to the philosopher's opinions, mentioned by Whalley? On this point it is, perhaps, interesting to call attention to an essay in Plutarch's *Morals*, entitled, *That Brute Beasts have Reason*, wherein Gryllus, transformed into a pig by Circe, tries to convince Ulysses that all brutes have more 'discourse of reason' than mankind. This work by Plutarch was first translated into English by Philemon Holland in 1603; a translation in French by Amyot appeared in 1572.—ED.

116, 117. *My heart . . . backe to me*] MALONE thinks that perhaps Shakespeare may have recollected these lines from Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1594: 'As for my love, say Antony hath all; Say that my heart is gone into the grave With him, in whom it rests, and ever shall.'—To this WRIGHT pertinently replies that it is 'even more probable that the idea may have occurred to Shakespeare independently.' He also calls attention to the contrast between this pause by Antony and that by Brutus, who pauses for a reply, since his speech is an argument.—ED.

121. *Ha's hee Masters?*] DELIUS: This is here no question of astonishment or doubt, but rather an asseveration: Has harm been done him! [Ob ihm Unrecht geschehen ist.] Underlying which is to be understood: *Indeed I think so.*

4. Mark'd ye his words? he would not take y^e Crown. 122
Therefore 'tis certaine, he was not Ambitious.

1. If it be found so, some will deere abide it.

2. Poore foule, his eyes are red as fire with weeping. 125

3. There's not a Nobler man in Rome then *Antony*.

4. Now marke him, he begins againe to speake.

Ant. But yesterday, the word of *Cæsar* might
Haue stood against the World : Now lies he there,
And none so poore to do him reuerence. 130

O Maisters ! If I were dispos'd to stirre
Your hearts and mindes to Mutiny and Rage,
I should do *Brutus* wrong, and *Cassius* wrong :
Who (you all know) are Honourable men.

I will not do them wrong : I rather choose 135
To wrong the dead, to wrong my selfe and you,
Then I will wrong such Honourable men.

But heere's a Parchment, with the Seale of *Cæsar*,
I found it in his Cloffet, 'tis his Will :
Let but the Commons heare this Testament : 140

(Which pardon me) I do not meane to reade,
And they would go and kisse dead *Cæsars* wounds,
And dip their Napkins in his Sacred Blood ;

Yea, begge a haire of him for Memory,
And dying, mention it within their Willes, 145
Bequething it as a rich Legacie
Vnto their issue.

4 Wee'l heare the Will, reade it *Marke Antony*. 148

126. *Nobler*] *bolder* Wh. i. (mis- *Which (pardon me) ... read*, Q., 1691.
print?). *Which, pardon me, ... read*, Rowe.

127. *again*] Om. Thcob. ii, + *(Which pardon me ... read)* Pope et
(—Han.). seq.

128–147. Mnemonic Pope, Warb. 144. *Yea*] *Nay* Cap.

141. *(Which pardon me) ... reade*,] 148. 4] All. Anon. conj. ap. Cam.

124. *abide*] See III, i, 108, for meaning of 'abide,' in this sense.

130. *none so poore to do him reuerence*] JOHNSON: That is, the meanest man is now too high to do reverence to *Cæsar*.—CRAIK (p. 313): It is as if it were 'with none so poor.' And 'and' is logically (whatever it may be etymologically) equivalent to *with*.

132. *Mutiny and Rage*] WRIGHT: Compare, 'Therewithal the people fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people.'—Plutarch: *Life of Brutus*, § 15; ed. Skeat, p. 122.

143. *Napkins*] That is, *handkerchiefs*; the two words were used interchangeably.

All. The Will, the Will; we will heare *Cæsar's* Will.

Ant. Haue patience gentle Friends, I must not read it. 150
It is not meete you know how *Cæsar* lou'd you :
You are not Wood, you are not Stones, but men :
And being men, hearing the Will of *Cæsar*,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad ;
'Tis good you know not that you are his Heires, 155
For if you should, O what would come of it ?

4 Read the Will, wee'l heare it *Antony* :
You shall reade vs the Will, *Cæsar's* Will.

Ant. Will you be Patient? Will you stay a-while ?
I haue o're-shot my selfe to tell you of it, 160
I feare I wrong the Honourable men,
Whose Daggers haue stabb'd *Cæsar* : I do feare it.

4 They were Traitors : Honourable men ?

All. The Will, the Testament.

2 They were Villaines, Murderers: the Will, read the 165
Will.

Ant. You will compell me then to read the Will :
Then make a Ring about the Corpes of *Cæsar*,
And let me shew you him that made the Will :
Shall I descend? And will you giue me leaue ? 170

All. Come downe.

2 Descend.

3 You shall haue leaue. 173

150-156. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

154. *It*] *I* Cap. [corrected in Er-rata].

156. *should, O*] *should—O* Rowe, +.

157, 158. As prose Craik.

157. *wee'l*] *we will* Theob. Warb.

Johns. Cap. Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev.

Varr. Sing. Dyce, Ktly, Huds.

158. *Cæsar's Will*] *read Cæsar's will*

Cap. conj., Ktly. *great* *Cæsar's* Words-worth conj.

159-162. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

164. *All.*] Citizens. Dyce, Sta.

167. *Will:] will?* Pope et seq.

168. *Corpes*] *Corps* F₃F₄.

171. *All.*] First Cit. Cam. Edd. conj.

[He comes down from the Pulpit. Rowe, +.

155, 156. 'Tis good . . . would come of it] VERITY: Observe the slow, deliberate rhythm due to the use of monosyllables. Antony speaks in this drawing way so as to tantalize the crowd, whose impatience to hear the will increases every moment.—MARK HUNTER: I should imagine that at these words Antony suddenly drops his voice, hitherto at a somewhat excitedly high pitch, and speaks in a lower, but more impressive tone.

161. Honourable men] Here, I think, for the first time Antony uses these words with a distinct sneer; and then fairly hurls the next line in the faces of the crowd.—ED.

4 A Ring, stand round.

1 Stand from the Hearse, stand from the Body. 175

2 Roome for *Antony*, most Noble *Antony*.

Ant. Nay presse not so vpon me, stand farre off.

All. Stand backe: roome, beare backe.

Ant. If you haue teares, prepare to shed them now.

You all do know this Mantle, I remember 180

The first time euer *Cæsar* put it on,

'Twas on a Summers Evening in his Tent,

That day he ouercame the *Neruij*. 183

177. *farre*] *far'* Dyce.

183. *Neruij*] *Nervii* F₃F₄.

179-188. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

180. **this Mantle**] THEOBALD (*Nichols*, ii, 496): This circumstance with regard to Cæsar's mantle seems to me an invention of the poet; and, perhaps, not with the greatest propriety. The *Nervii* were conquered in the second year of his Gaulish expedition, seventeen [Qu. thirteen?] years before his assassination; and it is hardly to be thought that Cæsar preserved any one robe of state so long.—[Is this not hypercriticism? Plutarch, Appian, and Dion Cassius mention the fact of Cæsar's rent robe being exhibited by Antony; and, acting on this, Shakespeare but gives a more realistic touch to the incident by naming the particular mantle; as well might we find fault with Antony's showing the gashes in it and naming the very men whose swords made them—a manifest impossibility even had he been an eye-witness of the murder, which he was not. Theobald's note appears also in his edition, 1733, with an additional comparison between this passage and that in *Hamlet*, wherein Horatio, speaking of the Ghost, says: 'Such was the very armour he had on When he th' ambitious Norway combated.'—I, i, 60. With this Theobald also finds fault on the ground that 'Horatio, being a school-fellow of young Hamlet, could hardly know in what armour the old King killed Fortinbras of Norway; which happened on the very day, whereon young Hamlet was born.'—Would any one in the audience of Shakespeare's time, or the present, be so conversant with all the facts as to be seriously disturbed by such slight inaccuracies?—HUDSON also says that the matter about the mantle is fictitious, as 'Cæsar had on the civic gown, not the military cloak, when killed.' As Antony's present speech is 'fictitious,' why may he not be allowed to display a fictitious mantle?—Ed.]

180. **I remember**] WRIGHT: Antony did not join Cæsar in Gaul till three years after this event.—[This may, perhaps, furnish an excuse for Antony's further forgetfulness; the victory over the *Nervii* was accomplished in the *winter* of 57 B. C., not summer.—Ed.]

183. **the Neruij**] SHERLOCK (p. 31): This word is one of the most eloquent that Antony has spoken. The *Nervii* had been some of the most formidable enemies of Rome, and they had never been conquered till that day. The assembly which Antony harangued was entirely composed of citizens and of the veterans of Cæsar. To the citizens these words said: 'See, that Cæsar who has delivered you from your fears, who has given safety to your wives and children. . . .' To the soldiers: 'See, massacred by traitors, that Cæsar who conducted you to glory. . . .' Every

Look, in this place ran *Cassius* Dagger through :
 See what a rent the enuious *Caska* made : 185
 Through this, the wel-belou'd *Brutus* stabb'd,
 And as he pluck'd his curfed Steele away :
 Marke how the blood of *Cæsar* followed it,
 As rushing out of doores, to be resolu'd
 If *Brutus* so vnkindely knock'd, or no : 190
 For *Brutus*, as you know, was *Cæsars* Angel.
 Iudge, O you Gods, how deerely *Cæsar* lou'd him:
 'This was the most vnkindest cut of all. 193

184. *Cassius*] *Cassius's* F., Rowe.
Cassius' Pope et seq.

186. *wel-belou'd*] *well-belovèd Dyce.*

187. *curfed*] *cursèd Dyce.*

188. *followed*] *Ff, Wh. i. follow'd*
Rowe et cet.

191-207. Mnemonic Warb.

193. *This...most*] *This, this was the*
Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.

line of this speech deserves an eulogium.—[While Sherlock's remark as to the value of this allusion to the Nervii is certainly just, it is not difficult, I think, to see why Shakespeare makes Antony allude to this particular victory; it is thus mentioned by Plutarch: 'The Senate understanding it [the victory] at Rome, ordained that they should do sacrifices to the gods, and keep feasts and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome for any victory that ever was obtained: because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him: and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous.'—*Cæsar*, § 19; (ed. Skeat, p. 61).—Ed.]

185 *enuious*] That is, *malicious*.

186. *Through this . . . Brutus stabb'd*] WRIGHT: According to Suetonius, of all the wounds which Cæsar received, the only one which was mortal was the second. Shakespeare in this passage appears to make Brutus give him the death-blow. If so, we should read in III, i, 89, stage direction: *Marcus Brutus and the other conspirators*.

189. *As rushing out of doores*] MRS MONTAGU (p. 273): The miserable conceit of Cæsar's blood rushing out of the wound, to ask who so unkindly knocked, is indefensible.—[That this, as a poetic conceit, is not of the best may not be gainsaid; but is not the assertion that it is 'indefensible' somewhat rash? The dogmatic tone is of itself almost sufficient to challenge defense, if any such were needed, for words uttered under such stress as was Antony's on this occasion.—Ed.]

191. *Cæsars Angel*] STEEVENS tells us that this term of endearment is quite frequent in Sidney's *Arcadia*, which does not help us much to its particular meaning here.—BOSWELL suggests that Brutus was trusted by Cæsar as his guardian angel.—To this view CRAIK (p. 315) dissents, preferring to understand 'angel' as being simply his best beloved, his darling; and WRIGHT considers it as almost synonymous with the genius, as in II, i, 74 (q. v.), which is also the opinion of the present Ed.

193. *vnkindest*] DELIUS interprets this as *most unnatural*; for a somewhat similar thought, compare: 'Blow, blow, thou winter wind, Thou art not so unkind As man's ingratitude.'—*As You Like It*, II, vii, 174.—Ed.

For when the Noble *Cæsar* saw him stab,
 Ingratitude, more strong than Traitors' arms, 195
 Quite vanquish'd him : then bur'd his Mighty heart,
 And in his Mantle, muffling vp his face,
 Even at the Base of *Pompey's* Statue
 (Which all the while ran blood) great *Cæsar* fell.
 O what a fall was there, my Countrymen ? 200
 Then I, and you, and all of vs fell downe,
 Whil'st bloody Treason flourish'd ouer vs.
 O now you weepe, and I perceiue you feele
 The dint of pitty : These are gracious droppes.
 Kinde Soules, what weepe you, when you but behold 205
 Our *Cæsars* Vesture wounded ? Looke you heere,

196. *his*] *this* Upton.

198, 199. *Euen...Statue* (Which...
fell] *Which...fell, Euen...Statue* Warb.

198, 199. *Euen...[Which]* As one line
 Han.

198. *Statue*] *statua* Mal. conj., Steev.

Varr. Sing. i, Dyce, Sta. Wh. i, Cam. i,
 Glo.+. *Statuē* Ktly, Cam. ii.

199. *ran*] *ran with* Han.

205. *what weepe*] Ff, Knt, Cam. ii.
what! weep Coll. ii, iii, Wh. i, Hal.
 Ktly, Huds. *what, weep* Pope et cet.

196, 197. **Mighty . . . Mantle, muffling**] Observe how this recurrence seems, so to speak, to have the effect of 'muffling' the lines.—ED.

198. **Statue**] MALONE: If 'even' be considered as a monosyllable, [which it usually is, with Shakespeare], the measure is defective. I suspect, therefore, he wrote *Statua*. [For examples of this pronunciation, see II, ii, 87.]

199. **Which all the while ran blood**] 'He was driven . . . against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain.'—Plutarch: *Cæsar*, § 44; ed. Skeat, p. 101.

202. **flourish'd**] STEEVENS: That is, flourished the sword.—CRAIK (p. 315) interprets 'flourish' in the sense in which a plant is said to put forth its flowers: 'treason thus shot up into vigorous efflorescence over us.'—WRIGHT, in opposition to Steevens, says: 'the contrast is between the prostrate state of the people and the triumphant attitude of the conspirators.'

204. **dint**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 3.): A mark or impression made by a blow, or by pressure, in a hard or plastic surface; an indentation.

204. **These are gracious droppes**] CRAIK (p. 315): Falling, the thought seems to be, like the bountiful and refreshing rain from heaven.

205. **what weepe you**] MARK HUNTER: Pope's insertion of a comma after 'what,' making it an exclamation of surprise, is a distinct improvement in the matter, both of sense and rhythm.

206. **Looke you heere**] MACMILLAN (*Introd.*, p. xli.): Although Shakespeare had probably never read in the original, or in translations, any of Cicero's oratorical treatises, he happens to attribute to his Antony the same magnetic influence of real passion felt by the speaker and transmitted to the audience, and the same overpowering appeal to pity and indignation by tearing away the robe and displaying the wounds of the subject of his eulogy, as were employed with such effect on a similar occasion by his grandfather, the famous orator.—(Cicero: *De Oratore*,

Heere is Himselfe, marr'd as you see with Traitors. 207

1. O pitteous spectacle !

2. O Noble *Cæsar* !

3. O wofull day !

210

4. O Traitors, Villaines !

1. O most bloody fight !

2. We will be reueng'd : Reuenge

About, seeke, burne, fire, kill, slay,

Let not a Traitor liue.

215

Ant. Stay Country-men.

1. Peace there, heare the Noble *Antony*.

2. Wee'l heare him, wee'l follow him, wee'l dy with him.

(you vp

Ant. Good Friends, sweet Friends, let me not stirre 220

To such a sodaine Flood of Mutiny :

They that haue done this Deede, are honourable.

What priuate greefes they haue, alas I know not,

That made them do it : They are Wife, and Honourable, 224

207. *with*] by Pope, +.

208-216. *O pitteous ... Country-men*] As five lines, verse Cap. MS. (ap. Cam.).

213. *We will*] *We'll* Cap.

213-215. *We will...Traitor liue*] Ff, Rowe. As two lines, ending: *About... liue* Var. '78, '85, Ran. As two lines, ending: *burne...liue* Ktly. As prose Pope et cet.

213. *Reuenge*] All. *Revenge!* Glo. Cam. +.

216. [They are rushing out. Coll. ii. (MS).]

217. *Peace*] *Peace, peace* Cap. conj. 220-240. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

221. *sodaine*] *suddain* F₃. *sudden* F₄.

224. *do it: They are*] *do't: they' are* Walker (Crit., iii, 247).

ii, xlvii.).—[Marc Antony may possibly have remembered the action of his grandfather and used it to produce a like effect; but it is not necessary, I think, to suppose that Shakespeare knew anything about Cicero's Treatise. He is here closely following Plutarch's account of the incidents in connection with Caesar's funeral, as related in the *Life of Caesar*, § 45, ed. Skeat, p. 102; and in the *Life of Brutus*, § 15, *Ibid.*, p. 122.—ED.]

213-215. *We will be reueng'd . . . Let not a Traitor liue*] DELIUS: These words are not, perhaps, spoken by the 2nd *Plebeian* alone, but shouted out by different ones. Likewise the following words, l. 218, 'We'll hear him,' etc. [WRIGHT also suggests that this last-mentioned line be distributed as in ll. 208-212.]

214. *About, seeke, burne, fire, kill, slay*] SHERLOCK (p. 32): The same passion, the same violence in their emotions, the same readiness to be inflamed, the same disposition to do everything by the impulse of a moment, and nothing by reason; these are the distinctive qualities of the people of Rome; and the words of Shakespeare, 'burn, fire, kill, slay,' are the lines of the character of the *Transteverins*, such as it still appears at the moment of my writing [1786].

223. *greefes*] That is, *grievances*. Compare I, iii, 129; IV, ii, 50.

And will no doubt with Reasons answer you. 225
 I come not (Friends) to steale away your hearts,
 I am no Orator, as *Bruis* is ;
 But (as you know me all) a plaine blunt man
 That loue my Friend, and that they know full well,
 That gaue me publike leaue to speake of him: 230
 For I haue neyther writ nor words, nor worth,

225. *Reafons*] *reason* Warb.
 230. *gaue*] *giue* Ff, Rowe, +.

231. *writ*] Johns. Var. '73, Mal. Var.
 '21, Coll. i, ii. *wit* Ff et cet.

226. **steale away your hearts**] WRIGHT: That is, to deceive you by working on your feelings. In *Genesis*, xxxi, 20, where the Authorised Version has, 'And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban,' the rendering of the Bishops' Bible is, 'And Jacob stole away the heart of Laban'; that is, deceived him.

228. **a plaine blunt man**] MARK HUNTER (*Introd.*, clxvi.): With all his artifice, Antony is only completely successful because the passion which pervades the speech is perfectly genuine. Antony feels what he says, and even when the words seem most at variance with the actual fact, there is a certain element of truth in the orator's attitude, and consequently a strain of sincerity in the utterance. . . . Between the plain blunt man, who loves his friend and understands the elementary obligations of man to man, and the serious philosopher, whose subtle reasoning can find warrant in ethics for ingratitude, treachery, and murder, there is an eternal distinction which the common conscience of mankind can recognise clearly enough, but which the dreaming enthusiast and idealist is apt to miss.

231. **For I haue neyther writ**] As will be seen by a reference to the *Text. Notes* those Editors who have followed this Folio reading are in the minority.—JOHNSON and MALONE, who are of this number, naturally understand Antony to mean that he has no written or premeditated speech. Malone even accuses the editor of the Second Folio of changing 'whatever he did not understand,' and furthermore declares that '*wit* in Shakespeare's time had not the meaning which it now bears, but meant *understanding*. 'Would Shakespeare,' asks Malone, 'make Antony declare himself void of common intelligence?'—STEEVENS, in opposition to Malone's interpretation, says: 'The artful speaker was surely designed, with affected modesty, to represent himself as one who had neither *wit* (*i. e.*, strength of *understanding*) . . . to influence the minds of the people. Was it necessary that on an occasion so precipitate he should have urged that he had brought no *willen* speech in his pocket. . . . I, therefore, continue to read with the Second Folio, being unambitious of reviving the blunders of the First.'—CRAIK finds grave fault with Malone for following, and attempting to explain, the Folio reading. 'Is it possible,' he asks, 'that such a critic can have had the smallest feeling of anything in Shakespeare above the level of the merest prose?' Continuing, Craik shows that there are numerous passages in Shakespeare wherein *wit* has exactly its present signification. . . . 'How would Malone,' he concludes, 'or those who think with him (if there be any), explain the conversation about Benedick's wit, in Act V, sc. i, of *Much Ado*, without taking the word as there used in the sense which it now ordinarily bears? In the present passage, to be sure, its meaning is more comprehensive, corresponding nearly to what it still conveys in the expression "the wit of

Action, nor Vtterance, nor the power of Speech, 232
 To stirre mens Blood. I onely speake right on :
 I tell you that, which you your selues do know,
 Shew you sweet *Cæsars* wounds, poor poor dum mouths 235
 And bid them speake for me : But were I *Brutus*,
 And *Brutus Antony*, there were an *Antony*
 Would ruffle vp your Spirits, and put a Tongue
 In euery Wound of *Cæsar*, that should moue
 The stones of Rome, to rise and Mutiny. 240

232. *Vtterance*] *Ut'trance* Pope, + (—Var. '73).

man." Compare: "Hast thou or word, or wit, or impudence, That yet can do thee office?"—*Meas. for Meas.*, V, i, 368.'

232. *power of Speech*.] MARK HUNTER: I feel certain that the comma after 'speech' should be omitted, and that 'to stir men's blood' should refer exclusively to 'power of speech.'

237. *Antony . . . Antony*] ABBOTT (§ 475): A word repeated twice in a verse often receives two accents the first time, and one accent the second, when it is less emphatic the second time than the first. [In the present line] the former '*Antony*' is the more emphatic.

240. *The stones . . . to rise and Mutiny*] WORDSWORTH (*Shakespeare's Knowledge & Use*, etc., p. 267) calls attention, if that were needed, to the origin of these words, *Luke*, xix, 40, and also shows that Shakespeare makes use of this most striking thought in *Rich. II.*, 'when King Richard returned from Ireland to suppress the insurrection of Bolingbroke, he thus apostrophises the coast of Wales: "Mock not my senseless conjuration, lords; This earth shall have a feeling, and these stones Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms."—III, ii, 23.' To this same source we may also, perhaps, assign: 'Thou sure and firm-set earth Hear not my steps which way they walk, for fear Thy very stones prate of my whereabouts.'—*Macbeth*, II, i, 56.—ED.

240. *to rise and Mutiny*] MACCALLUM (p. 296): Note the last words; for though Antony feels entitled to indulge in this farcing and enjoys it thoroughly, he does not forget the serious business. He keeps recurring more and more distinctly to the suggestion of mutiny, and for mutiny the citizens are now more than fully primed. All this, moreover, he has achieved without ever playing his trump card. They have quite forgotten about the will, and, indeed, it is not required. But Antony thinks it well to have them beside themselves, so he calls them back for this last maddening draught. And all this while, it will be observed, he has never answered Brutus's charge that Cæsar was ambitious. Yet such is the headlong flight of his eloquence, winged by genius, by passion, by craft, that his audience never perceive this. No wonder; it is apt to escape even deliberate readers.—[Antony, be it remembered, has already declared that he 'came not to disprove what Brutus said,' but merely to state facts, and in this connection shows wherein Cæsar had manifested not ambition, but a lack of it: (1) The ransoms of all his captives went into the general coffers. (2) Cæsar showed sympathy for the sorrows of the poor of Rome. (3) Cæsar refused the crown when it was offered him. See ll. 98–107, above.—ED.]

All. Wee'l Mutiny.

241

1 Wee'l burne the house of *Brutus*.

3 Away then, come, seeke the Conspirators.

Ant. Yet heare me Countrymen, yet heare me speake

All. Peace hoe, heare *Antony*, most Noble *Antony*.

245

Ant. Why Friends, you go to do you know not what :

Wherein hath *Cæsar* thus deferu'd your loues?

Alas you know not, I must tell you then :

You haue forgot the Will I told you of.

All. Most true, the Will, let's stay and heare the Will. 250

Ant. Heere is the Will, and vnder *Cæsars* Seale:

To euery Roman Citizen he giues,

To euery feuerall man, seuentie fve Drachmaes.

2 *Plc.* Most Noble *Cæsar*, wee'l reuenge his death.

3 *Plc.* O Royall *Cæsar*.

255

Ant. Heare me with patience.

All. Peace hoe

Ant. Moreouer, he hath left you all his Walkes,

His priuate Arbors, and new-planted Orchards, 259

252, 253. *euery...euery*] *ev'ry...ev'ry* 253. *seuenty*] *sev'nty* Pope, + (—Var. Pope, + (—Var. '73). '73).

253. *feuerall*] *sev'ral* Theob. Warb. *Drachmaes*] *drachma's* Rowe, + (—Var. '73). *drachmas* Cap. et seq.

253. **Drachmaes**] SMITH (*Dict. of Greek & Roman Antiquities*) gives the value of a 'drachma' as 9 d. 3 farthings, or about twenty cents. Each citizen would thus receive nearly fifteen dollars.

258, 259. **his Walkes . . . and new-planted Orchards**] MERIVALE (iii, 34): Although enclosed within the city walls, the Transtiberine region retained all the appearance of a suburb, and a large part of it was included in the gardens of [Cæsar]. The temple of *Fors Fortuna* lay at the first milestone from the *Porta Flumentana*, or river-gate, and marked the extreme point of Cæsar's property. The gardens stretched thither along the bank of the Tiber from the Palatine bridge, some mutilated arches of which are now distinguished by the name of *Ponte Rotto*. The Sublician bridge abutted upon them in the centre, and we may amuse ourselves with imagining that the palace of the Pamphili, standing close to its head, occupies the exact site of the mansion itself which furnished a temporary residence to the queen of ancient beauty [Cleopatra]. When this estate was surrendered to the use of the Roman people, the halls and corridors would be devoted to the reception of works of art and objects of indoor amusement; while the gardens, planted with groves and intersected with alleys, would furnish a grateful alternation of shade and sunshine for recreation in the open air. It would be adorned with shrubs of evergreen, cut and trimmed with various fanciful shapes. Statues of admired workmanship, the spoil of many an Oriental capital, would spring from gravelled walks or parterres of native and exotic flowers; and ivy would be trained to creep

On this side Tyber, he hath left them you, 260
And to your heyres for euer : common pleasures
To walke abroad, and recreate your selues.

Heere was a *Cæsar* : when comes such another ?

1.*Plc.* Neuer, neuer : come, away, away :

Wee'l burne his body in the holy place, 265

And with the Brands fire the Traitors houfes.

Take vp the body.

2.*Plc.* Go fetch fire.

3.*Plc.* Plucke downe Benches. 269

260. *this*] *that* Theob.+ (—Var. '73),
Cap. Jen.

264. *come, away, away*] *come, come*
away Cap. *come, away, away, away*
Ktly. *come, come, away, away* Anon.
ap. Cam.

266. *fire the*] *fire all the* Ft, Rowe, +,
Cap. Jen.

Traitors] *traitors'* Warb. et seq.

269. *Benches*] *The benches* (as sep-
arate line) Cap.

in studied negligence around them. Long ranges of tessellated pavements would vie in variegated brilliancy of colour with the roses and violets, the hyacinths and poppies, which satisfied the simple tastes of the ancient florists. These gardens, occupying the right bank of the river, immediately faced the slope of the Aventine hill, and lay almost in its morning shadow.

260. On this side Tyber] THEOBALD: The scene is here in the Forum near the Capitol, and in the most frequented part of the city; but Cæsar's gardens were very remote from that quarter. 'Trans Tibirim longe cubat is prope Cæsaris hortos,' says Horace, [Sat., I, ix, 18]. And both the Naumachia and Gardens of Cæsar were separated from the main city by the river. . . . Our author, therefore, certainly wrote: 'On that side Tiber.' And Plutarch, . . . speaking of Cæsar's will, expressly says: ' . . . his gardens and walks beyond the Tiber.'—(*Life of Brutus*); where, in that author's time, the Temple of Fortune stood.—FARMER exonerates Shakespeare of this mistake and assigns it to North's lack of care in translating.—[Plutarch's words here are: καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κήπων ἀπολειμμένων].—Ed. Sintenis, ch. xix. North has, however, here followed Amyot, who is really responsible for this trifling error.—Theobald is, of course, referring to a correct translation of the original.—ED.]

266. *fire*] For 'fire,' in sense of *to enkindle*, compare II, i, 266; III, i, 46.

266. *fire the Traitors houses*] STEEVENS: The more modern editors read: 'Fire all the traitors houses,' [see *Text. Notes*], but 'fire' was then pronounced as it was sometimes written, *fier*. [For many examples wherein the words *fire*, *desire*, *hour*, and the like are pronounced with an extra syllable, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 136.]—MALONE: By the expression 'the more modern editors,' Mr Steevens seems to have been willing to conceal that this was one of the many corruptions introduced by the editor of the Second Folio.—[This note, for its patronising tone, and subtle accusation of careless collation, would be, I think, difficult to surpass.—ED.]—CRAIK (p. 138): The harshness and dissonance produced by the irregular fall of the accent, in addition to the diæresis, in the case of the word 'fire,' may be thought to add to the force and expressiveness of the line [as in the Folio].

4.*Plc.* Plucke downe Formes, Windowes, any thing. 270

Exit Plebeians.

Ant. Now let it worke · Mischeefe thou art a-foot,
Take thou what courfe thou wilt.

How now Fellow ?

274

270. *Windowes*] *the windowes* Cap.

271. *Exit Plebeians.*] *Exeunt Plebeians* with the Body. Rowe, +.

273, 274. *Take...Fellow?*] One line, Pope, et seq.

273-276. *Take...Sir*] As one line in Cap. MS. (ap. Cam.).

270. **Windowes**] SKEAT (*Dict.*, s. v.) gives as the derivation of 'window,' "*wind-eye*," the hole or aperture through which light and air were admitted.'—[Shakespeare, apparently uses 'window' indiscriminately both for the *opening* and the *shutter*, as thus: '—these windows that let forth thy life.'—*Rich. III.*: I, ii, 12; 'It [the soul] would not out at windows nor at doors.'—*King John*, V, vii, 29. In these examples 'window' can mean only an *opening*; just as it seems to designate the *shutter* in the present line, and in 'Shuts up his windows, locks fair daylight out.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, I, i, 145. This last may, of course, be either *opening* or *shutter*. Shakespeare uses 'window,' however, in several passages metaphorically for the eyelid, as the shutter of the eye, considered as an opening; c. g., 'thy eyes windows fall Like death when he shuts up the day of life.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, IV, i, 100; and 'Ere I let fall the windowes of mine eyes.'—*Rich. III.*: V, iii, 116. (For a discussion on this metaphorical use of 'window,' see *Rich. III.*: V, iii, 129, this edition.)—ED.]

272. **Mischeefe thou art a-foot**] OECHELHÄUSER (*Einführungen*, etc., I, 226): Up to this point Antony has aroused the admiration and sympathy of the crowd; in the same degree he suddenly descends from that lofty flight and transforms himself into a frivolous comedian with these last words spoken as an aside. The actor must, both by tone and action, make clear, in the most pronounced manner, this sudden transformation.—[It is, I think, well to remember that this is Oechelhäuser's conception of Antony; not Shakespeare's.—ED.]

273. **Take thou**] CRAIK (p. 318) suggests that we should read: 'Take *now*,' since any emphasis on a pronoun is 'here unaccountable.' He remarks also that 'the abrupt entrance of the Servant is vividly expressed by the reversal of the regular accentuation in the last foot.' Craik refers, however, to Pope's arrangement of ll. 273 and 274 as one line (adopted by subsequent editors), which makes the accent fall on the last syllable of 'fellow.' He then digresses into a discussion of other examples of this abnormal accentuation which, while it is not germane to the question of accent in a line—not, however, by Shakespeare—is interesting. He quotes: 'Beyond all past example and future.'—*Paradise Lost*, x, 840; and also 'To whom thus Michael: These are the product.'—*Ibid*, xi, 683. 'Future,' says Craik, 'which is common in Milton's verse, has everywhere else the accent on the first syllable.'—In a note on the first of these lines H. G. Bohn remarks: 'The accent upon the second syllable of "future" is a Latinism, but not peculiar to Milton, being found in earlier poets. See Fairfax's *Tasso*, xvii, 38, l. 1: ["But not by art or skill, of things future.]"—Note that here the word is also the last in the line, where license is always accorded. Neither Walker nor Abbott include *future* among those words wherein the accent varies.—ED.

Enter Scruant.

275

Scr. Sir, *Octavius* is already come to Rome.*Ant.* Where is hee?*Scr.* He and *Lepidus* are at *Cæsars* house.*Ant.* And thither will I straight, to visit him :

He comes vpon a wish. Fortune is merry, 280
 And in this mood will giue vs any thing.

Scr. I heard him say, *Brutus* and *Cassius*
 Are rid like Madmen through the Gates of Rome.

Ant. Belike they had some notice of the people
 How I had moued them. Bring me to *Octavius*. *Exeunt* 285

[Scene III.]

Enter Cinna the Poet, and after him the Plebeians.

I

Cinna. I dreamt to night, that I did feast with *Cæsar*,
 And things vnluckily charge my Fantasie : 3

275. Enter...] After l. 273. Cap.
Jen. Dyce, Sta.

Seruant] Ff, Rowe i, Cap. *Jen.*
Dyce, Hal. a *Servant* Rowe ii. et cet.

276. *Sir*] Om. Pope, +.

278. *He*] *He, sir* Cap. conj.

Lepidus] *lord* *Lepidus* Walker
 (Crit., ii, 264).

282. *him*] *them* Cap. Coll. ii. 'em
Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

285. *moued*] *mov'd* Pope et seq.

Octavius] *Octavus* F₂.

Scene continued. Ff, Rowe. SCENE
 vii. Pope, +. SCENE iv. *Jen.* SCENE
 iii. Cap. et cet.

1. and ... *Plebeians*.] Om. Cap. et
 seq.

3. *vnluckily*] *unlucky* Warb. Cap.
Sing. ii, Dyce, Sta. Del. Wh. i, Huds.
 Coll. iii. *unlikely* Coll. ii. (MS), Craik.

284, 285. notice of the people How I had moued them] Both WALKER (Crit., i, 69) and ABBOTT (§ 414) quote this passage as an example of the redundant object; as, for example, in 'You hear the learn'd Bellario what he writes.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, IV, i, 167.—'Of' in the present line must then mean *about*, as Abbott explains it; but may it not as well be taken in the sense of *by* or *from*, as in ABBOTT (§ 170), who quotes, in illustration of this last meaning, 'Receiv'd of the most pious Edward?'—*Macbeth*, III, vi, 27.—ED.

2. I dreamt . . . that I did feast] STEVENS tells us that he 'learns from an old black letter treatise on *Fortune-Telling*, &c., that "to dream of being at banquets, betokeneth misfortune."—It is, however, not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare was influenced by this; he is here transcribing almost the words of North's Plutarch: 'There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar bad him to supper, and that he refused and would not go: then Cæsar took him by the hand, and lead him against his will.'—*Life of Cæsar*, § 45; ed. Skeat, p. 102.—ED.

3. *vnluckily* charge my Fantasie] STEVENS: That is, circumstances oppress my fancy with an ill-omened weight.—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, &c., p. 426): Why should he consider it unlucky to dream of feasting with Cæsar? His fancy

I haue no will to wander foorth of doores,
Yet something leads me foorth.

5

1. What is your name?
2. Whether are you going?
3. Where do you dwell?
4. Are you a married man, or a Batchellor?
2. Answer euery man directly.

10

1. I, and briefly.
4. I, and wisely.
3. I, and truly, you were best.

Cin. What is my name? Whether am I going? Where do I dwell? Am I a married man, or a Batchellour? Then to answer euery man, directly and briefly, wisely and truly: wisely I say, I am a Batchellor.

15

2 That's as much as to say, they are fooles that marrie: you'll beare me a bang for that I feare: proceede directly.

20

5. [Enter Citizens. Cap. et seq.

wisely, I say, I Sta.

7, 14. *Whether! Whither* F₃F₄.

18-20. Mnemonic Warb.

8. *dwell* live Cap.

10. *feare: proceede* fear. *Proceed*

17. *wisely I say, I* wisely, *I say—*
I Rowe, +. *wisely, I say, I* Var. '73.

Johns.

was charged with things improbable, and the [MS correction] is 'things *unlikely*,' which also suits the measure better.—WRIGHT interprets 'unluckily' as, in a manner foreboding misfortune; and, for this use of the adverb, compares: 'The best news is that we have safely found Our king and company.'—*Temp.*, V, i, 221; that is, have found them safe.—SINGER (*Sh. Vindicated*, p. 246) characterises the change of 'unluckily' to *unlikely* as 'mischievous.' 'The Poet's presentiment,' he says, 'is of some misfortune to happen, and nothing more is required than to omit the letters *il* and read *unlucky*.'—This emendation was first made by Warburton and adopted by several other editors, including Singer in his second edition, three years after his foregoing note.—ED.

3. *Fantasia*] For this use of 'fantasy,' in the sense of *the imaginative faculty*, compare II, i, 221, 257.

4. *I haue no will to wander foorth*] STEEVENS compares for a similar unwillingness to go forth, after an ominous dream, the words of Shylock: '—By Jacob's staff I swear, I have no mind of feasting forth tonight: But I will go.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, II, v, 36.

13. *you were best*] For other examples of this idiom, see ABBOTT, § 230, or Shakespeare *passim*.

17. *wisely I say, I am*] CRAIK (p. 320): Cinna's meaning evidently is, *Wisely I am a bachelor*. But that is not conveyed by the way in which the passage has hitherto been always pointed. [See *Text. Notes*.]

19. *beare me a bang*] An example of the ethical dative, for which see, if need ful, ABBOTT, § 220.

- Cinna.* Directly I am going to *Cæsars* Funerall. 21
1. As a Friend, or an Enemy?
- Cinna.* As a friend.
2. That matter is answered directly.
4. For your dwelling : breecfely. 25
- Cinna.* Breecfely, I dwell by the Capitoll.
3. Your name fir, truly.
- Cinna.* Truly, my name is *Cinna*.
1. Teare him to peecces, hee's a Conspirator.
- Cinna.* I am *Cinna* the Poet, I am *Cinna* the Poet. 30
4. Teare him for his bad verses, teare him for his bad Verses.
- Cin.* I am not *Cinna* the Conspirator.
4. It is no matter, his name's *Cinna*, plucke but his name out of his heart, and turne him going. 35
3. Teare him, tear him; Come Brands hoe, Firebrands : to *Brutus*, to *Cassius*, burne all. Some to *Decius* Houfe, 37
- 31, 32. Mnemonic Warb.
33. *Cin.* 1...*Conspirator*] Om. Var. '03, '13, '21, Sing. i.
34. *It is*] *It's* Cap. (Errata).
but] out Johns. Var. '73.
- 36, 37. *Teare him...Houfe*] As verse Cap.
- 36-38. *Teare him ... Away, go*] As
- verse Rowe ii, +.
37. *Brutus...Cassius*] *Brutus'...Cas-*
sius' Cap. Jen.
to *Cassius*] and to *Cassius'* Var.
'78, '85, Ran.
Decius] Decius's F₄, Rowe.
Decimus's Han. Ran.
Houfe] *Houfes* Ff.

29. **Teare him to peecces**] STAFFER (p. 460): The blackest action committed by the people, in all Shakespeare's Roman plays, is the murder of the poet Cinna in the midst of the tumult. The incident is given in Plutarch, but in his account the crime, as perpetrated by the populace whom Antony had worked up into wild excitement, is of a most ordinary and, so to speak, consistent character. It is a very deplorable occurrence, but it is not an odious or a vile one, outraging all feeling and reason. . . . Shakespeare, a bolder and more searching anatomist of the human monster, has added a refinement of cruelty and folly to their crime, knowing well what the mob is capable of in its intoxication on the day of revolution, and he shows us the amazing unreasonableness, and lets us hear the loud bursts of stupid and ferocious laughter of a populace in revolt, who are perfectly aware of what they are doing, and who, without the excuse of a mistake as to the poor wretch's identity, tear him to pieces in a most light-hearted manner as a punishment for bearing a name grown distasteful to them.

31. **Teare him for his bad verses**] KREYSSIG (p. 46): Were it not that the fate of the poet Cinna is related by Plutarch, one would like to consider this whole incident as a characteristic invention by Shakespeare. The scornful exclamation, 'Tear him for his bad verses,' is manifestly English in its humour. Even in Plutarch it is apparent that the situation is an intentional misunderstanding, since the

and some to *Caska's*; some to *Ligarius*: Away, go.

38

Excunt all the Plebeians.

Actus Quartus.

I

[Scene I.]

Enter Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus.

2

39. all the Plebeians.] forcing out
Cinna. Coll. ii. (MS).

Act IV, SCENE I. Rowe et seq.

Rome. Rowe, Pope.

A small Island near Mutina. Theob.

Johns. Var. '73, '78, '85. A small

Island in the little River Rhenus near
Bononia. Han. A Room in Antony's
House. Cap. et seq.

2. Enter...Lepidus.] Antony, Octa-
vius and Lepidus, seated at a Table.
Mal. et seq.

blood of the crazed populace, once aroused, demands a victim, and in the chance likeness of a name finds but another incitement to satisfy its wild desires.

1. **Actus Quartus**] LLOYD (*Crit. Essay*, ap. Singer, ii; p. 510): The scene of the triumvirs in consultation, which precedes that of the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius, is admirably invented to define the characterization of either party. The proscription with which they commence deprives them of all moral superiority to the so-called traitors and murderers they are leagued against, and the little delicacy they evince in tampering with the will of the friend whose death they are bound to avenge shows that the sacred motive is practically debased into a mock heroic pretence.—MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 200): The emotional strain now ceases, and, as in the first stage, the passion is of the calmer order; the calmness in this case is of pity balanced by a sense of justice. From the opening of the Fourth Act the decline in the justification of the conspirators is intimated by the logic of events. The first scene exhibits to us the triumvirate that now governs Rome, and shows that in this triumvirate Antony is supreme; with the man who is the embodiment of the reaction thus appearing at the head of the world, the fall of the Conspirators is seen to be inevitable. The decline of our sympathy with them continues in the following scenes.—G. P. BAKER (p. 271): What makes this Fourth Act ineffective to-day is what may have made it ineffective in its own day, that just when we have been wrought up to the keenest interest in what the mob will do to the murderers of Cæsar, we are asked to let that pass for good and all. Instead, we are given two short scenes which merely prepare for the fighting in the Fifth Act, and a long scene of the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius, delightful in itself, but purely episodic. It does bring out the sensitiveness and the underlying sweetness of Brutus, it does count in characterization; but it does not move the story towards its close; make a dramatic climax after Act III, or in any way fulfil the exciting promises of that act. The fact is, of course, that from the moment the Fourth Act begins the play lacks the unifying influence of Cæsar, and we are forced to make one of those awkward changes of interest midway in a play which are [*sic*] usually fatal to any unity of effect. For, whether we like Cæsar or not, the first three acts tell his story rather than that of Brutus, and the last three [*sic*] acts belong to Brutus more than to any other character. [See Note by MacCallum on IV, iii, 1.]—MACMILLAN (*Introd.*, p. xlix.): There was an interval of a year and a

Ant. These many then shall die, their names are prickt 3

3. *many*] *marry* Grey (ii, 186).

half between the arrival of Octavius in Rome and the proscriptions of the Triumvirate recorded in Act IV, sc. i. . . . The struggle between Antony and Octavius, and the predominance of Cicero at Rome during their difference, is omitted by Shakespeare. In III, ii, 279 Antony arranges to meet Lepidus and Octavius at Cæsar's house and their meeting is described in [the present scene].—MALTZAHN (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 59) suggests that, in representation, this scene with the Triumvirate be substituted for the scene with Cinna as the closing scene of Act III. Since the stage-setting is an interior, it can be played as a front scene. The fact that the modern stage-direction requires the Triumvirate to be seated at a table may be obviated by having them enter together, Antony carrying the proscription list in his hand. By this arrangement the whole of the Fourth Act is thus made to take place in the Tent of Brutus.

2. *Enter Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus*] THEOBALD, on the authority of Plutarch and of Appian, fixes the locality of this scene of the proscriptions at: 'a little Island, near Mutina, upon the River Lavinius.'—HANMER places the scene in an island on the Rhenus, near Bononia, which is the spot mentioned by Dion Cassius (Bk, xlii, ch. 54).—JENNENS pertinently remarks: 'What if Shakespeare knew all this? Is a poet obliged to follow history exactly? . . . What though the old copies say nothing of the place here? yet it is implied in [ll. 10-14]. What! does Antony send Lepidus on a journey (not to say a voyage) from an island near Mutina or Bononia, to fetch the will from Cæsar's house in Rome, and direct him to come again to him to this same island, and if he did not meet with him there, to return to the capitol at Rome? . . . Besides, supposing this island to be the scene, Octavius should rather have said, "Or here or at Rome"; for the direction "at the capitol" is too particular.'—WARBURTON, for reasons best known to himself, follows the Folios and omits to assign any locality.—CAPELL lays the scene 'At Rome. A Room in Antony's house,' wherein he has been followed by subsequent editors. Shakespeare must have regarded it as of slight import, as he has made Antony appoint his meeting with Octavius and Lepidus at the house of Cæsar, and yet here he sends Lepidus to that same place. Capell's stage direction seems, therefore, the most appropriate.—ED.

3. *These many then shall die*] Appian gives the full text of this Proclamation, which Horace White, its translator, says, 'is the only copy of this hideous instrument that has come down to us. The text corresponds with all that we glean from other authorities concerning it.' After a preamble reciting at length the causes for such a proscription and wholesale condemnation to death of those who had been concerned in the conspiracy against the state, it thus concludes: 'In God's name, then, let no one harbor any of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing any excuse or pardon. Those who kill the proscribed and bring us their heads shall receive the following rewards: to a free-man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master's right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown, the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our registers.'—(*Civil Wars*, Bk, IV, ch. ii, §§ 8-13).—ED.

Octa. Your Brother too must dye: consent you *Lepidus*?

Lep. I do consent.

5

Octa. Pricke him downe *Antony*.

Lep. Vpon condition *Publius* shall not liue,
Who is your Sisters sonne, *Marke Antony*.

Ant. He shall not liue; looke, with a spot I dam him.
But *Lepidus*, go you to *Cæsars* house :

10

Fetch the Will hither, and we shall determine
How to cut off some charge in Legacies.

Lep. What? shall I finde you heere?

Octa. Or heere, or at the Capitoll. *Exit Lepidus*

Ant. This is a slight vnmeritable man,

15

5. *consent.*] *consent*: Cap. *consent*—
Knt, Cam. +.

Coll. Huds.

11. *shall*] *will* Steev. Varr. Sing. i,

13, 14. *What...at*] As one line Craik,
Dyce ii, iii.

4-7. Your Brother too must dye . . . Publius shall not liue] 'For Cæsar left Cicero to Antonius's will, Antonius also forsook Lucius Cæsar, who was his uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother, Paulus.'—Plutarch: *Life of Antonius*, § 10; (ed. Skeat, p. 169).—UPTON (*Crit. Obs.*, p. 326): As 'tis not uncommon to blunder in proper names, I make no doubt but in the room of 'Publius' [l. 7] we should read *Lucius*, Antony's uncle by his mother's side: and then a trifling correction sets right the other line: '*You are his sister's son.*'—STEEVENS: The mistake is more like the mistake of the author than of his transcriber or printer.—[According to both Appian and Dion Cassius, Lucius and Paulus were among the few of those proscribed who escaped. Dion Cassius (Bk. xlvii, ch. 8) says: 'Except that Antony did release his uncle, at the earnest entreaty of his mother, Julia, he performed no other praiseworthy act.'—ED.]

6. *Octa. Pricke . . . Antony*] LLOYD (*Crit. Essay*; ap. Singer, p. 511): Already in this scene we have an adumbration of the future relative attitudes of Octavius and Antony, and of the predominant genius of the first. Lepidus and Antony give up brother and sister's son, but no friend is demanded of Octavius as a sacrifice; afterwards he cautiously guards himself against giving an unlimited assent to Antony's depreciation of their absent colleague, and there is warning that he is prepared against such double-dealing if brought to bear upon himself in the concluding words of this scene [ll. 53-56].

9. *I dam him*] WRIGHT: In many passages of the *New Testament* the substitution of *condemn* for 'damn,' and *condemnation* for *damnation*, would prevent many erroneous interpretations.

15. *This is a slight . . . man*] WRIGHT: With this description of Lepidus, compare the scene in *Ant. & Cleo.*, II, vii, 28-57.—[In *Ant. & Cleo.* Shakespeare is amplifying the portrait of Lepidus, of whom we have but a sketch in *Jul. Cæs.* Possibly he formed his opinion of him from this slight hint given by Plutarch: 'Now the government of these triumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romans, for divers respects; but they most blamed Antonius, because he, being elder than Cæsar, and

Meet to be sent on Errands : is it fit 16
 The three-fold World diuided, he should stand,
 One of the three to share it ?

Olea. So you thought him,
 And tooke his voyce who should be prickt to dye 20
 In our blacke Sentence and Proscription.

Ant. *Otauius*, I haue seene more dayes then you,
 And though we lay these Honours on this man,
 To ease our selues of diuers stand'rous loads,
 He shall but beare them, as the Asse beares Gold, 25
 To groane and swet vnder the Businesse,
 Either led or driuen, as we point the way :
 And hauing brought our Treasure, where we will,
 Then take we downe his Load, and turne him off 29

24. *stand'rous*] *slandrous* Coll. Hal.
 Dyce, Ktly, Cam., Huds.

27. *Either*] Or Pope, + (—Var. '73).
point] *print* Ff, Rowe.

of more power and force than Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and excess.'—*Life of Antonius*, § 10; (ed. Skeat, p. 170).—Ed.]

15. *vnmeritable*] For other examples of adjectives ending in *able* and *ible*, both positive and negative, used in an *active* sense, see WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 183); or ABBOTT, § 3.

17. *The three-fold World*] GREEN (p. 350): Curious it is to note how slowly the continent which Columbus discovered became fully recognized as an integral part of 'the inhabited world.' . . . Brucioli's *Trattato della Sphera*, Venice, 1543, . . . in dividing the globe into climates, does not take a single instance except from what is named the Old World; in fact, the New World of America is never mentioned. Somewhat later, in 1564, when Sambucus published his *Emblems*, and presented *Symbols of the parts of the inhabited Earth*, he gave only three [parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa, as comprising the whole world]. . . . Shakespeare's geography, however, though at times defective, extended further than its 'symbols' by Sambucus. He refers to America and the Indies in *Com. of Err.*, III, ii, 131, and to the East and West Indies in the *Merry Wives*, I, iii, 64. Yet in agreement with the map of Sambucus, [where] the three Capes prominent upon it are the Gibraltar Rock, the Cape of Good Hope, and that of Malacca, Shakespeare on other occasions ignores America and all its western neighbors.—[In the present passage] and also in *Ant. & Cleo.* he speaks of the 'three nook'd world.'—IV, vi, 6.—[For a discussion on the last mentioned passage, see *Ant. & Cleo.*, this edition, p. 274.]

25. *as the Asse beares Gold*] STREEVENS compares: '—like an ass whose back with ingots bows, Thou bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey, And death unloads thee.'—*Meas. for Meas.*, III, i, 25. And Wright adds, also: 'Wears out his time, much like his master's ass, For naught but provender, and when he's old, cashier'd.'—*Othello*, I, i, 47.

27. *Either*] Metrically 'either' is here a monosyllable. For other examples of like contraction, see ABBOTT, § 466.

20. *turne him off*] MACMILLAN: Notice the dramatic irony in this speech.

(Like to the empty Affe) to shake his eares,
And graze in Commons. 30

Octa. You may do your wi'l :
But hee's a tried, and valiant Souldier.

Ant. So is my Horfe *Octavius*, and for that
I do appoint him store of Prouender. 35

It is a Creature that I teach to fight,
To winde, to stop, to run directly on :
His corporall Motion, geuern'd by my Spirit,
And in some taste, is *Lepidus* but so :
He must be taught, and train'd, and bid go forth : 40

A barren spirited Fellow; one that feeds
On Obiects, Arts, and Imitations. 42

31. *in*] *on* Coll. (MS).

Commons] *comm.on* Han.

33. *tried*] *tri'd* F₃F₄.

38. *Motion*] *motion* Pope et seq.

42. *Obiects, Arts*] *object arts* Theob.
Han. Warb. Johns. Cap. Jen. Dyce,

Coll. iii. *abjects, orts* Sta. conj. Glo.

Cam.+ *abject arts* R. G. White conj.

(Sh. Schol., 398).

42. *Imitations*] *imitations*, Rowe et
seq. (subs.)

Antony proposes to treat Lepidus much as he himself was afterwards treated by Octavius.

31. **Commons**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 5.): A common land or estate; the undivided land belonging to the members of a local community as a whole. Hence, often, the unenclosed or 'waste' land which remains to represent that. Formerly often *commons*.—[The present line quoted.—WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 245) somewhat doubtfully included this present line among those examples wherein the letter *s* was interpolated at the end of certain words in the Folio; later (p. 261) he withdraws this word, as it frequently is used in the plural with a singular sense.—ED.]

35. **appoint**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. II. o.): To decree, assign, or grant authoritatively or formally (a thing *to* a person). [The present line quoted.]

39. **in some taste**] CRAIK (p. 323): The 'taste' which is here referred to is a taste in contradistinction to a more full enjoyment or participation, a taste merely. 'In some taste' is another way of saying, not *in some sense*, but *in some measure or degree*.

42. **On Obiects, Arts, and Imitations**] THEOBALD: 'Tis hard to conceive why he should be called a 'barren-spirited fellow' that could feed either on 'objects' or 'arts'; that is, as I presume, form his ideas and judgment upon them; *stale* and *obsolete imitation*, indeed, fixes such a character. I am persuaded we must read, 'On *abject arts*,' i. e., on the *scraps* and *fragments* of things *rejected* and *despised* by others.—STEEVENS: Sure, it is easy enough to find a reason why that devotee to pleasure and ambition, Antony, should call him 'barren-spirited' who could be content to feed his mind with 'objects,' i. e., *speculative knowledge*, or 'arts,' i. e., *mechanic operations*. . . . Lepidus, in *Ant. & Cleo.*, II, vii, is represented as inquisitive about the structures of Egypt, and that, too, when he is almost in a state of intoxication. Antony, as at present, makes a jest of him, and returns him unintelligible answers to very reasonable questions. 'Objects,'

Which out of vse, and stal'de by other men 43
 Begin his fashion. Do not talke of him,
 But as a property : and now *Oclavius*, 45
 Listen great things. *Brutus* and *Cassius*
 Are leuying Powers; We must straight make head :
 Therefore let our Alliance be combin'd, 48

43. *stal'de*] *stal'd* F₃. *stal'd* F₄.

however, may mean *things objected*, or thrown out to him. . . . A man who can avail himself of neglected hints thrown out by others, though without original ideas of his own, is no uncommon character.—[WRIGHT: If any other commentator had written such a note, Steevens would have been the first to point out its weakness.]—KNIGHT, in reference to Steevens's note, asks, Upon what are we to feed, when both 'speculative knowledge' and the 'mechanical operations' are excluded? Lepidus, he thinks, is called barren-spirited because he is merely a follower of the discarded opinions of others.—DELIUS considers the words 'arts and imitations' as qualifying or, rather, amplifying the word 'objects,' and connected thus with the relative clause. That is, the objects upon which Lepidus is nourished are arts and imitations which are already staled by the use of others. Though Delius does not say so, 'arts' must then be interpreted in the sense of *artifices*, *crafty designs*, which is quite admissible, and his whole explanation commends itself inasmuch as it does not depend upon any alteration of the text.—HUDSON declares that to him Theobald's emendation is 'little less than shocking,' and asks if it be 'credible that Shakespeare could have been guilty of such a combination as *abject orts*? Besides, does not the word "imitations" show that he had in mind *works of art*? And why may not "objects" stand for any objects of interest or curiosity?'—ROLFE: Antony says that Lepidus feeds not on objects, arts, and imitations generally, but on such of them as are out of use and staled by other people.—[This is, I think, one of the passages whereof any paraphrase hardly renders a meaning more comprehensible than the words themselves. What auditor or reader is in doubt as to Anthony's contemptuous opinion of Lepidus; even though the words be changed to *abject orts*, as Theobald suggests, or *abjects, orts*, as does Staunton? On the other hand, is any change of the text necessary? 'Objects' is here, I think, used in the sense given by MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. I. 3. b.): 'Something which on being seen excites a particular emotion, as admiration, horror, disdain, commiseration, amusement; a sight, spectacle, gazing-stock.' &c., and among other examples he quotes: 'Swear against objects, Put armour on thine ears and on thine eyes.'—*Timon*, IV, iii, 122.—ED.]

44. *Begin his fashion*] STEEVENS compares the character of Justice Shallow, as described by Falstaff: 'a came ever in the rearward of the fashion, and sung those tunes to the overscutch'd huswives that he heard the carmen whistle.'—*2 Hen. IV.* III, ii, 340.

45. *property*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 4.): A mere means to an end; an instrument, a tool, a cat's-paw. [Compare: '—'tis a thing impossible I should love thee but as a property.'—*Merry Wives*, III, iv, 9.]

46. *Listen*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 2.) gives several examples of this transitive use of 'listen.' See also, if needful, ABBOTT, § 199.

Our best Friends made, our meanes stretcht,
 And let vs presently go sit in Councell, 50
 How couert matters may be best disclos'd,
 And open Perils surest answered.

Olea. Let vs do so : for we are at the stake,
 And bayed about with many Enemies,
 And some that smile haue in their hearts I feare 55
 Millions of Mischeefes. *Exeunt*

49. *made*] *all combin'd* Leo (Notes, p. 59). *made secure* Mark Hunter conj.

our meanes stretcht] *our best means stretcht* Johns. Cap. Var. '73. *our means stretch'd to the utmost* Mal. Var. '21, Ktly. *our choicest means stretch'd out* Sta. conj. *our means, our plans stretch'd out* Bulloch. *our means*

stretch'd out Leo (Notes, p. 59). *our meanys stretch'd* J. D. (N. & Q. 6 Oct., 1877, p. 263). *all our means stretch'd* Mark Hunter conj. *and our best means stretcht out* Ff et cet. (subs.)

52. *answerd*] *answer'd* Dyce.

56. *Mischeefes*] *mischief* Varr. '78, '85, Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. '03, '13.

49. *our meanes stretcht*] MALONE, whose text reads 'our means stretched to the utmost,' considers the reading of the Second Folio, 'and our best means stretch'd out,' 'as ill-conceived as possible. . . . "Means" or *abilities*, if stretched out, receive no additional strength from the word *best*, nor does "means," when considered without reference to others, . . . seem to admit of a degree of comparison.' An omission, due to transcriber or compositor, would occur at the end of the line rather than at three points in the line itself, says Malone, which justifies him in preferring his own emendation to that of the Second Folio's editor.—STEEVENS: I am satisfied with the reading of the Second Folio, in which I perceive neither awkwardness nor want of perspicuity. 'Best' is a word of mere enforcement, and is frequently introduced by Shakespeare. Compare: 'My life itself and the best heart of it.'—*Hen. VIII*: I, ii, 1. Why does 'best,' in this instance, seem more significant than when it is applied to 'means'?—MACMILLAN: 'Our best friends made' is so incomplete in itself that it seems likely that what is omitted in the Folio is an adjective meaning *firm* after 'made,' or perhaps an infinitive with *to*, so that the line would be nearly as follows: 'Our best friends made to know our best means stretch'd.'

53, 54. *at the stake, And bayed about*] Two metaphors, one taken from bear-baiting, and the other from hunting the hart. For the first, compare: 'They have tied me to a stake; I cannot fly, But, bearlike, I must fight the course.'—*Macb.*, V, vii, 1, 2; for the second, see II, ii, 228, above, and note.—ED.

56. *Mischeefes*] That is, *harms, injuries*. Compare: 'The name of Henry the Fifth hailes them to an hundred mischiefs, and makes them leave me desolate.'—*2 Hen. VI*: IV, viii, 59.

[Scene II.]

Drum. Enter Brutus, Lucillius, and the Army. Titinius 1
and Pindarus meete them.

Bru. Stand ho.

Lucil. Giue the word ho, and Stand.

Bru. What now *Lucillius*, is *Cassius* neere ? 5

Lucil. He is at hand, and *Pindarus* is come

To do you salutation from his Master.

Bru. He greets we well. Your Master *Pindarus* 8

SCENE II. Rowe et seq.

Before Brutus's Tent in the Camp,
near Sardis. Rowe, +, Cap.

1, 2. *Drum*....them] Enter Brutus
and Forces; Lucius and others attend-
ing. Cap. *Drum.* Enter Brutus and
Soldiers; to them Lucilius and his
Soldiers marching, Titinius and Pin-
darus. Jennens et seq. (subs.)

1. Lucillius,] Lucilius, Lucius, Mal.
et seq.

2. meete] meeting Var. '73 et seq.

3. *ho*] *here* Mal.

[to his Officers entering. Cap.

4. [to him Lucilius, with Soldiers;
Pindarus and Titinius. Cap.

4, 5. *Giue the word*...Lucillius] As one
line Walker (Crit., iii, 247).

6. [to his Party. Cap.

7. [presenting Pindarus, who gives a
letter. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

Scene II.] MALTZAHN (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 59) recommends that this and the following scene be acted continuously, with but one stage-setting. Thus: Brutus's Tent, with its front curtains drawn back, occupies almost three-fourths of the stage on either the right or left side. In the background a distant view of hills, and in the middle foreground the camp with tents, outposts, etc. When Cassius enters, he and Brutus go within the Tent and the rest of the scene there takes place; followed by that with Messala, and the appearance of the Ghost of Cæsar.—MACMILLAN (*Introd.*, p. 1.): An interval of about a year must be supposed to separate the first and second scenes of this Act.

1. **Enter Brutus, Lucillius, and the Army]** JENNENS: In Capell's text Lucillius, Titinius, and Pindarus do not enter until Brutus has said 'Stand ho!' and a direction is given that these words shall be spoken to his (*Brutus's*) officers, entering. Then Lucillius (entering with his soldiers, and Pindarus and Titinius) says to his party: 'Give the word, ho, and stand.' By thus ordering the scene, Capell seems to understand that Brutus and Lucillius, with their several bodies of soldiers, being upon their march, meet; and then each of them gives the word of command to stand to their separate parties. But the scene is before Brutus's Tent. . . . Therefore he and his soldiers have done marching, have erected the tent, and are expecting the other companies at the place appointed. Here the scene opens; Lucillius, being upon the march, and having arrived where Brutus is, Brutus (as generalissimo of the forces) bids him stand; Lucillius conveys these orders to his officers, and bids them give the word of command to the soldiers.

7. **do you salutation]** WRIGHT: Compare: 'The early village cock Hath twice done salutation to the morn.'—*Rich. III.*: V, iii, 210.

In his owne change, or by ill Officers,
 Hath giuen me some worthy cause to wish 10
 Things done, vndone : But if he be at hand
 I shall be satisfied.

Pm. I do not doubt
 But that my Noble Master will appeare
 Such as he is, full of regard, and Honour. 15

Bru. He is not doubted. A word *Lucillius*
 How he receiu'd you : let me be resolu'd.

Lucil. With courtesie, and with respect enough,
 But not with such familiar instances, 19

9. *change*] *charge* Warb. Han. Cap.
 Huds. iii.

Officers] *offices* Johns. conj.

16. A word] *Hear a word* Han.

A word *Lucillius*] As separate

line Craik.

16, 17. *Lucillius...you:*] Ff. *Lucillius*
 —...*you*, Rowe, +, Cap. *Lucilius*,...
you; Walker (Crit., iii, 247). *Lucilius*;
 ...*you*, Mal. et cct.

9. In his owne change] WARBURTON: That is, either your master, by the change of his virtuous nature, or by his officers abusing the power he had entrusted to them, hath done some things I could wish undone. This implies a *doubt* which of the two was the case. Yet, immediately after, on Pindarus's saying, 'His master was full of regard and honour,' Brutus replies, 'He is not doubted.' To reconcile this we should read: 'In his own *charge*.'—JOHNSON: The arguments for the change proposed are insufficient. Brutus could not but know whether the wrongs committed were done by those who were immediately under the command of Cassius or those under his officers. The answer of Brutus to the Servant is only an act of artful civility; his question to Lucillius proves that his suspicion still continued. Yet I cannot but suspect a corruption, and would read, 'or by ill *offices*.' That is, either changing his inclination of *himself*, or by the *ill offices* and bad influences of others.—M. MASON: Brutus says to Lucillius, 'Thou hast describ'd a hot friend cooling.' That is the 'change' which Brutus complains of.—STEEVENS: Surely alteration is unnecessary. In the subsequent conference Brutus charges both Cassius and his *officer*, Lucius Pella, with corruption.

16. He is not doubted. A word *Lucillius*] CRAIK (p. 326): Brutus . . . first addresses himself to Pindarus, then to Lucilius. Even if the prosody did not admonish us to the same effect, it would, in these circumstances, be better to print the passage with two hemistichs or broken lines.—[See *Text. Notes*. Capell denotes this change in address by printing this dialogue between Brutus and Lucilius as an *aside* (*i. e.*, in quotation marks, according to his custom) down to the entrance of Cassius, l. 36.—ED.]

19. instances] CRAIK (p. 236): The word still in use that most nearly expresses this obsolete sense of 'instances' is, perhaps, *assiduities*.—DYCE (*Gloss.*, s. v. 'Instance') says: 'A word used by Shakespeare with various shades of meaning, which it is not always easy to distinguish—"motive, inducement, cause, ground; symptom, prognostic; information, assurance; proof, example, indication."—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v.) gives ten shades of meaning of this word. The

Nor with such free and friendly Conference 20
As he hath vs'd of old.

Bru. Thou hast describ'd
A hot Friend, cooling : Euer note *Lucillius*,
When Loue begins to sicken and decay
It vs'eth an enforced Ceremony. 25
There are no trickes, in plaine and simple Faith :
But hollow men, like Horfes hot at hand,
Make gallant shew, and promise of their Mettle :

Low March within.

But when they should endure the bloody Spurre, 30
They fall their Crests, and like deceitful Iades
Sinke in the Triall. Comes his Army on ?

Lucil. They meane this night in Sardis to be quarter'd:
The greater part, the Horfe in generall 34

25. *enforced*] *enforc'd* Dyce.

distance, advancing. Wh. i. (after l. 32).

27. *at hand*] *in hand* Craik conj.

March within. Cap. et cet.

29. *Low...within*] After l. 35 Pope, +.
After l. 37 Wh. ii. March heard in the

31. *Crests*] *Crest* Fi, Rowe, + (—Var. '73).

one which most nearly approaches the present use is III, 7: 'Something which proves or indicates; a proof, evidence; a sign, token, mark.' This is also the last group of meanings given by Dyce, and as he quotes the present line among his last examples, it is a fair inference that he thus understands it. Murray does not include *assiduity* among the different meanings of 'instance.'—ED.

25. *Ceremony*] For the sake of the metre, though to the destruction of euphony, 'ceremony' might be here pronounced as a trisyllable.—WALKER (*Vers.* ii, 73) gives many examples from Shakespeare and from other writers of this—as I think mistaken—pronunciation.—ED.

27. *at hand*] CRAIK (p. 328) explains this phrase as here meaning 'when held by the hand or led,' and WRIGHT also thus interprets it; but since MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *hand*, II, 25. c) quotes the present line and two other passages wherein 'at hand' means 'At the immediate moment; at the start,' that meaning here seems preferable.—JOHN HUNTER compares for this and the following lines: '—those that tame wild horses Pace 'em not in their hands to make 'em gentle, But stop their mouths with stubborn bits, and spur 'em Till they obey the manage.'—*Hen. VIII.* V, iii, 21. But beyond the fact that certain words, such as 'hands,' 'horses,' 'spur,' are common to both passages, there does not appear much similarity; the thought is, moreover, quite different.—ED.

29. *Low March within*] In this form directions for music, in the Folio, are rare; the word *music* more usually precedes, as thus: *Music of march within*. Perhaps a parallel for 'March' thus used to designate a piece of music may be in 'Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.'—*Rich. III.* I, i, 8. Compare also the stage-direction, V, i, 24: '*March.*'—ED.

31. *fall*] For numerous examples of 'fall' thus used transitively, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 16. B.), or consult ABBOTT, § 291.

*Are come with *Cassius*.

35

Enter Cassius and his Powers.

Bru. Hearke, he is arriu'd :
March gently on to meete him.

Cassi. Stand ho.

Bru. Stand ho, speake the word along. 40
Stand.
Stand.
Stand.

Cassi. Most Noble Brother, you haue done me wrong.

Bru. Iudge me you Gods; wrong I mine Enemies? 45
And if not so, how should I wrong a Brother.

Cassi. Brutus, this sober forme of yours, hides wrongs,
And when you do them——

Brut. *Cassius*, be content,
Speake your greefes softly, I do know you well. 50
Before the eyes of both our Armies heere
(Which should perceiue nothing but Loue from vs)
Let vs not wrangle. Bid them moue away :
Then in my tent *Cassius* enlarge your Greefes, 54

36. Enter ... Powers.] After l. 38
Cap. Dyce.

his Powers.] Ff. Forces. Cap.
Soldiers. Rowe et cet.

38. *March* *March* F₂.

39. [To his Officers enter. Cap.

40. *ho*] [to his] Cap.

41-43. *Stand. Stand. Stand.*] Ff.

1. O. *Stand.* 2. O. *Stand.* 3. O. *Stand.*

Cap. [Without] *Stand.* [Without]
Stand. [Without] *Stand.* Sta. First
Sol. *Stand.* Second Sol. *Stand.* Third
Sol. *Stand.* Cam.+, Within. *Stand.*
Within. *Stand.* Within. *Stand.* Rowe
et cet.

43. [One after other and fainter.
Coll. M^s.

46. *Brother.*] *Brother?* F₃F₄.

48. *And when you do them*] MARK HUNTER: The general meaning is that Brutus, in spite of his outward appearance of conscious rectitude, is still liable like other men to do wrong, and when he does, act unjustly.—Here Brutus interrupts Cassius, who was perhaps going on to say that wrongs so offered were resented all the more on that account. The taunt is not without justification, and possibly Brutus feels that it has touched him on a vulnerable point. At any rate, the following speech is distinctly conciliatory.

49. *content*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. I. b.): Be satisfied in mind; be calm, quiet, not uneasy. [The present line quoted. Compare I, iii, 159.]

50. *greefes*] For a similar use of 'griefs,' for *grievances, causes of complaint*, compare I, iii, 129; III, ii, 223.

50. *I do know you well*] Brutus means by this, I think, that there is no occasion for Cassius to be so vehement, since they are both intimate friends; he then adds a second reason against any unseemly wrangling in the presence of their armies.—F₃D.

And I will giue you Audience.

55

Cass. *Pindarus,*

Bid our Commanders leade their Charges off

A little from this ground.

Bru. *Lucillius,* do you the like, and let no man

Come to our Tent, till we haue done our Conference.

60

Let *Lucius* and *Titinius* guard our doore.

Exeunt

Manet Brutus and Cassius.

62

58-60. *A little...Conference*] Lines end: *Lucillius,...like,...till we...Conference.* Walker (Crit., iii, 248).

59. *Lucillius*] As separate line Cap. *Lucius* Craik, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Coll. iii.

do you] *do* Pope, +, Steev. Var. 603, '13.

man] *man*, *Lucilius* Cap.

60. *done*] *doe* F.

61. *Let Lucius*] *Lucilius* Craik, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii. *Let Lucilius* Coll. iii. (misprint?).

our] *the* Rowe ii, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Dyce ii, iii, Coll. iii, Huds. iii.

62. *Manet*] *Manent* Ff.

57. *Charges*] That is, the troops under command.

59-61. *Lucillius . . . Lucius and Titinius*] CRAIK (p. 331): The function of *Lucius* was to carry messages. As *Cassius* sends *his* servant, *Pindarus*, with a message to his division of the force, *Brutus* sends his servant with a similar message to his division. Nothing can be clearer than that *Lucillius* in l. 59 is a misprint for *Lucius*, and *Lucius* in l. 61 a misprint for *Lucillius*. Or the error may have been in the copy; and the insertion of the 'Let' was probably an attempt of the printer or editor to save the prosody of that line, as the omission of the 'you' is of some modern editors to save that of the other. [See *Text. Notes.*]—WRIGHT quotes the foregoing, and suggests that as *Lucilius* and *Titinius* convey the orders to the commanders in the next scene, l. 156, it would be better to interchange *Pindarus* and *Titinius* in ll. 56 and 61.

62. *Manet Brutus and Cassius*] KNIGHT: In the Shakesperean theatre *Brutus* and *Cassius* evidently retired to the secondary stage.—DYCE: The 'Manet' shows, I think, that Knight is mistaken, and that here the audience were to *suppose* (as they frequently had to *suppose*) a change of scene.—WRIGHT: As the scene merely changes from the outside to the inside of *Brutus's* tent, the simple arrangements of the theatre in Shakespeare's time did not indicate it. There is a similar instance in *Rom. & Jul.*, II, ii, where the scene on the modern stage changes from one side of the wall of *Capulet's* orchard to the other, and yet the first line of the new scene rhymes with the last of the one before it.

[Scene III.]

Scene continued. Ff, Rowe. SCENE
iii. Pope et seq.

Inside of Brutus's Tent. Theob. et
seq. (subs.) Re-enter Brutus and Cas-

sius. Theob.+. Lucius and Titinius at
the door. Enter Brutus and Cassius.
Cap. et seq.

Scene III.] DRYDEN (*Preface* to his *Troilus & Cressida*, sig. a. recto) says that though his own quarrel scene between Troilus and Hector in Act V. may be said to resemble somewhat the present scene, and also that scene between Amintor and Melantius in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*, III, ii, yet had 'these two never been written Euripides had furnish'd [him] with an excellent example in *Iphægenia in Aulis*, [ll. 317 to 472,] between Agamemnon and Menelaus'; he acknowledges that the latter and not Shakespeare's work was his model. He thus continues: 'The occasion which Shakespeare, Euripides, and Fletcher have all taken is the same: grounded upon Friendship; and the quarrel of two virtuous men, rais'd by natural degrees to the extremity of passion, is conducted in all three to the declination of the same passion; and concludes with a warm renewing of their friendship. But the particular groundwork that Shakespeare has taken is incomparably the best: Because he has not only chosen two the greatest heroes of their age; but has likewise interested the liberty of Rome, and their own honors, who were the redeemers of it, in this debate. And if he has made Brutus, who was naturally a patient man, to fly into excess at first; let it be remembered, in his defence, that just before he has received the news of Portia's death: whom the Poet, on purpose neglecting a little chronology, supposes to have dy'd before Brutus, only to give him an occasion of being more easily exasperated. Add to this, that the injury he had received from Cassius had long been brooding in his mind; and that a melancholy man, upon consideration of an affront, especially from a friend, would be more eager in his passion than he who had given it, though naturally more choleric.'—RYMER (p. 154): Brutus and Cassius are by the poet represented acting the parts of Mimics: from the Nobility and Buskins, they are made the *Planipedes*; are brought to dance barefoot, for a Spectacle to the people, Two Philosophers, two generals (*imperatorcs* was their title), the *ultimi Romanorum*, are to play the Bullies and Buffoon, to shew their Legerdemain, their activity of face, and divarication of Muscles. They are to play a prize, a trial of skill in huffing and swaggering, like two drunken Hectors for a two-penny reckoning.—GILDON (p. 381): I must needs say that the advantage Mr Dryden gives to the Briton is equally due to Euripides, for certainly Agamemnon and Menelaus, in the poetic world at least, and in the system of heroes in the time Euripides wrote, were as great as Brutus and Cassius, one of whom cannot carry away the prize of the greatest hero of his age without some dispute. Next in the quarrel of Euripides, not the disappointment of some pay of legions, or the denial of quitting a man guilty of bribery, which both were past, but the fate, the glory, and the honour if not the safety of all Greece, depended on the ground of their difference.—THEOBALD: This quarrelling scene . . . was received with so much applause that it is spoken of in one of the preliminary copies of verses in the First Folio: 'Or till I hear a scene more nobly take, Than what thy half-sword parlying Roman's spake.'—[lines by L. Digges.]—Mrs MONTAGU (p. 274): The characters of the men are well sustained [in this

[Scene III.]

scene]: it is natural, it is interesting; but it rather retards than brings forward the catastrophe, and is useful only in setting Brutus in a good light. . . . The principal object of our poet was to interest the spectator for Brutus; to do this he was to show that his temper was the furthest imaginable from anything ferocious or sanguinary, and by his behaviour to his wife, his friends, his servants, to demonstrate, that out of respect to public liberty, he made as difficult a conquest over his natural disposition, as his great predecessor had done for the like cause over natural affection.—COLERIDGE (p. 105): I know no part of Shakespeare that more impresses on me the belief of his genius being superhuman than this scene between Brutus and Cassius. In the Gnostic heresy it might have been credited with less absurdity than most of their dogmas that the Supreme had employed him to create, previously to his function of representing, character.—KNIGHT (*Studies*, p. 418): The matchless art of Shakespeare [in this scene] consists as much in what he holds back as in what he puts forward. Brutus subdues Cassius by the force of his moral strength, without the slightest attempt to command the feelings of a sensitive man. When Cassius *is* subdued, he owns that he has been hasty. They are friends again, hand and heart.—A. C. BRADLEY (p. 60): One purpose of this scene, as also of the appearance of Cæsar's Ghost just afterwards, is to indicate the inward changes. Otherwise the introduction of this famous and wonderful scene can hardly be defended on strictly dramatic grounds. No one would consent to part with it, and it is invaluable in sustaining interest during the progress of the reaction, but it is an episode, the removal of which would not affect the actual sequence of events (unless we may hold that, but for the emotion caused by the quarrel and reconciliation, Cassius would not have allowed Brutus to overcome his objection to the fatal policy of offering battle at Philippi). The quarrel-scene illustrates yet another favourite expedient. In this section of a tragedy Shakespeare often appeals to an emotion different from any of those excited in the first half of the play, and so provides novelty and generally also relief. As a rule this new emotion is pathetic; and the pathos is not terrible or lacerating, but, even if painful, is accompanied by the sense of beauty and by an outflow of admiration or affection, which come with an inexpressible sweetness after the tension of the crisis and first counterstroke. So it is with the reconciliation of Brutus and Cassius and the arrival of the news of Portia's death.—MACCALLUM (p. 267, foot-note): Two objections have been made to this scene or, rather, to the whole Act. The first, in A. C. Bradley's words, that it has a 'tendency to drag'; [the second, by G. P. Baker, that it was 'probably'] not entirely successful in Shakespeare's own day; and afterwards Baker refers to it as 'ineffective today.' [See note on IV, i, 1.] In view of Digges' testimony, it is difficult to see how Baker can say that it was not entirely successful in Shakespeare's day. As to the impression it makes now, one must largely depend on one's own feelings and experience. Certainly I myself have never been conscious that it dragged or was ineffective, nor have I noted that it failed to stir the audience. . . . On every occasion it seemed to me that the quarrel-scene was the most popularly successful in the play. This statement is, I believe, strictly accurate, for having Digges' lines in my mind I was on the watch to see whether the taste of the Elizabethan coincided with the taste of a later generation. [Bradley's criticism of this scene,] that in the economy of the piece it leads to nothing, . . . is quite true, though his proviso is a most important one. But it does very manifestly connect with what has gone before, and gives the

- Cassi.* That you haue wrong'd me, doth appear in this. 1
 You haue condemn'd, and noted *Lucius Pella*
 For taking Bribes heere of the Sardians ;
 Wherein my Letters, praying on his side,
 Becauie I knew the man was slighted off. 5
Bru. You wrong'd your selfe to write in such a cafe.
Cassi. In such a time as this, it is not meet
 That euery nice offence should beare his Comment.
Bru. Let me tell you *Cassius*, you your selfe
 Are much condemn'd to haue an itching Palme. 10
 To fell, and Mart your Offices for Gold
 To Vndeferuers. 12

4. *Wherein] Whereas* Huds.
 4, 5. *Letters, praying...man was]*
Leller, praying...man, was Ff, Rowe,
 Cap. Var. '73, '78, '85. *Leller (praying*
...man) was Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.
 Johns. *Letters, praying...man, were*
 Mal. et seq.
 5. *off]* of Rowe ii, Pope, Han. Warb.

- Cap.
 6. *cafe] cause* Cap. conj.
 8. *nice offence ... his Comment] of-*
fence...nice comment Dodd ap. Cam.
his] its Pope, + (—Var. '73).
 9. *Let] Yet let* Pope, Theob. Han.
 Warb. Ktly. *And let* Cap. Dyce ii, iii,
 Huds. iii. *Bul let* Kinnear.

essence and net result of the story. We could sooner dispense with the Fifth Act than the Fourth, for the Fifth may with less injustice be described as an appendix, than the Fourth as an episode. Not only is it less unique in kind, but for the most part it works out issues that can easily be foreseen and that to some extent are clearly indicated here. Of course, this is not to say that it could be rejected without mutilating the play, for it works them out far more impressively than we could do in our own imaginations, even with Plutarch to help us.—[MacCallum has, I think, misunderstood Baker's criticism, which was that this *whole act* was dramatically ineffective inasmuch as it does not carry on the story of the fate of the conspirators.—Ed.]

2. *You haue condemn'd, and noted]* 'The next day after Brutus, upon complaint of the Sardians, did condemn and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had been a prætor of the Romans.'—Plutarch: *Life of Brutus*, § 25 (ed. Skeat, p. 135). This incident is, however, given as occurring on the day following the altercation between Brutus and Cassius at their first meeting, and was the cause for another dispute; Shakespeare has merged the two quarrels in one, just as in the next Act he combines the two battles at Philippi.—Ed.

2. *noted]* CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *note* 7. c.): To stigmatize for some reason. [The present line quoted.]

8. *nice]* That is, *slight, insignificant*.

8. *his]* See MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Its*) for an account of this use of the masculine possessive for the neuter pronoun.

10. *condemn'd to haue]* That is, condemned for having. Compare: 'you forge yourself To hedge me in,' l. 30, below; and for other examples of this gerundial use of the infinitive, see ABBOTT, § 356.

Cass. I, an itching Palme ? 13
 You know that you are *Brutus* that speakes this,
 Or by the Gods, this speech were else your last. 15

Bru. The name of *Cassius* Honors this corruption,
 And Chastisement doth therefore hide his head.

Cass. Chastisement ?

Bru. Remember March, the Ides of March Remēber :
 Did not great *Julius* bleed for Iustice sake ? 20
 What Villaine touch'd his body, that did stab,
 And not for Iustice ? What? Shall one of Vs,
 That strucke the Formost man of all this World,
 But for supporting Robbers : shall we now, 24

- | | |
|--|---|
| 13. <i>I</i>] <i>Ay</i> Rowe i. | 18. <i>Chastisement?</i>] <i>Chastisement!</i> — |
| 14. <i>speakes</i>] <i>speaks</i> F ₄ , Rowe, Craik, | Rowe et seq. (subs.) |
| Ktly, Cam. <i>speake</i> Pope et cet. | 19–20. Mnemonic Warb. |
| 17. <i>doth</i>] <i>does</i> Coll. i. | 20. <i>Iustice</i>] <i>justice</i> Cap. Var. '78, '85, |
| <i>his</i>] <i>its</i> Pope, + (—Var. '73). | Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. |
| | Dyce, Wh. Ktly, Cam. +. |

17. *Chastisement doth therefore hide his head*] MARK HUNTER: The reply is feeble save as an additional insult, for Brutus has no authority to *punish* Cassius for a public offence, and if he had, by refraining from doing so from personal motives, his conduct is not a whit more upright than Cassius's has been in the case of Lucius Pella.

19–24. *Remember March . . . But for supporting Robbers*] MARK HUNTER calls attention to the inconsistency between this speech and the other by Brutus at the beginning of Act II, wherein he acknowledges that Cæsar had in no way abused his power. This want of agreement Hunter thinks can be explained by the assumption that: 'Shakespeare may [in the present passage] have written with his eye too much on the text of Plutarch, and have forgotten the remarkable sentiments that without Plutarch's authority he had himself put into the mouth of Brutus in Act II.'

21, 22. *What Villaine . . . And not for Iustice*] EDWARDS (p. 125): This question is so far from inferring [that those who touched Cæsar were villains] that, on the contrary, it is a strong way of denying that there were any such among them as were villains enough to stab for any cause except that of justice.—[This note from Edwards's *Canons*, etc., 1748, is repeated, with a few slight verbal changes, by Malone in his edition, 1790—and is accredited to him in the following *Variorum* editions, without, however, any acknowledgement to Edwards. This is unusual; Malone was customarily fair in assigning to others their proper opinions; and, therefore, we may, I think, make allowance for this apparent lapse of memory.—ED.]—WRIGHT: Compare, for this construction, V, iv, 3: 'Yet, countrymen, O yet hold up your heads. What bastard doth not?'

24. *But for supporting Robbers*] COLERIDGE (p. 134): This seemingly strange assertion of Brutus is unhappily verified in the present day. What is an immense army, in which the lust of plunder has quenched all the duties of the citizen, other than a horde of robbers, or differenced only as fiends from ordinarily

Contaminate our fingers, with base bribes? 25
 And sell the mighty space of our large Honors
 For so much traff, as may be grasped thus?
 I had rather be a Dogge, and bay the Moone,
 Then such a Roman. 29

25. *Bribes?*] *bribes*, Knt, Coll. Dyce,
 Cam. +.

27. *grasped*] *graspèd* Dyce.
 28. *ba*] *baile* F₂. *bail* F₃F₄, Rowe.

reprobate men? Cæsar supported, and was supported by, such as these; and even so Buonaparte in our days. —MACCALLUM (p. 202): This [speech of Brutus], one feels, is merely an *argumentum ad hominem*, brought forward very much in afterthought for a particular purpose. At the time, neither in Brutus's speeches to himself or others, nor in the discussions of the conspirators, is Cæsar accused of countenancing peculation, or is this made a handle against him. And if it were, it would not be incompatible with acquiescence in a royal government. . . . On Coleridge's interpretation Brutus's charge would come to nothing more than this, that Cæsar had employed large armies. I believe there is a more definite reference to a passage in the *Life of Antony*: 'Now it grieved men much, to see that Cæsar should be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with such great peril and daunger: and that others in the meantime abusing his name and authoritie, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts unto their citizens. This me thinkes was the cause that made the conspiracie against Cæsar increase more and more, and layd the reynes of the brydle upon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst boldlier commit many extorsions, cruelties, and robberies.'—[§ 5; ed. Skeat, p. 162.]

28, 29. **I had rather . . . Then such a Roman**] MACCALLUM (p. 262): Surely there are few more pathetic passages even in Shakespeare than the confession of disillusionment wrung from Brutus by the force of events, a confession none the less significant that he admits disillusion only as to the results and still clings to his estimate of the deed itself. . . . In anticipating the effects of Cæsar's rule, he had said he 'had rather be a villager than to repute himself a son of Rome' in the probable conditions. But his attempt at remedy has resulted in a situation even more intolerable. He would rather be a dog than such Romans as the confederates, whom he sought to put in Cæsar's place, are disclosing themselves to be.

28. **a Dogge, and bay the Moone**] Warburton, under covert and convenient seeming of praising Shakespeare's ingenuity, but, in reality, extolling his own, says that in this Brutus, by an innuendo, likens Cassius and his attitude toward Cæsar to a dog who barks at the moon but in envy of its brightness.—CAPPELLS' objection is, I think, apposite, he says: 'This . . . refinement upon a thought is repugnant to character. Brutus is but describing the "dog" by his idlest property, to heighten his own with: if the vulgar-imputed motive for "baying" be at all thought of, to wit, the dog's envy of the brightness of what he bays at, and the motives of others shadow'd under it, this shadowing (it is likely) is general, and relates to all the conspirators, even the speaker himself.'—GREEN (p. 269) illustrates this line by three examples from the emblem writers of the sixteenth century wherein is shown the figure of a dog barking at the moon. An evidence, if such were needed, that this habit was of quite general observation.—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *bay*, vb.) 'To bark at, to assail with barking'; quotes the present line.—Ed.

Cass. Brutus, baite not me,
 Ile not endure it : you forget your selfe
 To hedge me in. I am a Souldier, I,
 Older in practice, Abler then your selfe
 To make Conditions.

30

Bru. Go too : you are not *Cassius*.

35

30. *baite*] F₂. *bay* Theob. Warb.
 Cap. Var. '78, '85, Steev. Var. '03, '13,
 Dyce, Coll. ii, iii, Craik, Sta. Wh.
 Hal. Ktly, Glo.+, Huds. iii. *bait* F₃F₄
 et cet.

Huds. iii.

35. *too*] to Ff.

you are] *You're* Steev. Var. '03,
 '13, Sing. i.

not] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob.

32. *in.* I] *in*, I Rowe et seq.

Warb. Johns. Cap. Var. '73. *not*,

Souldier, I] *soldier*, ay Var. '73.

Theob. conj., Han. et cet.

28-30. *bay* . . . *baite*] In order fully to comprehend the discussion occasioned by these two words a slight study of the *Text. Notes* is necessary. It will be noticed that the Folios, in both ll. 28 and 30, have *bait*; Rowe, alone among modern editors, follows this—probably because he printed directly from the Fourth Folio with all its imperfections.—THEOBALD, on the other hand, reads in both lines *bay*; between this reading and that of the First Folio the texts of subsequent editors are almost equally divided.—CAPELL, who follows Theobald, says: 'Cassius does but catch at the term which feeds the mood he is in,' and that, "'bait," is but the blunder of copyists.'—MALONE, while he acknowledges the plausibility of Theobald's change—*bay*—considers that the Folio text should not be altered, since, though examples of *bay* used in this sense may be shown, yet 'bait' occurs quite as often; and STEEVENS, for exactly these same reasons, declares in favour of Theobald.—CRAIK thinks it possible that there was some confusion between 'bait' and 'bay,' and that 'both words were apt to call up a more or less distinct notion of encompassing, or closing in.' 'Perhaps something of this,' he adds, 'is what runs in Cassius's head when says: "You forget yourself, To hedge me in."'
 —WRIGHT considers that there is no necessity for either the change of the later Folios in l. 28 or that of Theobald, l. 30. 'It would be absurd,' he says, 'to speak of baiting the moon, and Cassius implies that Brutus was not only barking at him, but attacking him as a wild beast is attacked by dogs.'

32. *To hedge me in*] JOHNSON: That is, to limit my authority by your direction or censure.—CRAIK (see preceding note), more justly, I think, refers this to encompassing, etc., in a vague allusion, let me suggest, to the baiting of a bear.—ED.

32. *a Souldier*, I] STEEVENS: The modern editors instead of 'I' have read *Ay*, because the vowel sometimes stands for the affirmative adverb. I have replaced the old reading on the authority of the following: 'And I am Brutus; Marcus Brutus, I.'—[V, iv, 10.—As far as I know the only 'modern' edition which reads *Ay* is the *Variorum* of 1773, of which Steevens was co-editor with Johnson.—JENNENS, whose edition appeared in the following year, gives *Ay* as a conjectural reading of his own, but his collation of preceding editions does not, naturally, include that of Johnson and Steevens.—CRAIK has also, independently, made the same conjecture, and HUDSON, in his last edition, adopts this reading.—ED.]

34. *To make Conditions*] JOHNSON: That is, to know on what terms it is fit to confer the offices which are at my disposal. [See l. 11, above.]

35. *you are not Cassius*] THEOBALD, in a letter to Warburton, dated 14th Febru-

Cassi. I am.

36

Bru. I say, you are not.

36, 37. *I am...I say*] Brutus. *I am...Cassius, I say* Steuc. conj.

ary, 1709, says: 'If this [the omission of a comma before "Cassius"] be not persuading a man out of his Christian name, the devil is in it. What! because Cassius is testy the Editors will not allow Brutus to think he is Cassius. But this absurdity is derived from false pointing. I read: "you are not, Cassius." Thus Brutus denies Cassius's assertion that he is an older, or abler, soldier than himself.'—(NICHOLS, ii, 406).—But Theobald does not adopt this obvious pointing in his edition which appeared in 1733, or even in his second, which was issued in 1740. Warburton either forgot this suggestion or purposely ignored it, since he not only follows the Folio text, but contributes a note in justification of it: 'Brutus in his reply only reproves Cassius for degeneracy. And he could not do it in words more pathetic than by saying, *you are not* Cassius, *i. e.*, you are no longer that brave, disinterested philosophic Cassius, whose character was made up of honor and patriotism; but are sunk down into the impotency and corruption of the times.'—Such a remark as the foregoing was an opportunity for EDWARDS, who, in his *Canons of Criticism*, frequently turns Warburton's own words against his arbitrary assertions; and he thus rebukes him (p. 158): 'One may justly say of our critic, as Worcester does of Hotspur: "He apprehends a world of figures here; But not the form of what he should attend." If Mr Warburton had not been giddy with his ideas of bravery, disinterestedness, philosophy, honor, and patriotism, which have nothing to do here, he would have seen that "Cassius" is the vocative case, not the nominative; and that Brutus does not mean to say, *you are not an abler soldier*; but he says, *you are not an abler than I*; a point which it was far from being beneath his character to insist on. If the words "you are not Cassius" meant a new imputation on him of degeneracy, his mere denial of it is very flat; and Brutus's replying to that denial, by a mere repetition of his former assertion, is still worse; whereas, if the words mean only a denial of what Cassius had just said, it is natural enough for each of them to maintain his ground by a confident assertion of the truth of his opinion. And that the superiority of soldiership was the point of their dispute is most manifestly evident by Brutus resuming it a little lower: "You say you are a *better* soldier: Let it appear so." Upon which Cassius answers: "I said, an *elder* soldier; not a *better*."—HANMER inserts a comma, as in Theobald's proposed reading; though it is manifestly improbable that he had seen it. His silence on this point may be compared to that of his greater follower, Johnson, who says, in his immortal preface, in regard to Theobald, 'I have sometimes adopted his restoration of a comma without inserting the panegyric in which he celebrated himself for his achievement' (*Var.* '21, vol. ii, p. 94).—CAPELL, however, takes Hanmer to task for this change; he upholds the Folio, and says (p. 110): '[Hanmer's] pointing . . . puts the sense of this speech that is neither worthy of Brutus nor even pertinent: For what is it he would deny? that Cassius was not "*abler than he was to make conditions*"? Could Brutus have such a thought, in any state of mind? or Cassius talk of *making conditions*, unless in one so disturb'd as his apparently at this juncture?'—The conclusion to which Capell arrives is, of course, the only one possible with the Folio reading, viz.: That Brutus tells Cassius he is not himself. Capell omits any mention of Warburton.—This whole note on the presence or absence of a *comma* may stand, I think, as an object lesson in the vagaries of textual criticism.—ED.

- Cass.* Vrg me no more, I shall forget my selfe : 38
 Haue minde vpon your health : Tempt me no farther.
- Bru.* Away flight man. 40
- Cass.* Is't possible ?
- Bru.* Heare me, for I will speake.
 Must I giue way, and roome to your rash Choller ?
 Shall I be frightened, when a Madman staes ?
- Cass.* O ye Gods, ye Gods, Must I endure all this ? 45
- Bru.* All this? I more : Fret till your proud hart break.
 Go shew your Slaues how Chollericke you are,
 And make your Bondmen tremble. Must I bouge ?
 Must I obserue you ? Must I stand and crouch
 Vnder your Testie Humour ? By the Gods, 50
 You shall digest the Venom of your Spleene
 Though it do Split you. For, from this day forth,
 Ile vse you for my Mirth, yea for my Laughter
 When you are Waspish.
- Cass.* Is it come to this ? 55
- Bru.* You say, you are a better Souldier :
 Let it appeare so; make your vaunting true,
 And it shall please me well. For mine owne part,
 I shall be glad to learne of Noble men. 59

39. *further*] *further* Varr. Ran. Steev.
 Varr. Sing. Knt. Dyce, Craik, Sta.
 Ktly, Huds.
 44-48. Mnemonic Warb.
 45. *O ye*] *O Pope*, +.
 46. *more: Fret*] *more. Fret* F₃F₄.

48. *bouge*] *bouge* F₁F₃. *budge* F₄.
 52. *Though*] *Thought* F₄.
 50. *Noble*] *abler* Coll. ii, iii. (MS),
 Craik, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii. *better*
 Cartwright.

39. *health*] That is, *safety, well-being, welfare*.

43. *Must I giue way, and roome*, etc.] CIBBER (p. 62): When the Betterton *Brutus* was provoked, in his dispute with *Cassius*, his spirit flew only to his eye; his steady look alone supplied that terror which he disdained an intemperance in his voice should rise to. Thus, with a settled dignity of contempt, like an unheeding rock, he repelled upon himself the foam of *Cassius*. . . . Not but, in some part of this scene where he reproaches *Cassius*, his temper is not under this suppression, but opens into that warmth which becomes a man of virtue; yet this is that 'hasty spark' of anger which *Brutus* himself endeavors to excuse.

49. *obserue*] That is, *reverence, show homage, or respect*; used thus in its derivative sense; as in 'the observed of all observers.'—*Hamlet*, III, i, 162.

51. *Venom of your Spleene*] The spleen was considered the seat of the emotions: either anger or pleasure; here, of course, it refers to a fit of passion. For an exactly opposite use, compare: 'I shall split all in pleasure of my spleen.'—*Tro. & Cres.*, I, iii, 177.—ED.

Cass. You wrong me euery way :

60

You wrong me *Brutus* :

I saide, an Elder Souldier, not a Better.

Did I say Better ?

Bru. If you did, I care not. (me.

Cass. When *Cæsar* liu'd, he durst not thus haue mou'd 65

Bru. Peace, peace, you durst not so haue tempted him.

Cass. I durst not.

Bru. No.

Cass. What? durst not tempt him ?

Bru. For your life you durst not.

70

Cass. Do not presume too much vpon my Loue,
I may do that I shall be sorry for.

Bru. You haue done that you should be sorry for.

There is no terror *Cassius* in your threats :

74

60, 61. As one line Rowe et seq.

62. *Better*] a better Knt (Nat. ed.).

60. *me euery way*:] *me; euery way*

74-90. Mnemonic Warb.

Ritson.

50. **Noble men**] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 427): Cassius had said nothing about 'noble men,' and his reply has reference to what he did actually utter. His word had been 'abler,' not 'noble' or *nobler*; and in order to make the retort of Brutus apply to what Cassius had asserted, Brutus unquestionably ought to say 'abler men.' 'Noble' is struck through by the MS and *abler* inserted in the place of it; whether upon any other authority than apparent fitness must remain doubtful. —CRAIK (p. 336) says that even were Collier's MS correction 'a mere conjecture, its claim to be accepted would be nearly irresistible'; and that 'noble' is here 'altogether inappropriate.' —MARSHALL: This emendation seems to me, like so many of those made in Collier's MS, to be just such a one as a person going through the plays with his pencil would make on the spur of the moment, because it was what he thought Shakespeare *ought* to have written.

62. **an Elder Souldier, not a Better**] HUDSON: Cassius was much the abler soldier, and Brutus knew it; and the mistake grew from his consciousness of what he thought he heard. Long before this time Cassius had served as Quæstor under Marcus Crassus in his expedition against the Parthians; and when the army was all torn to pieces, both Crassus and his son being killed, Cassius displayed great ability in bringing off a remnant; as he also did for some time after that, in the military administration of Syria.

70. **For your life you durst not**] DAVIES (ii, 249): Quin spoke this line with a look of anger approaching to rage. Barton Booth, on the contrary, looked stedfastly at Cassius, and pronounced the words with firmness indeed, but with a tone not raised much above a whisper; which had much greater weight with the spectators, and produced a stronger effect than the loudness of Quin.

72. **that I shall be sorry for**] For another example of this omission of the relative, compare: 'Thy honourable metal may be wrought From that it is disposed.'—I, ii, 333.

For I am Arm'd so strong in Honesty, 75
 That they passe by me, as the idle winde,
 Which I respect not. I did send to you
 For certaine summes of Gold, which you deny'd me,
 For I can raife no money by vile meanes :
 By Heauen, I had rather Coine my Heart, 80
 And drop my blood for Drachmaes, then to wring
 From the hard hands of Peazants, their vile trash
 By any indirection. I did send
 To you for Gold to pay my Legions, 84

81. *Drachmaes*] *drachma's* Rowe, 83. *indirection*] *indirectness* Pope.
 Pope, +. *drachmas* Cap. et seq.

75. *Arm'd so strong in Honesty*] Compare: 'What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just.'—2 *Hen. VI.*: III, ii, 232.—ED.

77. *respect*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 2. b.): To heed, pay attention to; to observe carefully.

79–83. *I can raise no money . . . By any indirection*] KREYSSIG (ii, 30): It is a two-edged virtue to desire the end and despise the means! The sentiments of Brutus are excellent. But drops of the heart's blood will not pay the legions, and the sentimental contempt of money has seldom filled a military chest. Thus the sermon against extortion ends prosaically enough—with a request for gold. Does it not almost smack of self-deception (*Selbst-Ironie*) when Brutus continues, 'I did send To you for gold to pay my legions'?—MISS E. H. HICKEY (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 13 Oct., 1882; p. 48*): It is curious how unconscious Brutus appears of having given any occasion of annoyance to Cassius. With strange inconsistency he blames Cassius for not sending him gold, after he had accused him of obtaining gold by wrong means,—means which he himself would scorn to use.—MACCALLUM (p. 264, *foot-note*): It will be noticed that in this episode Shakespeare has altered Plutarch in two respects: In the first place Cassius did give money to the amount of 'the thirde part of his totall summe.' This is not very important, as, in the play, he disclaims ever having refused it. But in the second place Brutus was neither so scrupulous nor so unsuccessful in raising supplies, but had used them . . . in developing his sea-power.

81, 82. *to wring From the hard hands*] WARBURTON: This is a noble sentiment, altogether in character, and expressed in a manner inimitably happy. For to 'wring' implies both to get *unjustly* and to use *force* in getting; and 'hard hands' signify both the peasant's great *labour and pains* in acquiring and his *great unwillingness* to quit his hold.—HOLT WHITE: I do not believe that Shakespeare, when he wrote 'hard hands' in this place, had any deeper meaning than in 'Hard-handed men that work in Athens here.'—*Mid. N. Dream*, V, i, 72.

83. *indirection*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 2.): Want of straightforwardness in action; an act of practice which is not straightforward and honest; deceit; malpractice. [The present line quoted.]

83, 84. *I did send . . . to pay my Legions*] Brutus, in a letter to Cicero from Dyrrachium, 1 April, 43 B. C., says: 'The two things which I want are

Which you deny'd me : was that done like *Cassius*? 85
 Should I haue answer'd *Caius Cassius* so?
 When *Marcus Brutus* growes so Couetous,
 To looke such Rascall Counters from his Friends,
 Be ready Gods with all your Thunder-bolts,
 Dash him to peeces. 90
Cassi. I deny'd you not.
Bru. You did.
Cassi. I did not. He was but a Foole
 That brought my answer back. *Brutus* hath riu'd my hart:
 A Friend should beare his Friends infirmities; 95
 But *Brutus* makes mine greater then they are.
Bru. I do not, till you practice them on me. 97

93, 94. *I did...brought*] As one line Warb.
 Dyce. 97. *till...them*] *will...that* Han. *Still...*
 94. *back*] Om. Steev. conj. *them* Warb. Jen. *though...them* Quincy
 95. *hi.*] a Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. MS. *'tis...them* Kinnear.

money and more men. The latter—the sending some part of the soldiers now in Italy to me—you can accomplish either by secret arrangement with Pansa, or by bringing the matter before the Senate. The former can be got from the Senate direct. This is still more necessary, and not more so for my army than for that of the other commanders. This makes me the more regret that we have lost Asia: which I am told is being so harrassed by Dolabella that his murder of Trebonius no longer appears the most cruel thing he has done. Antistius Vetus, however, has come to my aid with money.'—(Shuckburgh, iv, 205). Again, writing from Dertona on 5th of May, he says: 'I am already unable to feed and pay my men. When I undertook the task of freeing the Republic I had more than 40,000 sester tia [about £320,000] in money. So far from any part of my private property remaining unencumbered, I have by this time loaded all my friends with debt. I am now supporting a force amounting to seven legions, you can imagine with what difficulty.'—(Ibid., p. 230).—Ed.

88. *Rascall*] The original meaning of 'rascal,' according to CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. A. 1.), is: 'The rabble of an army or of the populace, . . . persons of the lowest class,' and therefore, used as an adjective, it means pertaining to the lowest class, hence, *wretched, mean, paltry*.

95. *A Friend should beare*, etc.] DOWDEN (p. 304): Each is naturally and inevitably aggrieved with the other; one from the practical, the other from the ideal, standpoint. Shakespeare, in his infinite pity for human error and frailty, makes us love Brutus and Cassius the better through the little wrongs which bring the great wealth of their love and true fraternity to light. . . . When their hearts are tenderest comes the confession of the sorrow which Brutus could not utter as long as a shadow lay between his soul and his friend's.

97. *I do not . . . them on me*] JOHNSON: That is, I do not look for your faults, I only see them, and mention them with vehemence when you force them into my notice by *practising them on me*.

- Cassi.* You loue me not. 98
Bru. I do not like your faults.
Cassi. A friendly eye could neuer see such faults. 100
Bru. A Flatterers would not, though they do appeare
 As huge as high Olympus.
Cassi. Come *Antony*, and yong *Octavius* come,
 Reuenge your felues alone on *Cassius*,
 For *Cassius* is a-weary of the World : 105
 Hated by one he loues, brau'd by his Brother,
 Check'd like a bondman, all his faults obseru'd,
 Set in a Note-booke, learn'd, and con'd by roate
 To cast into my Teeth. O I could weepe
 My Spirit from mine eyes. There is my Dagger, 110
 And heere my naked Brest : Within, a Heart
 Deerer then *Pluto's* Minc, Richer then Gold:
 If that thou bee'st a Roman, take it forth. 113

101. *do*] *did* Coll. (MS), Huds. iii. 111. *Within,*] *Within* F₃F₄.
 105. *a-weary*] F₁F₃, Dyce, Wh. i, 112. *Pluto's*] *Plutus'* Pope et
 Cam. i, Coll. iii. *a weary* F₄, Rowe, +. seq.
a-weary Cap. et cet. 113. *bee'st a Roman*] *need'st a Roman*
 109. *my*] *his* Cap. conj. Warb. *beest a Roman* Cap. (corrected
 110. *eyes.*] *eyes:* Ff (*cies:* F₃). in Errata).

109. **To cast into my Teeth**] Compare: 'You are the first who rears your hand.'—III, i, 38; also: 'Hail to thee worthy Timon, and to all That of his bounties taste.'—*Timon*, I, ii, 129.

112. **Pluto's**] VERITY: The identification of *Plutus*, the god of riches, with 'Pluto,' the god of the nether world, occurs in classical writers, and their names are the same in origin. Elizabethan writers often identify the two deities; compare Webster, *Duchess of Malfi*: 'Pluto, the god of riches.'—III, ii.—MACMILLAN compares: 'every grain of Pluto's gold,' *Tro. & Cress.*, III, iii, 107, as another example of the confusion between the two names; and says: 'If Shakespeare and Webster identify "Pluto" and *Plutus*, they might plead the authority of Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 727) and Sophocles (Fr. 259) in support of the identification. It should also be borne in mind that Pluto is the Italian form of *Plutus*.'—[In the line from *Plutus* to which reference is made the dative of *Πλούτων*, i. e., *Πλούτωνι*, is used instead of *Πλούτοι*, the dative of *Πλούτος*; though a few lines further down the forms *ὁ Πλούτος* and *τὸν Πλούτον* appear. I regret that I am unable to identify Macmillan's reference to Sophocles.—ED.]

113. **If that thou bee'st a Roman**] JOHNSON: I think he means only that he is so far from avarice, when the cause of his country requires liberality, that if any man should wish for his heart, he would not need enforce his desire any otherwise than by showing that he was a Roman.—BLACKSTONE: This seems only a form of adjuration, as in 'Now as you are a Roman, tell me true,' l. 215, below.—[Is there not here a *personal* appeal rather than that on the score of patriotism, as suggested by Johnson? There has been no mention of the public good. Cassius

I that deny'd thee Gold, will giue my Heart :
 Strike as thou did'st at *Cæsar* : For I know, 115
 When thou did'st hate him: worst, y^e loued'st him better
 Then euer thou loued'st *Cassius*.

Brut. Sheath your Dagger :
 Be angry when you will, it shall haue scope :
 Do what you will, Dishonor, shall be Humour. 120
 O *Cassius*, you are yoaked with a Lambe
 That carries Anger, as the Flint beares fire,
 Who much inforced, shewes a hastic Sparke,
 And straite is cold agen.

Cass. Hath *Cassius* liu'd 125

116. y] thou Ff.

110-124. Mnemonic Warb.

120. Dishonor, shall dishonour shall F.

Humour] honor Craik conj.,

White conj.

121. yoked] yokèd Dyce.

121. Lambe] man Pope. temper

Anon. ap. Cam. heart Herr.

122, 123. That...Who] That...Which

Han. Who...That Lloyd (N. & Q.,

12 Sep., 1885).

123. inforced] enforced Dyce.

says: If I denied you gold I am prepared to give you even my heart in place of the money. Compare what Henry says to Lord Scroop: 'Thou . . . That knew'st the very bottom of my soul That almost might'st have coined me into gold.'—*Hen. V.* II, ii, 97.—Ed.]

113, 114. thou . . . thee] MACMILLAN: The use of the singular pronoun shows that Cassius is impassioned. The colder Brutus throughout the scene uses the plural pronoun.—[Does it not rather show that here, for the first time in their contest, Cassius is beginning to weaken, and so uses the more familiar form of address? It will, however, be noticed that Brutus does not respond in a like manner.—Ed.]

113. bee'st] Compare III, iii, 6, and note.

119. it shall haue scope] That is, your anger, implied in the adjective 'angry,' shall have full scope.

120. Dishonor, shall be Humour] That is, even a dishonourable action shall be regarded as a mere caprice of the moment. Compare l. 152, below.

121-124. you are yoaked with a Lambe . . . And straite is cold agen] O. F. ADAMS: The reference is, of course, to Brutus himself, though occasionally misunderstood.—F. A. MARSHALL: The author may have intended to use a somewhat exaggerated similitude; there being in his mind, as there often was, a double idea. He meant Brutus to say that he had the gentleness of a 'lamb' in his nature, as well as that slowness to anger which comes rather from a firm and resolute disposition than from a gentle one.

122. as the Flint beares fire] HUDSON says that as late as his own boyhood the 'idea was common of fire sleeping in the flint, and being awaked by the stroke of the steel.' Compare *Tro. & Cress.*: '[wit] lies as coldly in him as fire in a flint.'—III, iii, 257; and *Timon*: 'the fire i' the flint Shows not till it be struck.'—I, i, 22; also, *Lucrece*: 'as from this cold flint I enforced this fire.'—l. 181.

125. Hath Cassius liued, etc.] This, of course, refers to Brutus's speech,

To be but Mirth and Laughter to his *Brutus*, 126
When griefe and blood ill temper'd, vexeth him ?

Bru. When I spoke that, I was ill remper'd too.s

Cassi. Do you confesse so much? Giue me your hand.

Bru. And my heart too. 130

Cassi. O *Brutus*!

Bru. What's the matter ?

Cassi. Haue not you loue enough to beare with me,
When that rash humour which my Mother gaue me
Makes me forgetfull. 135

127. *blood ill temper'd*] Ff. *blood, ill-temper'd, blood ill-temper'd* Rowe et cet. Pope ii, +, Cap. Steev. Varr. Sing. i, Knt i, Coll. Hal. Huds.

128. *remper'd too.s*] F₁.

135. *forgetfull*] *forgetfulls* F₄.

130. [Embracing. Rowe, +.

[A Noise within. Theob. +,

133. *Haue not you*] *Haue you not* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing.

'I'll use you for my mirth, yea for my laughter When you are waspish,' l. 53. It had apparently rankled in Cassius's mind and had stung him more than any other reply by Brutus. Benedick in a like way, it will be remembered, bitterly resented the remark of Beatrice that 'he was the prince's jester.'—*Much Ado*, II, i, 250.—Ed.

127. *blood ill temper'd*] WRIGHT: Burton (*Anat. of Melancholy*, Pt I, sec. i, memb. 2, subsec. 2) describes the four humours, blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy, corresponding to the four elements, upon the tempering or mixing of which depended the *temperament* of a man's body. . . . See, also, Davies of Hereford's *Microcosmos*: 'Ill tempred's that where some one element Hath more dominion then it ought to haue; For they rule ill that haue more regiment Then nature, wisdom, right, or reason gaue.'—(ed. Grosart, p. 30, col. 2).—MACMILLAN: 'Ill-temper'd' is here badly combined, so as to make a man inclined to be ill-tempered in the present sense of the word, which we find in the following line. The expression 'ill-tempered blood' is not exactly in accordance with the doctrine of the four humours, since here the blood is regarded as determining a man's character by itself and not in combination with choler, phlegm, and melancholy. Often 'blood' in Shakespeare expresses the whole of the passionate side of human nature as distinguished from the reason, e. g., in *Hamlet*: '—blest are those, Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,' etc., III, ii, 74.—[That 'blood ill temper'd' does not refer to the doctrine of the four humours, but here means *disposition*, both for the reason above given by Macmillan, and since Schmidt (*Lex.*) gives numerous examples of 'blood' used in this sense, is likewise the opinion of the present Ed.]

127. *vexeth*] WRIGHT: The verb is singular, because 'grief and blood' express but one idea.

134. *rash humour*] That is, *choler*, which was supposed by its predominance to make a man of irascible temperament. Jonson gives to Asper, in *Every Man out of his Humour*, the task of explaining the effect of too much of any one of the four humours: '—when some one peculiar quality Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw All his affects, his spirits, and his powers, In their confluxions, all to run one way, This may be truly said to be a humour.'—*Induction*; ed. Gifford, p. 16. Compare also l. 152, below.—Ed.

Bru. Yes *Cassius*, and from henceforth 135
When you are ouer-earnest with your *Brutus*, 136
Hee'l thinke your Mother chides, and leaue you so.

Enter a Poet.

Poet. Let me go in to see the Generals, 140
There is some grudge betweene 'em, 'tis not meete
They be alone.

Lucil. You shall not come to them.

Poet. Nothing but death shall stay me.

Caf. How now? What's the matter? 145

Poet. For shame you Generals; what do you meane?
Loue, and be Friends, as two such men should bee,
For I haue seene more yeeres I'me sure then yee.

Caf. Ha, ha, how vildely doth this Cynicke rime? 149

136. *from*] Om. Cap. Steev. var.
'03, '13.

139. Enter a Poet.] Enter Lucilius
and Titinius and a Poet. Rowe i. (Lu-
cius Rowe ii.). Enter Poet. Theob.+
(—Han.). Enter Poet followed by
Lucilius and Titinius. Dyce, Sta.
Enter Poet followed by Lucilius, Titin-
ius, and Lucius. Glo. Cam.+ After

l. 144 Cap. et seq.

140, 143, 144. Poet., Lucil., Poet.]
Poet (Within), Lucil. (Within), Poet
(Within). Theob.+ Cap. Varr.

140-145. In margin Pope, Han.

141. 'em] them Cap.

143. [at the door. Cap.

149. *vildely*] *vilely* F₄.

doth] *does* Cap.

138. *chides*] That is, *scolds*, *upbraids*.

139. a Poet] STEEVENS: In Plutarch the intruder was Marcus Phaonius, who had been a friend and follower of Cato; not a poet, but one who assumed the character of a cynic philosopher. [The couplet, ll. 147, 148,] is a translation from Homer: 'ἀλλὰ πῖθεσθ', αὐφω δὲ νεωτέρω ἔσθ' ὅν ἐμεῖο—*Iliad*, Bk. i, 259, which is thus given in North's Plutarch: 'My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me, For I have seen 120 years than suchie three.'—[*Brutus*, § 25; ed. Skeat, p. 135.] Compare: 'Octavius I have seen more days than you.'—IV, i, 22, above.—CRAIK (p. 344): There was probably no other authority than the Prompter's book for designating him a 'Poet.'—MARK HUNTER: The expression 'jigging fool,' however, shows that Shakespeare intended Phaonius to be a poet. . . . North's doggerel rendering [of Homer's lines] doubtless suggested to Shakespeare the idea of making him not only a counterfeit Cynic, but a miserable rhymester.

143. *Lucil.* You shall not, etc.] CRAIK (p. 344): In the *Variorum* of '21 and the other modern editions, although they commonly make no distinction between the abbreviation for *Lucilius* and that for *Lucius*, this speech must be understood to be assigned to Lucius, whose presence alone is noted by them in the heading of the scene. But in the Folio the speaker is distinctly marked *Lucil.* This is a conclusive confirmation, if any were wanting, of the change [of *Lucilius* for *Lucius*] in IV, ii, 61.

Bru. Get you hence firra : Sawcy Fellow, hence. 150

Caf. Beare with him *Brutus*, 'tis his fashion.

Brut. Ile know his humor, when he knowes his time :

What should the Warres do with thefe Iigging Fooles? 153

150. *firra*] *firrah* F.

SCENE IV. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

153. *Iigging*] *jingling* Pope, +, Cap.

Jen.

150, 151. *Bru.* Get you hence . . . *Cas.* Beare with him] STAFFER (p. 361): When we seek the reason of Shakespeare's incontestable and uncontested pre-eminence among all other poets as a delineator of character, we discover in the last hiding-place of analysis that it consists in the largeness and breadth of his treatment. He alone dares to introduce into his portraits the little seeming contradictions which terrify ordinary reasoning because of their apparent inconsistency with the general outlines of the character, although in reality they enhance the resemblance by keeping closer to nature. The consistency of Shakespeare's characters is universally admired. . . . It is obvious and strikes the mind at once, while the contradictions here spoken of are almost imperceptible; but it is their very imperceptibility that makes it incumbent upon critics to dwell upon them with especial care; for, without destroying the inner unity of the characters, these light and delicate touches break through all superficial harmony and reveal a still greater art than what is usually the object of admiration. Who would ever have guessed beforehand . . . that at the entrance of the officious mediator, who comes and preaches peace to the two generals when they have already made peace, that it would be Brutus—the patient and gentle Brutus—that would be the most exasperated; or that it would be Cassius—the violent and choleric man—that would endeavor to protect the meddlesome intruder? But when the particular circumstances are taken into consideration, all surprise at the anomaly vanishes. The fact is given by Plutarch, the reason of it by Shakespeare.

152. *Ile know . . . his time*] CRAIK (p. 345): In this line we have what the rule, as commonly laid down, would make to be necessarily a short or unaccented syllable carrying a strong emphasis no fewer than four times: 'Ile'—'his'—'he'—'his.'

152. *know . . . knowes*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 2 *trans.*): To recognise in some capacity; to acknowledge; to admit the claims or authority of.

152. *humor*] See note on l. 134, above.

153. *Iigging*] According to MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *Jig*), the word was variously applied; either to describe (1) a lively, rapid dance, or (3) a song or ballad of lively, jocular, or mocking character; and s. v. *Jigging* (singing, playing, or composing jigs), the present line is quoted.—[Pope could hardly be ignorant of this secondary meaning of 'jig'—its use survived for some time later than his editions—yet he changed the word here to *jingling*, and was therein followed by subsequent editors down to the *Variorum* of 1773. This provoked a note from Malone on the ignorance of ancient English literature thus displayed, levelled not at Pope, the original offender, but at Capell only of all those who had followed the change. Malone's remarks on Capell's shortcomings as an editor require a half-page of fine print in the *Variorum* of '21, but as this note is no more applicable here than in many another place, and is perhaps inspired by personal rancor, it is omitted. Both Malone and Steevens were ever unjust to Capell, though often silently adopting or appropriating his sagacious emendations.—ED.]

Companion, hence.

Caf. Away, away be gone. *Exit Poet* 155

Bru. *Lucillius* and *Titinius* bid the Commanders

Prepare to lodge their Companies to night.

Caf. And come your felues, & bring *Mcffala* with you
Immediately to vs.

Bru. *Lucius*, a bowle of Wine. 160

Caf. I did not thinke you could haue bin so angry.

Bru. O *Cassius*, I am sicke of many greeces.

Caf. Of your Philosophy you make no vse,

If you giue place to accidentall euils.

Bru. No man beares forrow better. *Portia* is dead. 165

Caf. Ha? *Portia*?

Bru. She is dead.

Caf. How scap'd I killing, when I crost you so?

O insupportable, and touching losse!

Vpon what sicknesse? 170

Bru. Impatient of my absence,

155. [Enter *Lucillius* and *Titinius*.
Rowe et seq.

159. [Exit *Lucillius* and *Titinius*.
Rowe et seq.

161. *bin*] *been* F₃F₄.

162-170. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

165. *Portia* is] *Portia's* Pope, Theob.

154. **Companion**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 4.) gives many examples of this word used as a term of familiarity or contempt.

161. **I did not thinke . . . so angry**] C. FORBES (*N. & Q.*, 28 Sep., 1850, p. 275): I believe that both replies [here and in l. 168] contain an illusion to the fact that Anger, grafted on sorrow, almost invariably assumes the form of frenzy; that it is in every sense of the word 'Madness,' when the mind is unhinged, and reason, as it were, totters from the effects of grief. *Cassius* had but just mildly rebuked *Brutus* for making no better use of his philosophy, and now—startled by the sudden sight of his bleeding, mangled heart—pays involuntary homage to the very philosophy he had so rashly underrated. Compare *Romeo's* address to *Balthasar*: 'The time and my intents are savage-wild, More fierce and more inexorable far Than empty tigers or the roaring sea.'—V, iii, 37; and his remark to *Paris*: 'Stay not, begone; live, and hereafter say, A madman's mercy bad thee run away.'—Ib., l. 66.—MACMILLAN: To the foregoing illustrations we may add: 'And melancholy is the nurse of frenzy.'—*Tam. of Shrew*, Ind., ii, 135.

171. **Impatient of my absence**] CAPELL (p. 112): *Impatience* and 'absence' concurring wounded the poet's ear; he put up with 'impatient' and hopes his reader will do so.—CRAIK (p. 347): This speech is throughout a striking exemplification of the tendency of strong emotion to break through the logical forms of grammar, and of how impossible it is for language to be perfectly intelligible and highly expressive sometimes, with the grammar in a more or less chaotic or

And greefe, that yong *Octavius* with *Mark Antony* 172
 Haue made themfelues so strong : For with her death
 That tydings came. With this she fell diftract,
 And (her Attendants abfent) fwallow'd fire. 175

174. *came.*] *came*; Dyce, Coll. ii, iii,
 Craik, Sta. Hal. Cam.+, Huds. *came*
 ...Ktly.

175. *fire*] *poison* Oechelhaüser (Stage
 arrangement).

uncertain state. It does not much matter whether we take 'grief' to be a nominative, or a second genitive governed by 'impatient.' In principle, though not perhaps according to rule and established usage, 'Octavius *with* Mark Antony' is as much entitled to a plural verb as 'Octavius *and* Mark Antony.'—WRIGHT: The sense is quite clear, but there is a mixture of two constructions, 'Impatient of my absence, and grieving' and 'Impatience of my absence and grief.'

174. That tydings] CRAIK (p. 347): 'Tidings' is commonly used by Shakespeare as a plural noun; we have in V, iii, 54: 'These tidings will well comfort Cassius'; but there are other instances beside the present in which it is treated as singular.—[In illustration of the latter WRIGHT quotes: 'How near the tidings of our own comfort is.'—*Rich. II.*: II, i, 272. To this may be added: 'Where when and how Camest thou by this ill tidings.'—*Ibid.*, III, iv, 80; and, 'That's the worst tidings that I hear of yet.'—*I Hen. IV.*: IV, i, 127.—ED.]

174. diftract] CRAIK (p. 348): In Shakespeare's day the language possessed the three forms—*distracted*, 'distract,' and *distracth*; he uses them all. We have now only the first.

175. (her Attendants absent) swallow'd fire] This is from Plutarch, who says: 'And for Porcia, Brutus's wife, Nicolaus the Philosopher and Valerius Maximus do write, that she determining to kill herself (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it), took hot burning coals and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close that she choked herself. There was a letter of Brutus found, written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that, his wife being sick, they would not help her, but suffered her to kill herself; choosing to die rather than to languish in pain. Thus it appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus's letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her death.'—*Life of Brutus*, § 32; (ed. Skeat, p. 151).—STEEVENS: The death of Portia may want that foundation which has hitherto entitled her to a place in poetry as a pattern of Roman fortitude. She is reported, by Pliny, I think, to have died at Rome of a lingering illness while Brutus was abroad; but some writers seem to look on a natural death as a derogation from a distinguished character.—[I have not succeeded in locating Steevens's doubtful reference to Pliny. Dion Cassius gives but a line to this incident, he says: 'Portia perished by swallowing red-hot charcoal.'—Bk, xlvii, § 40; (Foster's translation, vol. iii, p. 155).—Appian likewise says that Portia killed herself by swallowing coals of fire; but places her suicide after that of Brutus and caused by grief for that event.—Bk, IV, ch. xvii, § 136; trans. White, ii, 334.—ED.]—MALONE: Valerius Maximus says [Bk, iv, § 5] that Portia *survived* Brutus, and killed herself on hearing that her husband was defeated and slain at Philippi. [Malone here quotes the foregoing extract from Plutarch, and thus continues:] 'See also Martial, Bk, i, epigr. xlii. Valerius Maximus, Nicolaus, and

Cæs. And dy'd so?

176

Bru. Euen so.

Plutarch all agree in saying that she put an end to her life; and the letter [given by Plutarch], if authentic, ascertains that she did so in the lifetime of Brutus. Our author, therefore, we see, had sufficient authority for his representation; and there is, I think, little ground for supposing with Dryden that Shakespeare knew that Portia had survived Brutus, and that he on purpose neglected a little chronology, only to give Brutus an occasion of being more easily exasperated.' [See note by Dryden on IV, iii, 1.—Cicero wrote to Brutus in Macedonia on 8th of June, B. C. 43, a letter which, says its translator and editor, Shuckburgh, 'is to condole with Brutus on the death of his wife Porcia. . . . Her illness is alluded to [in a letter from Brutus to Atticus in May of this same year]. If this letter is genuine, the account that she died a natural death must be the true one.'—Thus Cicero writes: 'I would have performed the function, which you performed in my own time of mourning, and have written you a letter of consolation, had I not known that you did not stand in need of those remedies in your sorrow with which you relieved mine. And I should hope that you will now more easily heal your own wound than you then could mine. It is, moreover, quite unlike a man as great as you are, not to be able to do himself, what he has enjoined on another. For myself, the arguments which you had collected, as well as your personal influence, deterred me from excessive indulgence in grief: for when I seemed to you to be bearing my sorrow with less firmness than was becoming to a man, and especially one accustomed to console others, you wrote upbraiding me with sharper terms than were usual with you. Accordingly, putting a high value on your opinion, and having a wholesome awe of it, I pulled myself together and regarded what I had learnt, read, and been taught as being the weightier by the addition of your authority. And at that time, Brutus, I owed nothing except to duty and nature: you now have to regard the people and the stage—to use a common expression. For since the eyes not only of your army, but of all the citizens, and I ought almost to say of all the world, are fixed on you, it is not at all seemly that the man who makes us all braver should himself seem weakened in mind. To sum up: you have met with a sorrow—for you have lost a thing unparalleled in the world—and you must needs suffer from so severe a wound, lest the fact of having no sense of sorrow should be a greater misfortune than sorrow itself: but that you should do so in moderation is advantageous to others, necessary for yourself. I would have written at greater length, had not even this been already too much. We are expecting you and your army, without which—even if everything else succeeds to our wishes—we seem likely to be scarcely as free as we could desire. On the whole political situation I will write at greater length, and perhaps with more certainty, in the letter which I think of handing to our friend Vetus.'—(ed. Shuckburgh, vol. iv, p. 307).—The *Epigram* by Martial, to which Malone refers above, is thus translated in Bohn's edition: 'When Porcia had heard the fate of her consort Brutus, and her grief was seeking the weapon, which had been carefully removed from her, "Ye know not yet," she cried, "that death cannot be denied: I had supposed that my father had taught you this lesson by his fate." She spoke, and with eager mouth swallowed the blazing coals. "Go now, officious attendants, and refuse me a sword, if you will."—p. 45.—Ed.]

175. *absent*] For other examples of an adjective thus used participially, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 380.

Caf. O ye immortall Gods ! 178

Enter Boy with Wine, and Tapers.

Bru. Speak no more of her:Giue me a bowl of wine, 180
In this I bury all vnkindnesse *Cassius.* *Drinckes*

Caf. My heart is thirsty for that Noble pledge.
Fill *Lucius*, till the Wine ore-fwell the Cup :
I cannot drinke too much of *Brutus* loue.

Enter Titinius and Messala. 185

Brutus. Come in *Titinius* :
Welcome good *Messala*: 187

178. O ye] Om. Steev. conj.	Mal.
179. Enter Boy...Tapers.] Re-enter	185. Enter...and...] Re-enter...with...
Lucius...tapers. Cap. et seq. (subs.)	Cap. Dyce. Re-enter...and... Varr.
184. Brutus] F ₂ F ₃ . Brutus's F ₄ ,	SCENE V. Pope, + (—Var. '73).
Rowe, Theob. Brutus' Pope et cet.	186, 187. One line Rowe.

180. **Speak no more of her]** DOWDEN (*Mind & Art*, p. 304): Brutus is sustained by the spirit of Portia. To live in her spirit of Stoicism becomes now the highest act of religion to her memory. . . . The armed men talking so gravely, before the great day which is to decide the fate of the world, of the 'insupportable and touching loss' make us know what this woman was. Profound emotion, Shakespeare was aware, can express itself quietly and with reserve. The noisy demonstration of grief over the supposed dead Juliet is the extravagant abandonment to sorrow, partly real and partly formal, of hearts which were little sensitive, and which had little concerned themselves about the joy or misery of Juliet living. Laertes's rant in the grave of Ophelia is reproved by the more violent hyperbole of Hamlet. Brutus will henceforth be silent and possess his soul. The remainder of his life is a sad, sustained devotion to his cause.

187. **Welcome good Messala]** Cicero, writing from Rome to Brutus in Macedonia, the middle of July, says: 'You have Messalla [*sic*] with you. What letter, therefore, can I write with such minute care as to enable me to explain to you what is being done and what is occurring in public affairs, more thoroughly than he will describe them to you, who has at once the most intimate knowledge of everything, and the talent for enfolding and conveying it to you in the best possible manner? For beware of thinking, Brutus—for though it is unnecessary for me to write to you what you know already, yet I cannot pass over in silence such eminence in every kind of greatness—beware of thinking, I say, that he has any parallel in honesty and firmness, care and zeal for the republic. So much so that in him eloquence—in which he is extraordinarily eminent—scarcely seems to offer any opportunity for praise. . . . But my affection carries me away; for it is not the purpose of this letter to praise Messalla, especially to Brutus, to whom his excellence is not less known than it is to me, and these particular accomplishments of his, which I am praising, even better. Grieved as I was to let him go from my side, my one consolation was that in going to you, who are to me a second self, he was performing a duty and following the path of the truest glory. But enough of this.'—(Shuckburgh, iv, 318).—ED.

Now sit we clofe about this Taper heere,
And call in question our neceffities.

Cass. *Portia*, art thou gone? 190

Bru. No more I pray you.

Messala, I haue heere receiued Letters,
That yong *Octavius*, and *Marke Antony*
Come downe vpon vs with a mighty power,
Bending their Expedition toward *Philippi*. 195

Mess. My felfe haue Letters of the felfe-fame Tenure.

Bru. With what Addition.

Mess. That by proſcription, and billes of Outlarie, 198

190, 191. Marked as aside Cap.

190. *Portia*,] *O Portia!* Pope, +.

192. *heere*] Om. Pope ii.

receiued] *receiued* Dyce.

195. *toward*] *tow'rd* Pope, +. *towards*
Cap. Varr. Ran.

196. *Tenure*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *tenor*

Knt, Sta. *tenour* Theob. et cet.

198. *proſcription*] *proſcriptions* Pope,
Han.

Outlarie] *Outlawry* F4.

189. *call in question*] That is, *consider, examine*.

190, 191. *Portia* . . . *I pray you*] These two lines are evidently spoken in a lower tone, aside, and not heard by Messala; otherwise he would have known that Brutus had already received intelligence of Portia's death.—Ed.

195. *Bending*] MURRAY (s. v., bend IV, 20. c.): To direct (anything led, driven, or carried). [Compare 'And towards London do they bend their power.'—*Rich. III.*: IV, v, 14.]

196. *My selfe*] WRIGHT: 'Myself,' when used alone in the nominative, is generally followed by the first person, but sometimes takes the third, as in 'Even so myself bewails good Gloucester's case.'—2 *Hen. VI.*: III, i, 217.

198–203. *That by proſcription* . . . *Cicero being one*] 'Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus made an agreement between themselves . . . and did set up bills of proſcription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one.'—Plutarch: *Brutus*, § 20; (ed. Skeat, p. 128).

198. *That by* . . . *billes of Outlarie*] CRAIK (p. 348): The supernumerary short syllable—the *-tion* or the 'and'—[may] be disposed of, as usual, by the two being rapidly enunciated as one. The line might, indeed, be reduced to perfect regularity by the *-tion* being distributed into a disyllable, in which case the prosody would be completed at 'out,' and the two following unaccented syllables would count for nothing (or be what is called hypercatalectic), unless, indeed, any one should take them for an additional foot, and so holding the verse to be an Alexandrine. But taste and probability alike protest against either of these ways of managing the matter. Nay, even the running together of the *-tion* and the *and* is not necessary, nor the way that would be taken by a good reader; that is, not how the line be read, but only how it might be scanned: in reading it, the 'and' would rather be combined with 'bills,' and a short pause would, in fact, be made after the *-tion*, as the pointing and the sense require. So entirely unfounded is the

Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus,

Haue put to death, an hundred Senators. 200

Bru. Therein our Letters do not well agree :

Mine speake of seuentie Senators, that dy'de

By their proscriptions, *Cicero* being one.

Cassi. *Cicero* one ?

Messa. *Cicero* is dead, and by that order of proscription 205

Had you your Letters from your wife, my Lord?

Bru. No *Messala*.

Messa. Nor nothing in your Letters writ of her ?

Bru. Nothing *Messala*. 209

200. *death*,] *death* F₃F₄.

an] a Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.

204. *Cicero*] *Cibero* F.

204, 205. *Cicero one?*...*proscription*]

Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.

Mal. Var. '21. As two lines, ending:

dead...*proscription* Cap. et cet.

205. *Cicero*] *Ay Cicero* Cap. Steev.

Varr. Sing. *Yes, Cicero* Ktly.

by that] *that by* Cap.

proscription] *proscription*. F₃F₄.

207. *No*] *No, not from her* Wordsworth.

208. *you*] *you* F₃.

notion that a pause, of whatever length, occurring in the course of a verse can ever have anything of the prosodical effect of a word or syllable.

200. *an hundred*] Compare 'Which like a fountain with an hundred spouts.'—II, ii, 88. Yet, on the other hand, we have 'Upon a heap a hundred ghastly women.'—I, iii, 25. This last, '*a hundred*,' is the more usual, at least in Shakespeare.—ED.

200–202. *an hundred Senators . . . seuentie Senators*] These numbers are apparently Shakespeare's own invention. As may be seen by the preceding note, Plutarch gives the number as two hundred; Appian (*Civil Wars*, Bk. IV, ch. ii, § 5) gives the number of senators as 'about 300, and of the so-called knights about 2000'; in the next section he says, however, that 'twelve or, as some say, seventeen names were on the first list; and that Cicero's name was among these.'—ED.

204, 205. *Cicero one ? . . . Cicero is dead*] STEEVENS remarks: 'For the insertion of the affirmative adverb [*Ay*, at the beginning of l. 205] to complete the metre I am answerable.' This refers also to the division of line 205 at the word '*dead*.' As may be seen from the *Text. Notes*, Capell has anticipated Steevens both in this addition and arrangement.—In regard to this distribution of lines CRAIK (p. 350) says: 'We are not entitled to exact or to expect a perfect observance of the punctilios of regular prosody in such brief expressions of strong emotion as the dialogue is here broken up into. What do the followers of Steevens profess to be able to make, in the way of prosody, of the very next utterance: "*No, Messala*"? The best thing we can do is to regard "*Cicero one?*" and "*Cicero is dead*"*, either as hemistichs (the one the commencement, the other the conclusion, of a line), or, if that view be preferred, as having no distinct or precise prosodical character whatever. Every sense of harmony and propriety, however, revolts against running "*Cicero is dead*" into the same line with "*and by that order,*" etc.'

207–209. *No Messala . . . Nothing Messala*] R. W. HAMILTON (p. 221): There is one apparent contradiction which is supposed to injure the truth of Brutus.

[207-209. No Messala . . . Nothing Messala]

With the public despatches he has received the account of Portia's death. He bears it in the spirit of his stoicism, and only reveals it to his friend. To Messala he appears ignorant of it, and even denies to have received the information. He is now sitting in a council of war, during the midnight which precedes the battle of Philippi, and he will know no private grief. He will neither tell his widowhood, nor the cruel proscription of his friends to the harassed army. It may be suppression; it is falsehood, but it is of the character of the courage which disinterestedly conceals the pain it endures. It is the nerve which will not shrink. It is to save others that it veils the only consuming agony. We offer not the excuse of *our* principles: the stern character is fully supported on its own. It may be, too, that he is supposed to warrant the deception, because his information is private, though it accompanied the public news. He might deem that he was not required to be the mourner before others until the fact obtained its legitimate publicity.

—J. RESCH (*Archiv für das Studium*, etc., band lxvii, p. 446) thinks that this pretended ignorance and hypocrisy, which is quite inconsistent with the character of Brutus as drawn by Shakespeare, can only be explained by the supposition that the prompter's copy from which the Folio was printed contained two versions of the news of Portia's death, and, by an oversight, both became incorporated in the text. 'Proofs for this hypothesis,' Resch continues, 'are, of course, lacking, since there is no Quarto copy of *Jul. Cæs.* Such a repetition is not without analogy, e. g., in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 302-304 and 350-352; again, V, ii, 827-832 and 833-840, we have in one case an actual repetition and in the other, two separate versions. If we should discard the first version in the present play we must omit lines 162-178, beginning with "I did not think you could have been so angry" down to "Speak no more of her [it]. Give me a bowl of wine." We must likewise strike out the two short lines "Portia, art thou gone" and "No more I pray you." With these omissions the bearing of Brutus on hearing Messala's message and the remark of Cassius, "I have as much of this in art as you, But yet my nature could not bear it so," become at least comprehensible. If, on the other hand, the scene with Messala is to be considered as an interpolation, we must omit ll. 206-222, i. e., from "Cicero is dead, and by that order of proscription" down to "Well to our work alive. What do you thinke Of marching to Philippi presently." As to the question which of these two versions is the original or which is the better, Resch opines that the version wherein Brutus tells Cassius of Portia's death deserves the preference, and for these reasons: 'His grief furnishes the best explanation of his irritation with Cassius; besides, as has been shown, if the lines are to be omitted a change in the text is involved. As regards the scene with Messala, it establishes no special point which had not been brought forward previously, and its excision, beginning and ending with a complete line, causes no actual break in continuity; the reference to Cicero's death in l. 205 is, moreover, perfectly appropriate to the speech of Brutus: "Well to our work alive," etc. Finally, Brutus's bearing at the communication to Cassius of Portia's death is certainly more consistent with his character as previously exhibited.'—[PAUL KANNENGIESSER (*Jahrbuch*, xlv, 50) also discusses these two passages and arrives at the same conclusion as given in this thoughtful essay by Resch, to whom he does not, however, refer. His arrangements with their omissions are identical with those of his predecessor.—ED.]—

VERITY: Perhaps Brutus dissembles thus because he cherishes a faint hope that after all Portia is not dead—that the report which reached him was false and that

[207-209. No Messala . . . Nothing Messala]

Messala has later tidings of her being alive. Compare his question: 'I hear you ought of her, in yours?'—BEECHING: Perhaps Brutus wishes to appear to take his wife's death impassively in order not to dishearten Messala by seeming to attach importance to her estimate of the situation.—Mark Hunter in his *Preface* acknowledges his indebtedness to PERCY SIMPSON for several scholarly notes, which appear, I believe, in Hunter's edition only. Under the present passage he says that Simpson 'thinks it possible that Brutus's first answers to Messala's questions: "No, Messala," "Nothing, Messala," are the half-dazed, half-indifferent utterances of a man staggering under a loss that has stirred his nature to its depths, and as Messala insists on probing the still fresh wound, Brutus takes, as it were, a lesson in endurance by listening calmly, with no symptom of grief or agitation.'—To this HUNTER adds: 'What Messala takes for stoical fortitude is, in reality, a sensitive shrinking from a wound which is too recent and too painful to be laid bare in the presence of any but the most intimate friends. To Cassius, after the quarrel has drawn the two men more closely together, Brutus can speak of his loss a little, and even, in a broken way, speak of the circumstances of Portia's death. Before others he cannot speak; hence he at once checks Cassius when Lucius enters,—*"Speak no more of her"*; and again, after the entrance of Titinius and Messala,—*"No more, I pray you."* With an effort Brutus turns to business. After a little, Messala abruptly puts the question. Brutus's repeated denial is surely not prompted by any wish to give an example of fortitude, as I have heard suggested, but rather to *put aside the question*. He hopes, perhaps, that Messala does not know the truth, or knowing it, will not speak, if he imagines Brutus still ignorant. When Messala persists, Brutus, as the least painful way, suffers him to tell the news again, rather than venture himself to speak of it. Still he cannot bear the details, and when Messala is about to speak of the "strange manner" of Portia's end, he checks him by an assumption of fortitude which is far from felt. Cassius, of course, knows that Brutus has not now heard the news for the first time, and Messala must, I think, recognise it too. They commend him, not because they think he regards the greatest human loss as a thing not meriting sorrow, but because they admire the strong manly nature that will not wear the heart upon the sleeve. Although Brutus does not mention Portia again, we may be sure that he will find time to mourn for her in secret, as he says he will find time to shed tears for Cassius. The interpretation here suggested is rather for the actor than for the commentator to make good; but this is not seldom the case with Shakespeare. The fit actor could, I believe, demonstrate throughout the whole scene that the loss of Portia and the keenness of Brutus's suffering for that loss prompt all that Brutus says and does; his harshness to Cassius at the beginning; the sudden self-abandonment, after the quarrel is made up, in the single pathetic verse—*pathetic as falling from the lips of a strong self-contained man: "O Cassius, I am sick of many griefs"*; the strange denial to Messala; the "much forgetfulness" a little later; the tenderness shown to Lucius; the consideration for Claudius and Varro, even the little flash of irritability when, at the close of the scene, he rouses the same soldiers from sleep.'—MACMILLAN (p. 175): This is not the first lie that Brutus is guilty of in the play. But his former lie [to Portia, 'I am not well in health, and that is all.'—II, i, 285] was actuated by an easily intelligible motive, whereas this one is not. Further, in the present case Brutus accepts without protest Messala's admiration, which is based upon a misconception produced by the lie.—[Macmillan, unaware apparently

Messa. That me thinkes is strange. 210

Bru. Why aske you?

Heare you ought of her, in yours?

Messa No my Lord.

Bru. Now as you are a Roman tell me true.

Messa. Then like a Roman, beare the truth I tell, 215
For certaine she is dead, and by strange manner.

Bru. Why farewell *Portia*: We must die *Messala*:
With meditating that she must dye once,
I haue the patience to endure it now. 219

211, 212. One line Rowe et seq.

212. *ought*] *ought* Warb. et seq.

213. *my Lord*] *my lord, nothing*
Wordsworth.

that herein he has been anticipated by Resch, see *ante*, thinks that the 'difficulties in the end of this scene are due to additions subsequently made, and not perfectly reconciled with the original draft: '—ED.]—PORTER-CLARKE: The wearing effect on Brutus of all this pretence of control while his heart was in agony adds to what he must suffer from anxiety as to the approaching battle. Does Shakespeare mean to suggest that Brutus is discovering in this, as he may also discover in his disregard of friendship for Cæsar when his reason bade him strike him down, that the heart may not be forced and violated unduly?—MACCALLUM (p. 242): Brutus may profess ignorance to save himself the pain of explanation, though surely it would have been simpler to say 'I know all.' But the effect is undoubtedly to bring his self-control into fuller relief in presence of Messala and Titinius, even than in the presence of Cassius a few minutes before; for then he was announcing what he already knew, here he would seem in the eyes of his informants to be encountering the first shock. Too much must not be made of this, for Cassius, who is aware of the circumstances, is no less impressed than the others, and Cassius would have detected any hollow ring. But at the least it savours of a willingness to give a demonstration, so to speak, in Clinical Ethics.—[The foregoing remarks are, after all, but excellent attempts to excuse what is nothing more or less than a deliberate lie. And a lie, moreover, from which nothing but a reputation for fortitude, under the most distressing calamity, could accrue. The lie told by Desdemona after her supposed death is to shield Othello, and, therefore, to a certain extent, pardonable; that told by Ophelia to Hamlet in regard to the whereabouts of her father was to shield that father, and is likewise, on that ground, explicable. Brutus had no motive but a selfish one; and as such a conclusion is quite inconsistent with the Brutus of the former scenes, our only recourse is to accept the explanation given by Resch, viz.: that these words between Brutus and Messala are an interpolation from a MS addition which appeared first in the play-house copy, and which, by mistake, became incorporated in the text.—ED.]

217. *Why*] WRIGHT: Like *what* used as an interjection. Here it expresses acquiescence; in that case, that being so. Compare l. 331: 'Why I will see thee at Philippi then.'

218, 219. *With meditating . . . to endure it now*] KREYSSIG (p. 32): This is Portia's only elegy. It is, moreover, evident that the triumph here cele-

Messa. Euen so great men, great losses shold indure. 220

Cassi. I haue as much of this in 'Art as you,
But yet my Nature could not beare it so.

Bru. Well, to our worke aliue. What do you thinke
Of marching to *Philippi* presently.

Cassi. I do not thinke it good. 225

Bru. Your reason?

Cassi. This it is : 227

220. *shold*] Fr.

227. *it is*] Om. Steev. conj., John
Hunter conj. Wordsworth so prints.

brated is not that of the system of Stoic philosophy, but of the Heroic soul [*Heldenseele*] of a man ever striving towards the great and noble.

218. *once*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. B. 5.): At some future time; some day.

221. *Art*] MALONE: That is, in *theory*.—[CRAIK (p. 351) takes exception to this interpretation, and says that 'art' here 'rather signifies by acquired knowledge or learning, as distinguished from natural disposition. The passage is one of the many in our old poets . . . running upon the relation between nature and art.']

223. *to our worke aliue*] CRAIK (p. 351): That is, let us proceed to our living business, to that which concerns the living, not the dead.—JOHN HUNTER: 'Alive' here qualifies the pronoun *us*, involved in 'our' (= *of us*): now to the work which demands the attention of us alive, which we the living must attend to. There is a somewhat similar grammatical difficulty in such phraseology as 'his ability *as a statesman*.'

223, 224. *What do you thinke . . . Philippi presently*] MARK HUNTER: In Plutarch the discussion between Brutus and Cassius as to the policy of adopting offensive and defensive tactics took place at Philippi itself; and in Shakespeare we must imagine the discussion taking place in the same neighborhood; for although at the beginning of the scene we were at Sardis, we can scarcely be there now. Here we have not only a double time, but double notions of space are likewise required. Sardis is a very long way from Philippi, and yet we have just learned that Octavius and Antony are coming down upon Brutus and Cassius, 'bending their expedition towards Philippi.' Evidently Philippi is directly in the line of attack. Secondly, by (l. 233), 'The people 'twixt Philippi, and *this ground*,' we can scarcely understand the inhabitants of the countries between Macedonia and Sardis, but rather the natives of the immediately surrounding neighborhood upon whom the army relied for supplies. 'This ground' again obviously points to some military position capable of being strongly defended, where the troops are 'full of defence,' and not very far from Philippi. In fact, the opening lines of Act V, where Octavius expresses surprised satisfaction at the tactics adopted by the enemy, tell us that 'this ground' is no other than 'the hills and upper regions' above Philippi. Lastly, the end of this scene is plainly closely connected in point of time with the following Act. Almost everything that is said and done makes us feel that we are on the eve of a decisive engagement, not merely at the beginning of a campaign. There are, of course, both here and in V, i. touches which suggest 'long time' and long distance; but this is Shakespeare's device to conceal an inevitable inconsistency.

'Tis better that the Enemie seeke vs, 228
 So shall he waste his meanes, weary his Souldiers,
 Doing himselfe offence, whil'ft we lying still, 230
 Are full of rest, defence, and nimbleness.

Bru. Good reasons must of force giue place to better :
 The people 'twixt *Philippi*, and this ground
 Do stand but in a forc'd affection :
 For they haue grug'd vs Contribution. 235
 The Enemy, marching along by them,
 By them shall make a fuller number vp,
 Come on refresht, new added, and encourag'd :
 From which aduantage shall we cut him off.
 If at *Philippi* we do face him there, 240

235. *grug'd*] *grudg'd* F₃F₄.

238. *new added*] Ff, Rowe, +. *new*
aided Sing. ii, Ktly. *new-aided* Jyce,
 Hal. Huds. *new-hearted* Coll. ii, iii.
 (MS), Craik. *new-added* Cap. et cet.

239. *shall we*] *we shall* Craik conj.

off] Ff. *off* Cam. *off*, Rowe
 et cet.

240. *him there*] *him, there* Theob.
 conj. (Nichols, ii, 497), withdrawn.

220, 230. *his . . . his . . . himselfe*] Here and in l. 230, below, 'enemy' is taken collectively as a singular noun; it is not, however, always so; in V, i, 18 we have 'The enemy comes on in gallant show, Their bloody sign of battle is lunged out.'—ED.

238. *new added*] COLLIER'S MS here reads *new-hearted*, upon which he remarks (*Notes*, etc., p. 428): 'This error might be occasioned by the then broad pronunciation of "added" having been mistaken for *hearted*.'—CRAIK (p. 352): The only meaning that can be forced out of 'new-added' gives us merely a repetition of what has been already said in the preceding line, a repetition which is not only unnecessary, but would be introduced in the most unnatural way and place possible; whereas [the MS correction] *new-hearted* is the very sort of word one would expect to find where it stands, in association with 'refreshed' and 'encouraged.'—COLLIER (ed. ii): 'New-aided,' which is Dyce's emendation [see *Text. Notes*], is only saying the same thing over again that appears in l. 237. *New-hearted* is a strong and expressive compound. [Collier then quotes the last sentence of Craik's note commending this emendation.]—DYCE, in defence of his conjecture (which also had occurred to SINGER), in his second edition thus replies: "'Hearted" bears not the most distant resemblance, either in spelling or in sound, to the original word "added"; from which the word substituted by me, *aided*, differs only in a single letter. Collier declares that *new-aided* is only saying the same thing over again [as in l. 237]; but how came it to escape him that "*new-hearted* and *encouraged*" are *synonymous terms*?—"TO HEART: To encourage; to hearten."—Todd's *Johnson*. Craik's note would seem to show that he was not aware of my conjecture, *new-aided*; though the reader would be apt to judge, from what Collier says, that it was known to Craik, and had been condemned by him; in which case, let me add (without any disrespect to Craik), I should not have thought the worse of it.'

These people at our backe.

241

Cassi. Heare me good Brother.

Bru. Vnder your pardon. You must note beside,
That we haue tride the vtmost of our Friends :

Our Legions are brim full, our cause is ripe, 245

The Enemy encreaseth euery day,
We at the height, are readie to decline.

There is a Tide in the affayres of men,
Which taken at the Flood, leades on to Fortune :

Omitted, all the voyage of their life, 250

Is bound in Shallowes, and in Miferies.

246. *encreaseth*] *increasing* Ed. conj.

248-254. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

248, 249. There is a Tide . . . leades on to Fortune] STEEVENS and BOSWELL quote, as parallel in sentiment, passages from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country*, II, iii, and *Bloody Brother*, II, i.—MALONE likewise from Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, I, i. (ed. Pearson, p. 10).—These are all only paraphrases of the axiom that Opportunity once lost is irretrievable. The observation is not, I think, original with Shakespeare, or Bacon, or Beaumont and Fletcher, or Chapman.—ED.]—WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 248) compares, for a like intermingling of the simile with the thing compared, V, iii, 68-71.—GREEN (p. 258): From at least four distinct sources in the Emblem-books of the sixteenth century Shakespeare might have derived the characteristics of the goddess [Occasion, or Opportunity]: from Alciat, Perriere, Corrozet, and Whitney. Perriere (*Theatre de Bons Engins*, 1539) presents the figure with stanzas of old French, [which] may be accepted as a translation of the Latin of Alciat, on the goddess Opportunity; . . . she is portrayed standing on a wheel that is floating upon the waves; and as the tide rises there are apparently ships or boats making for the shore. The figure holds a razor in the right hand, has wings upon the feet, and abundance of hair streaming from the forehead. Whitney's English lines (p. 181) sufficiently express the meaning both of the French and of the Latin stanzas. [It is to these which Green refers as 'an exact comment' on the present passage in *Jul. Cæs.*: 'Why doest thou stande within an open place? That I maye warne all people not to staye, But at the firste, occasion to imbrace, And when shee comes to meete her by the waye.' 'There is,' adds Green, "'the full sea," on which Fortune is now afloat; and people are all warned, "at the first occasion to embrace," or "take the current when it serves."'—WRIGHT: Compare Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, [1605]: 'In the third place I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath; which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play an after game of reputation.'—Bk, ii, ch. 23, § 38; (Clarendon ed., p. 243).

251. bound in Shallowes] VERITY: That is, *confined to shallows*, etc.—MARK HUNTER: There seems to be here some confusion between the adjective *bound*, ready to go, as in *homeward bound*, *bound for Naples*, and the past participle of *bind*.—[Hunter is, perhaps, right; but the simpler explanation seems the better, that 'bound in' here means *circumscribed* by shallows and miseries.—ED.]

On such a full Sea are we now a-float, 252
 And we must take the current when it serues,
 Or loofe our Ventures.

Cass. Then with your will go on: wee'l along 255
 Our selues, and meet them at *Philippi*.

Bru. The deepe of night is crept vpon our talke,
 And Nature must obey Necessitie,
 Which we will niggard with a little rest:
 There is no more to say. 260

Cass. No more, good night,
 Early to morrow will we rise, and hence. 263
Enter Lucius.

255, 256. *Then...Philippi*] Lines end: 260. *say.] say?* Cap. et seq.
 on...*Philippi* Cap. et seq. 262. *will we] we will* Rowe ii, Pope,
 255. *wee'l along] we will along* Rowe, Han.
 +, Varr. Coll. Wh. *we'll on* Cap.

255. *Then with your will go on*] GOLL (p. 71): In the discussion of the plan of campaign Brutus is again victorious with his unfortunate scheme, because he dictatorially closes the mouth of Cassius. Is it a proof that Brutus is only an indifferent commander, possessed of small intelligence, that he seems to be so mistaken as to the conditions? It might seem so, because this time his reasons for fighting at Philippi rather than at Sardis cannot possibly be ethical. And yet the correct explanation is another one. Brutus is tired to death of the whole string of events which are so ill-suited to his disposition that from amongst all his shattered hopes one wish only remains—to bring the whole business to an end. On that account Brutus wishes to advance; the only advantage of his plan being that the battle will be expedited—Philippi is, therefore, better than Sardis. He seeks the judgment for his actions which alone can give him peace and rest. Now, as before, the interim between thought and action is like a 'hideous dream,' which must be cut as short as possible. After all, judgment cannot be evaded. Let it come!

256. *Our selues*] This use of 'ourselves' seems to imply a separation of the forces, that is: Go forward according to *your* desire, and *we* ourselves will go to Philippi. This is, of course, not what Cassius intends; therefore the word is used, I think, in contradistinction to the 'himself' referring to the enemy in l. 230: 'doing himself offence.'—ED.

259. *niggard*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 2.): To supply sparingly.—[The present line quoted, as the only example of this word used in exactly this sense. *Niggarding* occurs, used intransitively, in *Sonnet* i, l. 12: 'And, tender churl, makes waste in niggarding.'—CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 2.) quotes the present line as the only example, thus far found, of 'niggard' used transitively.—ED.]

262. *Early to morrow . . . hence*] MARK HUNTER: Notice how absolutely unnecessary all this haste would be—the few hours snatched for sleep, the early forced march—if the armies were still at Sardis. [See note, ll. 223, 224.]

262. *will we . . . hence*] CRAIK (p. 354): It might almost be said that the adverb 'hence' is here turned into a verb; it is construed exactly as 'rise' is. So both with 'hence' and *home* in I, i, 7.

Bru. *Lucius* my Gowne: farewell good *Messala*,
 Good night *Titinius* : Noble, Noble *Cassius*, 265
 Good night, and good repose.

Cass. O my deere Brother :
 This was an ill beginning of the night :
 Neuer come such diuision 'twene our foules :
 Let it not *Brutus*. 270

Enter Lucius with the Gowne.

Brn. Euery thing is well.

Cass. Good night my Lord.

Bru. Good night good Brother.

Tet. Messa. Good night Lord *Brutus*. 275

Bru. Farwell euery one. *Exeunt.*

Giue me the Gowne. Where is thy Instrument ?

Luc. Heere in the Tent.

Bru. What, thou speak'st drowfily?

Poore knaue I blame thee not, thou art ore-watch'd. 280

264. *farewell*] *now farewell* Han.
farewell now Huds. *Fare you* (or *ye*)
well Walker (Vers., p. 141).

269. *come*] *came* Rowe i.

272. *Brn.*] *F.*

273, 274. *Cass.* *Good...Brother*] *Om.*
 Pope, +.

280. *thee not*] *thee art F.* *thee F₃F₄.*

269. **Neuer come**] That is, may such difference never come. This refers, of course, to their quarrel. 'Come' is herein the optative mood.

273, 274. **Good night my Lord . . . Brother**] MARK HUNTER: The formal address, 'my Lord,' is with Cassius expressive of love, gratitude, and deep reverence. In reply, 'good *Brother*,' Brutus affectionately disclaims the title of superiority.—[Compare, perhaps, Hamlet's reply to Horatio: 'Sir, my good friend, I'll change that name with you,' when Horatio has called himself Hamlet's 'poor servant.'—I, ii, 162.—ED.]—F. C. KOLBE (*Irish Monthly*, Sep., 1896; p. 509): It is a wonderful touch that at the end of this scene, in which Cassius has felt the strength of Brutus and been cowed by it, he calls him (for the only time in the whole play) 'my Lord.' No wonder, then, that when Brutus unfolds his plan about Philippi, Cassius, although he does not like it, gives way. Over-generosity makes Brutus forgive too much; over-admiration makes Cassius surrender his better judgment.

280. **ore-watch'd**] CRAIK (p. 354): 'O'er-watched' is used in this sense of worn-out with watching by other writers as well as by Shakespeare, however irreconcilable such an application of it may be with the meaning of the verb *to watch*. We have it again in *Lear*: 'All weary and o'er watched.'—II, ii, 177.—[Is not 'watch' here and in l. 200, 'watch your pleasure,' used in its technical sense, from the method of taming hawks by keeping them from sleep? See *Tro. & Cress.*, III, ii, 45: '—you must be watched ere you be made tame'; also *Othello*: 'I'll watch him tame.'—III, iii, 23. For other examples of active and passive verbs with neuter form, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 295.—ED.]

Call *Claudio*, and some other of my men,
He haue them sleepe on Cushions in my Tent. 281

Luc. Varrus, and *Claudio*.

Enter Varrus and Claudio.

Var. Cals my Lord? 285

Bru. I pray you sirs, lye in my Tent and sleepe,
It may be I shall raife you by and by
On businesse to my Brother *Cassius*.

Var. So please you, we will stand,
And watch your plesoure. 290

Bru. I will it not haue it so : Lye downe good sirs,
It may be I shall otherwise bethinke me.
Looke *Lucius*, heere's the booke I fought for so :
I put it in the pocket of my Gowne. 294

281, 283, 284. *Claudio*] *Claudius*
Rowe et seq.

283, 284. *Varrus*] *Varro* Rowe et seq.

284. SCENE VI. Pope, Han. Warb.
Johns.

289, 290. One line Rowe.

291. *will it*] *Fi.*

292. [Servants retire and sleep. Cap.
et seq. (subs.)

281. *some other*] CRAIK (p. 354): By 'some other' we should now mean *some of a different sort*. For *some more* we say *some others*. But although 'other' thus used as a substantive, with the plural of the ordinary form, is older than the time of Shakespeare, I do not recollect that he anywhere has *others*. Nor does it occur, I believe, even in Clarendon. On the other hand, it is frequent in Milton.—[The plural form, 'others,' occurs in three passages in Shakespeare, viz.: 'With eyes as red as new-kindled fire, And others more.'—*King John*, IV, ii, 164; 'What is it they do When they change us for others?'—*Othello*, IV, iii, 98; and '—the greatest are misthought, For things that others do.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, V, ii, 178.—ED.]

283. *Varrus*] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 323), among other examples wherein the letter *r*, both in proper names and in some other words, is doubled, cites the present passage, and says: '*Varrus* . . . —vulg. *Varro*,—is, if this form be the right one, *Varus*; of course, not *the Varus*. I rather think, however, that *Varro* is the true reading.'—[See *Text. Notes*.]

287. *raise*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 4.): To rouse, to stir up, to awake, to make to rise.

290. *watch your pleasure*] That is, stay awake during your pleasure, or as long as you so will it. (Compare l. 280, and note.)

293, 294. *Looke Lucius* . . . *the pocket of my Gowne*] HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 235): What the man is, and where he ought to be, is all signified in these two lines. And do we not taste a dash of benignant irony in the implied repugnance between the spirit of the man and the stuff of his present undertaking? The idea of a bookworm riding the whirlwind of war! The thing is most like Brutus; but how out of his element, how unsphered from his right place, it shows him! There is a touch of drollery in the contrast which the richest steeping of poetry does not disguise. I fancy the Poet to have been in a bland, intellectual smile as he wrote

Luc. I was fure your Lordship did not giue it me. 295

Bru. Beare with me good Boy, I am much forgetfull.

Canst thou hold vp thy heauie eyes a-while,
And touch thy Instrument a straine or two.

Luc. I my Lord, an't please you.

Bru. It does my Boy : 300

I trouble thee too much, but thou art willing.

Luc. It is my duty Sir.

Brut. I should not vrge thy duty past thy might,
I know yong bloods looke for a time of rest.

Luc. I haue slept my Lord already. 305

Bru. It was well done, and thou shalt sleepe againe:

I will not hold thee long. If I do liue,

I will be good to thee.

Musicke and a Song. 309

297, 298. *thy...a-while,...thy...or two* (Crit., iii, 248).
thy...or two, thy...a-while Ff. 300. *Musicke...Song.*] Musick...Song:
300-302. *It does...my duty Sir*] Two toward the End, Lucius falls asleep.
lines, ending: *much...duty Sir.* Walker Cap. Jen.

that strain of loving earnestness in which the matter is delivered. And the irony is all the more delectable for being so remote and unpronounced; like one of those choice arrangements in the background of a painting, which, without attracting conscious notice, give a zest and relish to what stands in front. The scene, whether for charm of sentiment or felicity of conception, is one of the finest in Shakespeare. Here, too, he had a hint from Plutarch: '—whilst he [Brutus] was in war, . . . after he had taken order [for his weightiest causes], if he had any leisure left him, he would read some book till the third watch of the night, at what time the captains, petty captains, and colonels did use to come to him.'—[*Brutus*, § 26; ed. Skeat, p. 136.]—MACMILLAN: The conversation between Brutus and his attendant may be compared with that between Desdemona and her attendant, Bianca [Emilia?], which has a similar position in the end of the Fourth Act of *Othello*. Both scenes are pervaded with a feeling of drowsiness and peaceful tranquillity, which agreeably relieves the strain to which our feelings are subjected by the highly-wrought scene that has gone before, and by the tragic conclusion of the drama which we know to be imminent. In both cases the ease and natural simplicity of the conversation conceal the dramatist's consummate art.

295. *I was*] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 204) quotes this line among many other examples wherein '*thou wert, you were*,' "*I was*" must have been pronounced [for the sake of the metre] as one syllable, in whatever manner the contraction was affected.'

297, 298. *Canst thou . . . a straine or two*] STAFFER (p. 342): Brutus asks Lucius for a little music, which he loved, and even this detail has its significance when contrasted with the brief remark made by Cæsar respecting Cassius: 'he hears no music.'

This is a sleepey Tune : O Murd'rous slumbler ! 310
 Layest thou thy Leaden Mace vpon my Boy,
 That playes thee Muficke ? Gentle knaue good night :
 I will not do thee so much wrong to wake thee :
 If thou do'st nod, thou break'st thy Instrument.
 Ile take it from thee, and (good Boy) good night. 315
 Let me see, let me see; is not the Leafe turn'd downe
 Where I left reading ? Heere it is I thinke.

Enter the Ghost of Cæsar. 318

310. *slumbler*] *slumber* F₃F₄. *me see* Pope. *let me see*—Theob.+.
 315. [Lays the instrument by, and *let's see* Steev. conj.
 sits down. Cap. Jen. 317. [He sits down to read. Rowe,+,
 316. *Let me see,*] But Pope,+ (-Var. Varr. Ran.
 '73). *Let's see* Steev. conj. SCENE VII, Pope, Han. Warb.
let me see;] *let me see?* Ff. *let* Johns.

310, 311. Murd'rous slumbler . . . thy Leaden Mace] HOLT WHITE compares Spenser, *Faerie Queene*: 'When as Morpheus had with leaden mase Arrested all that courtly company.'—I, iv, 44.—MARK HUNTER: The metaphor is from the bailiff touching persons on the shoulder with his mace or staff, in token of arrest.

313. I will not . . . to wake thee] Compare, for this construction, 'Be not fond To thinke that Cæsar beares such rebell blood.'—III, i, 48.

314. thou break'st] ABBOTT (§ 363): The subjunctive is replaced by the indicative after *if* where there is no reference to futurity and no doubt is expressed, as in 'if thou lovest me.' [In the present line] the meaning is *you are sure to break*, and the present indicative, being used in the consequent, is also used in the antecedent.

317. Heere it is I thinke] MACCALLUM (p. 268): Brutus's habit of reading at night is mentioned by Plutarch, but, when we consider the circumstances, has it not a deeper meaning here? His love for Portia we know, but after his brief references to her death, he seems to banish her from his mind, and never, not even in his dying words, does her name cross his lips again. Is this an inadvertence on Shakespeare's part, or an omission due to the kinship of *Jul. Cæs.* with the Chronicle History? Is it not rather that he conceives Brutus as one of those who are so bound up in their affections that they fear to face a thought of their bereavement lest they should utterly collapse? Is it fanciful to interpret that search for his book with the leaf turned down, in the light of Macaulay's confession on the death of his sister, 'Literature has saved my life and my reason; even now I dare not, in the intervals of business, remain alone a minute without a book'?—[MORLEY (*On Popular Culture*) observes, not, however, with any reference to the present passage, 'Montesquieu used to say that he had never known a pain or a distress which he could not soothe by half an hour of a good book.'—(*Miscellanies*, iii, 5).—This is, I think, a translation of a sentence in the *Portrait de Montesquieu, par Lui Meme*: 'L'étude a été pour moi le souverain remède contre les dégouts de la vie, n'ayant jamais eu de chagrin qu'une heure de lecture n'ait dissipé.'—(*Œuvres Posthume*, p. 134).—ED.]

318. Enter the Ghost of Cæsar] STEEVENS: It does not appear from Plutarch that 'the Ghost of Cæsar' appeared to Brutus, but 'a wonderful strange

[318. Enter the Ghost of Cæsar]

and monstrous shape of a body.' This apparition could not be at once the *shade* of Cæsar and the 'evil genius' of Brutus. 'Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him, I am thy evil spirit, Brutus; and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes.'—[*Brutus*, § 26; ed. Skeat, p. 136.—Steevens cites Valerius Maximus, *Acts and Sayings*, etc., which passage is thus translated in Speed's edition, 1684: 'Antonius, having lost the battle of Actium, Cassius Parmensis, who had taken his part, fled to Athens; where he fell asleep in the night, being tired with care and trouble: He thought there came to him a person of a very great stature, black complexion, his beard deformed, and long hanging hair, who, being ask'd what he was, answer'd, Cacodemon. Being affrighted with so horrid a sight, and terrible name, he called up his servants, and demanded of them if they saw any one in such a habit either come in or go out of the chamber: Who affirming that no such had come there, he again betook himself to his rest; when immediately the same shape appeared to him again; when awaking altogether, he called for a light, commanding the servants to depart. But between this night and the loss of his head, which Cæsar took from him, there followed a very short space of time.'—Bk, I, ch. vii, § 7.—Valerius Maximus also relates how the figure of Cæsar, 'above mortal stature clad in a purple robe, and an angry countenance,' appeared to Cassius at the battle of Philippi. 'At which sight affrighted he fled, having first heard these words uttered, *What wouldst thou do more, if it be too little to have kill'd? Didst thou not murder Cæsar O Cassius? But no deity can be prevail'd against; therefore by injuring him whose mortal body still burns, thou hast deserv'd to have a god so much thy enemy.*'—(Bk, I, ch. viii, § 8; ed. Speed, p. 45).—ED.]—MALONE: Shakespeare had also certainly read Plutarch's account of this vision in the *Life of Cæsar*: 'Above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus showed plainly that the gods were offended with the murder of Cæsar. The vision was thus: . . . He thought he heard a noise at his tent-door, and looking towards *the light of the lamp that waxed very dim*, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness and dreadful look, which at first made him marvelously afraid.'—[*Cæsar*, § 46; ed. Skeat, p. 103]. It is manifest from the words printed in italics that Shakespeare had in his thoughts this passage, which relates the very event which he describes, as well as the other.—[This incident is related also by Appian, *Civil Wars*, Bk, IV, ch. xvii, § 134; and, as the translator and editor, Horace White, points out, Appian has apparently copied the words of Plutarch in the reply of the Spectre: 'Ο σὸς, ὡ βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός.'—ED.]—CRAIK (p. 356): By 'evil spirit' apparently is meant nothing more than a supernatural visitant of evil omen. At any rate, the present apparition is afterwards distinctly stated by Brutus himself to have been the ghost of the murdered dictator, V, v, 23. So also, in *Ant. & Cleo.*, 'Since Julius Cæsar, Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted.'—II, vi, 12. Perhaps we might refer also to 'O Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet, Thy spirit walks abroad.'—V, iii, 106. And to 'Cæsar's spirit, ranging for revenge.'—III, i, 300.—DOWDEN (p. 288): The Ghost of Cæsar (designated by Plutarch only the 'evil spirit' of Brutus) serves as a kind of visible symbol of the vast posthumous power of the dictator.—BEECHING (*Introd.*, p. xvii.): Tragedy has always made great use of Ghosts. This is necessary as the only means of representing what is eternal in man after death; it also helps to supply the place of what is impossible for us, the direct presentation of Destiny. Where murder has been committed, it is at once

How ill this Taper burnes. Ha! Who comes heere?

I thinke it is the weakenesse of mine eyes

320

That shapeth this monstrous Apparition.

It comes vpon me: Art thou any thing?

Art thou some God, some Angell, or some Diuell,

323

the simplest and most telling way of suggesting retribution. Thus Banquo appears to Macbeth; a company of Ghosts, to Richard, Cæsar, to Brutus. This last instance is especially effective. Brutus had said: 'Oh that we then could come by Cæsar's spirit, And not dismember Cæsar.'—II, i, 190. But in the event what happened was this, that all they did was to 'dismember Cæsar'; they could not 'come by his spirit'; that survived the butchery and asserted itself at the battle of Philippi. What an effective way, then, of exhibiting the unconscious irony of that speech, and showing the terrible blunder of the whole conspiracy, to write the stage direction, '*Enter the Ghost of Cæsar.*'—MACCALLUM (p. 269): The Brutus of the play breathes no word of the visitation, though it is repeated at Philippi, till a few minutes before his death, and then in all composure as a proof that the end is near, not as a horror from which he seeks deliverance. . . . When he has taken heart the spectre vanishes. This means, too, that it has a closer connection with his nerves, with his subjective fears and misgivings, than the 'monstrous shape' in Plutarch. . . . All day the mischievousness of his intervention has been present to his mind; now his accusing thoughts take shape in the vision of his murdered friend, and his vague presentiments of retribution at Philippi leap to consciousness in its prophetic words. But all this does not abash his soul or shake his purpose. He only hastens the morning march.—OECHELHAUSER (*Einführungen*, i, 324) says that in order to make his apparition effective the following arrangement of the lights is necessary: 'Before the appearance of the Ghost in the darkness of the background the lamp hanging from the centre of the tent is slowly extinguished; house and stage are plunged in darkness; only the single candle on Brutus's table throws its feeble light into the gloom. The rising ghost should then be suddenly illuminated with a dull-pale light shining upon it alone; Brutus then sees it. After the last words of the ghost the illuminating light is extinguished, and the phantom vanishes; the light in the hanging lamp returns and the scene is lit as before. Any such effect as a gliding away of the Ghost is to be especially avoided.'—WINTER (*Art of Mansfield*, p. 162) commends Mansfield's arrangement of this scene, wherein, 'while the voice of Cæsar was heard the Spectre remained invisible, except to Brutus.'—[It may be asked, how then is the audience, unfamiliar with the direction of the Folio, to grasp Shakespeare's intention as to the identity of the Phantom?—ED.]

319. **How ill this Taper burnes]** STEEVENS: That lights grew dim, or burned blue, at the approach of spectres was a belief which Shakespeare might have found examples of in almost every book of his age that treats of supernatural appearances. Compare *Rich. III.*: 'The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight.'—V, iii, 180. —[By this note Steevens intends, I think, to demonstrate that Shakespeare need not have relied solely upon Plutarch for this detail, as suggested by Malone in the foregoing note. Under the line from *Rich. III.* Steevens quotes: '—my mother would often tell mee when the candle burnt blew, there was some ill Spirit in the house.'—*Galathea*, II, iii, 63.—ED.]

That mak'ft my blood cold, and my haire to stare?

Speake to me, what thou art.

325

Ghost. Thy euill Spirit *Brutus*?

Bru. Why com'ft thou?

Ghost. To tell thee thou shalt see me at *Philippi*.

Brut. Well: then I shall see thee againe?

Ghost. I, at *Philippi*.

330

Brut. Why I will see thee at *Philippi* then:

Now I haue taken heart, thou vanishest.

Ill Spirit, I would hold more talke with thee.

333

326. Brutus?] Brutus F.
F₃F₄.

329. *Well: then...again?* Well—
then...again— Rowe. Then...again—
Pope,+. Then ... again as one line
Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce.

330. [Exit Ghost. Rowe,+. Vanishes. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

332, 333. *vanishest. Ill Spirit,*] *vanishest, Ill spirit;* Rowe.

333. *Ill* Ed. conj.

324. **stare**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 1.): To be stiff, to stand on end.—SKEAT (*Dict.*, s. v. 1.): A weak verb, from a Teutonic type *Stara*, adjective *fixed*; appearing in German, *starr*, stiff, inflexible, fixed. [The present line quoted. Compare also: 'With hair up-staring,—then like reeds, not hair.'—*Tempest*, I, ii, 213.]

325. **Speake to me**] That is, communicate, report. Compare: 'Speak your griefs softly.'—IV, ii, 50, above.

326. **Thy euill Spirit**] GOLL (p. 73): What does this imply? It means that Brutus has lived on a fallacy. He had not the right to kill Cæsar into which he reasoned himself. He has not acted rightly in putting his ideals above all human considerations. His theory was wrong. He is not the great citizen he imagined himself. He has chased phantoms; and, during the chase, he has trampled all true humanity under foot, violated the noblest human qualities: goodness, pity, gratitude, love. He is, in spite of all, a murderer, and must suffer the fate of a murderer. This, then, is the judgment on Brutus, the judgment of humanity, of society, according to the objective measure of justice. . . . To this judgment Brutus must answer, and humanity, society, history declare him guilty—Cæsar passes sentence of death upon Cæsar's murderer.

331. **Why**] That is, *in that case, that being so*. Compare: 'Why farewell Portia,' l. 217, above.

332. **Now I haue taken heart**] HUDSON: This strongly, though quietly, marks the Ghost as *subjective*; as soon as Brutus recovers his firmness, the illusion is broken. The order of things is highly judicious here, in bringing the 'horrible vision' upon Brutus just after he has heard of Portia's shocking death. With that great sorrow upon him he might well see ghosts. The thickening of calamities upon him, as the consequences of his stabbing exploit, naturally awakens remorse.—VERITY, in reference to the foregoing note, says: 'I suppose that many who adopt this view do so from a vague desire to clear Shakespeare of the suspicion that he himself "believed in ghosts." But the theory will not explain all the instances of apparitions in Shakespeare. . . . No theory of "subjectivity" (to use a tiresome word) will account for so emphatic an apparition [as the Ghost in *Hamlet*];

Boy, *Lucius*, *Varrus*, *Claudio*, *Sirs* : Awake :

Claudio.

335

Luc. The strings my Lord, are false.

Bru. He thinks he still is at his Instrument.

Lucius, awake.

Luc. My Lord.

Bru. Did'st thou dreame *Lucus*, that thou so cryedst
out?

Luc. My Lord, I do not know that I did cry.

Bru. Yes that thou did'st : Did'st thou see any thing ?

Luc. Nothing my Lord.

Bru. Sleepe againe *Lucius* : Sirra *Claudio*, Fellow,
Thou : Awake.

Var. My Lord.

Clæu. My Lord.

Bru. Why did you so cry out firs, in your sleepe ?

Both. Did we my Lord ?

Bru. I : saw you any thing ?

Var. No my Lord, I saw nothing.

Clau. Nor I my Lord.

Bru. Go, and commend me to my Brother *Cassius* :

Bid him fet on his Powres betimes before,

And we will follow.

Both. It shall be done my Lord. *Exeunt* 357

334, 335. *Varrus*, *Claudio*...*Claudio*
Varro, *Claudius*...*Claudius* Rowe et
seq.

337. *still is*] *is still* F₄, Rowe i, Theob.
ii, Warb. Johns. Var. '73.

340. *Lucus*] F₁.

345. *Claudio*] *Claudius* Rowe et seq.

345, 346. *Fellow*...*Awake*] One line
Cap. et seq.

346. *Thou*] *Varro* Warb. Theob.
Han.

348. *Clæu*] F₁.

350. *Both*] *Var*. *Clau*. *Capell* et seq.

355. *Powres*] *powers* F₃F₄.

nor, surely, do we require any such theory. Shakespeare uses the supernatural as one of the legitimate devices of dramatic art. It is part of the original story of Cæsar and Brutus, and he retains it for dramatic effect.' [See also, in this connection, note by Beeching, l. 318, above.—For a similar example of an effort of will overcoming an hallucination, compare Macbeth's exclamation on the disappearance of the Ghost of Banquo: 'Why, so: being gone I am a man again.'—III, iv, 107.—ED.]

346. *Thou : Awake*] *WARBURTON*: The accent is so unmusical and harsh, 'tis impossible the poet could begin his verse thus. Brutus certainly was intended to speak to both his other men; who both awake and answer at an instant.

357. *Exeunt*] In Bell's edition (1773) after this stage-direction the following lines are given to Brutus: 'Sure they have raised some devil to their aid: And think to

[357. Exeunt]

frighten Brutus with a shade; But ere the night closes this fatal day I'll send more ghosts, this visit to repay.'—In a foot-note F. GENTLEMAN remarks: 'As these four uncharacteristic, bouncing lines are used in representation, by way of sending the actor off with a flourish, we insert them; though very disgraceful to Brutus and Shakespeare: we have seen the Ghost introduced a second time; but such an addition is insufferable ignorance.'—In Mrs Inchbald's edition (1808) these lines also appear, but are made to follow 'Ill spirit I would hold more talk with thee,' l. 333, and the dialogue between Brutus and his attendants is omitted.—D. E. BAKER (*Biog. Dram.*), among the tragedies on this subject, gives: 'THE TRAGEDY OF JULIUS CÆSAR, with the Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, written originally by Shakespeare; altered by Sir William Davenant and John Dryden. Acted at Drury Lane, 12 mo., 1719.' 'This seems,' says Baker, 'to be a publication of the play-house copy, with alterations for the stage, which perhaps were traditionally ascribed to Davenant and Dryden; how truly, let any person determine, after reading the following ridiculous rant which is added at the close of the Fourth Act, and was spoken by Mr Walker when he performed the character of Brutus at Covent Garden Theatre.' Baker then quotes the foregoing lines as in Bell and Inchbald.—GENEST, in recording the above-mentioned performance by Walker, January 31, 1766, says in reference to the origin of these unfortunate lines: 'It being generally known that Davenant and Dryden had joined in mangling Shakespeare's *Tempest*, some person seems to have attributed the alteration of *Jul. Cæs.* to them for that reason, and that alone—it is, however, morally certain that Davenant never assisted in altering *Jul. Cæs.*—that being one of the plays assigned to Killigrew, and which, consequently, Davenant could not act at his own theatre—about 1682 *Jul. Cæs.* was printed as acted at the Royal Theatre—in this edition there is not the slightest foundation of the above quoted lines—it is, therefore, clear that this interpolation was not received into that sink of corruption—the Prompt-Book—for such it is with regard to Shakespeare—till after 1682.'—H. FISCHER (*Anglia*, bd, viii, heft iii, 1885, p. 416) discusses the question of collaboration in an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.* by Davenant and Dryden. He agrees with Genest and Baker that evidences of such a joint work are too slight to be of any value. Fischer lays stress upon the fact that the 1719 ed. of *Jul. Cæs.* was issued under the name of W. Chetwood, who was prompter at Drury Lane when this version was produced. 'That no contemporaries refer to this work,' he concludes, 'points to the fact that every assertion as to the existence of an adaptation of *Jul. Cæs.* by Davenant and Dryden rests upon the title-page of this copy of 1719, which, perhaps, Chetwood for some unknown purpose provided with the names of the two poets.'—[Thus, even as Omar, we come out by the same door as in we went, and receive no answer to the question: Who wrote those 'bouncing lines'? Let the galled jades wince; Shakespeare's withers are unwrung!—Ed.]

Actus Quintus.

1

[*Scène I.*]*Enter Octavius, Antony, and their Army.*

Octa. Now Antony, our hopes are answered,
 You said the Enemy would not come downe,
 But keepe the Hilles and vpper Regions :
 It proues not so : their battailes are at hand,
 They meane to warne vs at *Philippi* heere :
 Answering before we do demand of them.

5

Ant. Tut I am in their bosomes, and I know
 Wherefore they do it : They could be content

10

1. Actus Quintus] Act V, Scene 1.
 Rowe.

Cap. et seq.

The Fields of Philippi, with the two
 Camps. Rowe. The Plains of Philippi.

7. warne] *wage* Han. *wait* Mason
 (Com., p. 278).

1. Actus Quintus] OECHELHAUSER (*Einführungen*, i, 235) and SCHLEGEL (as quoted in *Jahrbuch*, vii, 55) recommend that this Act be played not with the five short scenes as here, but with two. Thus: After this scene between Octavius and Antony, which may be acted as a front scene representing a landscape with the tent visible, the rest of the Act may be set to the full depth of the stage. After the death of Cassius and Titinius their bodies are to be carried out; Brutus after his suicide will remain, of course, in the centre of the stage until the fall of the curtain.

3. our hopes are answered] That is, what we hoped for has taken place.

5. keepe] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. II. 33): To stay or remain in, on, or at (a place); not to leave; especially in to *keep one's bed*, to *keep the house*.

5. the Hilles and vpper Regions] Appian (*Civil Wars*; Bk, IV, ch. xiii, § 105) gives the following description of this locality: 'Philippi . . . is situated on a precipitous hill, and its size is exactly that of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapæan and Corpilæans, and on the west, a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus, and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. . . . The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.'—Ed.

6. battailes] That is, one of the divisions of their army. Compare: 'The French are bravely in their battles set.'—*Ilen. V*: IV, iii, 69.

7. warne] That is, *summon*. SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 3) gives several examples of this use of this word.

9. I am in their bosomes] That is, I understand their inmost thoughts. Compare Regan's speech to Oswald, in regard to Goneril: 'I know you are of her bosom.'—*Lear*, IV, v, 26.—Ed.

To visit other places, and come downe 11
 With fearefull brauery : thinking by this face
 To fasten in our thoughts that they haue Courage ;
 But 'tis not so.

Enter a Messenger. 15

Mef. Prepare you Generals,
 The Enemy comes on in gallant shew :
 Their bloody signe of Battell is hung out,
 And something to be done immediately.

Ant. *Octavius*, leade your Battaile softly on 20

11, 12. *places, and...brauery:] places;* 19. *something]* *something's* Han.
and...brauery, Pope et seq. Wh. i.

12. *fearefull brauery]* MALONE: That is, with a gallant show of courage, carrying with it terror and dismay. 'Fearful' is here used in an active sense—*producing fear, intimidating*.—STEEVENS compares, for an interpretation more just than Malone's, Sidney, *Arcadia*: '—her horse, faire & lustie, which she rid so, as might shew a fearefull boldnes, daring to doo that, which she knew that she knew not how to doo.'—Bk, ii, [ch. 22; ed. i, p. 200 verso].—To the same effect CRAIK (p. 360), who takes 'fearful bravery' for bravery in show or appearance, which yet is full of real fear or apprehension.—WRIGHT accepts Malone's explanation of 'fearful,' and for 'bravery' in the sense of *bravado* compares *Hamlet*: '—the bravery of his grief did put me Into a towering passion.'—V, ii, 79. He also shows that Shakespeare is here following Plutarch: '—for bravery and rich furniture, Brutus's army far excelled Cæsar's.'—*Brutus*, § 27; (ed. Skeat, p. 137).

18. *Their bloody signe of Battell]* 'The next morning by break of day, the signal of battle was set out in Brutus' and Cassius' camp, which was an arming scarlet coat.'—Plutarch: *Brutus*, § 27; ed. Skeat, p. 130.—MARK HUNTER says, 'This was the well-known Roman signal of battle'; and quotes Plutarch, *Life of Fabius*: 'It was no sooner day, but he [Varro] set up the scarlet coat flying over his tent, which was the signal of battle.' [ed. Clough, i, 390].—ANDREWS (*Latin-English Lex.*, s. v. *Sagum*): *A coarse woollen blanket, or mantle* of servants; but most frequently of soldiers, *a military cloak*. Hence *saga* is a sign of war, as *toga* is a sign of peace in the phrases: *saga sumere*, *To put on the saga*, i. e., to take up arms, prepare for battle. It was the custom for all Romans to do this, in token of preparation for war, even those who were not going to the field, excepting persons of consular rank. [From the foregoing it is not, I think, difficult to trace the origin of the custom referred to in the present line. The scarlet military cloak would thus symbolise a battle. There is, perhaps, a reminiscence of this in *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, 1600: 'Sound trumpets, let our bloudie colours waue, And either victorie or else a grave.'—II, iii, 66. In Chapman's *Cæsar & Pompey*, Cæsar before Pharsalia says: 'Hang out of my tent My crim-sine coat of Armes, to give my souldiers That ever sure sign of resolv'd for fight.'—Act III. (p. 164, ed. Pearson). For a survival of this military signal, P. SIMPSON (*N. & Qu.*, 3 March, 1900, p. 164) compares: 'The twelfth day came news the Hollanders were in sight, and out went their bloody colours at the fort.'—*Last East Indian Voyage* (London, 1606: Hakluyt Soc. reprint, p. 44).—ED.]

Vpon the left hand of the euen Field.

21

Octa. Vpon the right hand I, keepe thou the left.

Ant. Why do you crosse me in this exigent.

Octa I do not crosse you : but I will do so. *March.* 24

21. *euen*] *cuil* F₄.

22. *thou*] *you* Ritson.

23. *exigent.*] *exigent?* F₂F₄.

24. *March*] *Om.* Coll. iii.

22. **Vpon the right hand I**] **WRIGHT**: In Plutarch's account of the battle it is said that Cassius, although more experienced as a soldier, allowed Brutus to lead the right wing of the army. Shakespeare made use of this incident, but transferred to the opposite camp, in order to bring out the character of Octavius, which made Antony yield. Octavius really commanded the left wing.

22. **keepe thou**] **RITSON** (p. 145): The tenour of the conversation evidently requires us to read '*keep you*.'—**CRAIK** (p. 361). Ritson means, apparently, that *you* and *your* are the words used elsewhere throughout the conversation. But he forgets that the singular pronoun is peculiarly emphatic in this line, as being placed in contrast or opposition to the 'I.'—**WRIGHT** also objects to Ritson's proposal, since "'*thou*" gives a touch of imperiousness to Octavius's speech.'

23. **exigent**] **SCHMIDT** (*Lex.*, s. v. i.): Pressing necessity, decisive moment. [Compare *Ant. & Cleo.*: 'Thou art sworn, Eros, That, when the exigent should come, . . . Thou then wouldst kill me.'—IV, xiv, 63.]

24. **I will do so**] **DELIUS**: 'Do so' refers not to 'cross you,' but rather to the former speech of Octavius, 'Upon the right hand, I.'—[**HUDSON** also thus interprets this line.]—**ROLFE**: I take it that Octavius, instead of opposing Antony, yields to him, and does it readily, with a play upon 'cross,' 'I will cross you (in the sense of crossing over to the other side of the field)'; and with the word he does *cross* over. According to Plutarch he commanded the left wing, and this makes the play agree with the history. It is also confirmed by the context. So far from setting himself in opposition to Antony, Octavius in his very next speech asks the former whether they shall 'give sign of battle,' and when Antony says *no*, he at once accepts this decision and gives orders accordingly.—**JOICEY** (*Notes & Queries*, 25 July, 1891, p. 63): If this line or the latter part of it were made an *aside*, I think the sense would become much clearer. We may suppose that Antony would be annoyed at his line of action being interfered with at this critical moment, and that he would, therefore, utter l. 23 with sharpness enough to anger Octavius. The latter, knowing that his success was dependent on Antony's soldiership, would check any bitter retort, and acquiesce either in silence (in which case the *aside* is equal to 'I do not cross you now, but I will do so hereafter') or with the words 'I do not cross you' (I submit to your leadership), and as he turned he would say, 'but I will do so,' *aside*. The *aside* will then forecast the quarrel that was shortly to come between them.—**VERITY**: 'Do so' is here probably equivalent to I will do as you wish.—**MARK HUNTER**: The conjunction 'but' is against this view. [Octavius means] I do not seek to thwart you, but I shall do as I please.—**TOLMAN**: Here we get a most skilful anticipatory glimpse of the coming struggle between Octavius and Antony. . . . The fact that Octavius had command of the left wing of the army, of himself and Antony, is not brought out in the play, and it would be unlike Shakespeare to give us no indication of the coming strife between Octavius and Antony. [This last sentence is Tolman's objection to Rolfe's interpretation.—**ED.**]—**HERFORD**: Octavius means that he does not differ

- Drum. Enter Brutus, Cassius, & their Army.* 25
Bru. They stand, and would haue parley.
Cass. Stand fast *Titinius*, we must out and talke.
Octa. *Mark Antony*, shall we giue signe of Battaile?
Ant. No *Cæsar*, we will answer on their Charge.
 Make forth, the Generals would haue some words. 30
Oct. Stirre not vntill the Signall.
Bru. Words before blowes : is it so Countrymen?
Octa. Not that we loue words better, as you do.
Bru. Good words are better then bad strokes *Octavius*.
An. In your bad strokes *Brutus*, you giue good words 35
 Witnesse the hole you made in *Cæsars* heart,
 Crying long liue, Haile *Cæsar*.
Cass. *Antony*,
 The posture of your blowes are yet vnknowne ; 39

25. SCENE II. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

Drum...Army.] Drum...Army;
Lucilius, Titinius, Messala, and others
attending. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

39. *posture]* *puncture* Singer (N. & Qu., 10 Ap., 1858). *portents* Bulloch.
powers Herr.

are] is Coll. ii. (MS), Ktly.

for the sake of having his own way, but he will have it nevertheless. . . . Shakespeare takes no notice of the parallel incident, where Brutus begs and obtains the right wing from Cassius. . . . We cannot, therefore, assume that Shakespeare meant him to lead the right, and consequently Octavius the imperial left. There is thence no reason to forego [as suggested by Rolfe] the natural (and highly dramatic) meaning of Octavius's words.

39. *posture of your blowes]* STAUNTON: Elsewhere Shakespeare always employs 'posture' in its ordinary sense of *attitude*, *position*, &c.; but here, if not a misprint, it must be taken to mean *quality* or *composition*.—[MURRAY (N. E. D., s. v.) does not give any example of 'posture' used in the sense suggested.—Ed.]—

JOHN HUNTER: That is, The way in which *you* give blows, the attitude *you* assume when you are about to give blows, remains to be shown.—WRIGHT: That is, It is not yet known where your blows are directed.—DEIGHTON: No one has ever seen you strike a blow in combat. [VERITY also so interprets; but would Cassius even insinuate such a libel as this? Antony's prowess in arms was well known. Plutarch says: 'Now there were divers hot skirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought so valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all. . . . Cæsar . . . showed plainly what opinion he had of him when at the last battle of Pharsalia . . . he himself did lead the right wing of his army, and gave Antonius the left wing, as the valiantest man and skillfullest soldier of all those he had about him.'—*Antonius*, § 4; ed. Skeat, p. 160. May not 'posture' be taken as meaning *position?* i. e., as to whether they are to be held in high or low estimation, is unknown, as for your words we know how honey sweet they can be. This will, moreover, bring out the antithesis introduced by 'But' in the next line.—Ed.]

But for your words, they rob the *Hibla* Bees, 40
And leaue them Hony-lesse.

Ant. Not stingleffe too.

Bru. O yes, and foundleffe too :
For you haue stolne their buzzing *Antony*,
And very wisely threat before you sting. 45

Ant. Villains : you did not so, when your vile daggers
Hackt one another in the sides of *Cæsar* :
You shew'd your teethes like Apes,
And fawn'd like Hounds,
And bow'd like Bondmen, kissing *Cæsar's* feete ; 50
Whil't damned *Caska*, like a Curre, behinde
Strooke *Cæsar* on the necke. O you Flatterers. 52

40. *they*] *you* Cap.

42. *stingleffe*] *stringless* Rowe i. (misprint).

too.] *too?* Del. Perring, Ma^r mil-lan, Beeching.

43-45. *O yes ... wisely*] In margin Pope, Han.

45. *threat*] *You threat* Pope, Han.

47. *Hackt*] *Hack* F₁F₄, Rowe.

48, 49. *You...Hounds*] One line Rowe et seq.

48. *teethes*] *teeth* F₃F₄.

51. *Whil't*] *While* Coll. (monovolume).

Caska, like a Curre, behinde] Ff, Rowe, Theob. Han. Warb. *Casca, like a cur behind*, Johns. Var. '73. *Casca, like a cur, behind*, Cap. et cet.

52. *Strooke*] *Struck* F₃F₄.

52, 53. *Strooke...Flatterers?*] One line Cap. conj.

52. *O you*] *O* Pope, + (—Var. '73), Cap. Steev. Var. '03, '13. Sing. i, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

30. *are*] This is the plural by attraction. See, for other examples, if needful, ABBOTT, § 412.

40. *Hibla*] SMITH (*Classical Dict.*) says that there were three towns of this name in Sicily, and adds: 'It is doubtful from which of these three places the Hyblean honey came, so frequently mentioned by the poets.'

42. *Not Stingleffe too.*] 'With a full stop after "to," remarks DEIGHTON, 'the words can only mean, "I did not rob them of all their stings"; with the insinuation that Brutus had robbed them of some.' Deighton commends Delius's conjecture, '*too?*' (see *Text. Notes*), as an improvement in the sense, and thus continues: 'Antony would then be made to say with irony: "You surely don't mean to say that I at the same time robbed them of all their power of wounding, and kept that power for my own purposes?"'—[Deighton has, however, followed the punctuation of the Folio.—ED.]

47. *Hackt one another*] 'Then the conspirators thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand.'—Plutarch: *Brutus*, § 12; ed. Skeat, p. 119.

48. *teethes*] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 242) quotes this among many other examples wherein, apparently, a final *s* is interpolated in the Folio.

51, 52. *Caska . . . on the necke*] JOHNSON: *Casca* struck *Cæsar* on the neck, coming *like a degenerate cur behind him*. [This interpretation is, doubtless,

Cass. Flatterers? Now *Brutus* thanke your selfe, 53
This tongue had not offended so to day,
If *Cassius* might haue rul'd. 55

Octa. Come, come, the cause. If arguing make vs swet,
The prooffe of it will turne to redder drops :
Looke, I draw a Sword againt Conspirators,
When thinke you that the Sword goes vp againe ?
Neuer till *Cæsars* three and thirtie wounds 60

53. <i>Flatterers?</i>] <i>You flatterers!</i> Ktly.	Varr. Sing. Dyce, Craik, Cam.
<i>What! Flatterers!</i> Wordsworth.	Glo. +.
<i>thanke! you may thank</i> Steev.	58. <i>a Sword</i>] <i>sword</i> Walker (Crit., i,
conj.	88).
58. <i>Looke</i>] <i>Behold</i> Rowe, Pope, +	60. <i>thirtie</i>] <i>twenty</i> Theob. +, Cap.
(—Var. '73). As separate line Steev.	Jen. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Hal.

prompted by Johnson's own pointing of the passage (see *Text. Notes*); that of the Folio and also Capell make Antony say that *Casca struck Cæsar* behind, like a degenerate cur.—Ed.]

53. **Flatterers**] CAPELL (i, 113) observes that when he adopted Pope's reading, 'O Flatterers,' in the preceding line, he had not noticed that this line, 53, is 'unmetrical still, through fault of the first printer or else of his copy.' He suggests that 'Flatterers?' be printed apart, as it perfects l. 52, and what comes after as another line, 'being a three-foot hemistich.'—WALKER (*Vers.*, 135) also proposes this arrangement of the lines.—ABBOTT (§ 506) quotes the present line among examples wherein a deficiency in the metre may be supplied by 'a gesture . . . to demand attention,' as thus: 'Flatterers? (*turns to Brutus*) Now, Brutus,' etc.

54, 55. **This tongue . . . If Cassius might haue rul'd]** This refers to the reasons urged by Cassius for the assassination of Antony at the same time with Cæsar; see II, i, 175–205; also, III, i, 167.—MACMILLAN interprets, however, that: 'If the advice of Cassius had been followed, they would not have met the enemy until a later date, and Antony would have been in such a hopeless position that his language would have been more humble.'—Macmillan is here in the minority; the former interpretation being that almost universally followed.—Ed.

59. **the Sword]** Octavius draws his sword and holds it aloft. Is not '*this sword*,' therefore, more consonant than merely 'the sword.' The slight difference in sound between '*this sword*' and 'the sword' is hardly noticeable. This need not apply to the words 'the sword' in l. 62, below; there 'the sword' is sufficiently identified as that *belonging to traitors*.—Ed.

60. **three and thirtie]** On the authority of Plutarch, Appian, and Suetonius, Theobald changes 'thirtie' to *twenty*; he considers the error due to the transcriber.—RITSON observes that there is a like error in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble Gentleman*, where Cæsar's 'two and thirty wounds' are mentioned (V, i); but as the *Noble Gentleman* was not licensed until 1625 the present passage may be responsible for the words as in Fletcher's text.—Ed.

Be well aueng'd; or till another *Cæsar* 61
 Haue added slaughter to the Sword of Traitors.

Brut. *Cæsar*, thou canst not dye by Traitors hands,
 Vnlesse thou bring'st them with thee.

Octa. So I hope: 65
 I was not borne to dye on *Brutus* Sword.

Bru. O if thou wer't the Noblest of thy Straine,
 Yong-man, thou could'st not dye more honourable.

Cass. A peeuish School-boy, worthles of such Honor 69

61, 62. *another Cæsar...Sword of Traitors*] *the swords of traitors Haue to slaughter added another Cæsar.* Herr.

62. *Sword of Traitors*] *word of traitor* Coll. MS.

Traitors] *Tirators* Rowe i. (mis-

print).

63. *hands*] Om. Var. '03, '13, '21.

66. *Brutus*] *Brutus*' Pope et seq.

68. *honourable*] *honourable* Craik

conj. *honourably* Wh. i.

69. *worthles*] *worthies* Ff.

61, 62. *till another Cæsar . . . the Sword of Traitors*] STEEVENS compares: 'Or add a royal number to the dead, . . . With slaughter coupled to the name of kings.'—*King John*, II, i, 349; which does not help to explain the present passage; and beyond the fact that the words 'add' and 'slaughter' are common to both, there is but little similarity in thought.—JOHN HUNTER interprets thus: 'Until I myself, another Cæsar, fall, as another victim, by the sword of the same traitors.'

62. *Sword of Traitors*] CRAIK (p. 363): [Collier's MS correction (see *Text. Notes*)] would seem to be an admission on the part of Octavius (impossible in the circumstances) that Cassius and Brutus were as yet free from treasonable slaughter, and traitors only in word or name.—COLLIER (ed. ii.) observes that this emendation might 'reasonably be disputed'; and DYCE (ed. ii.) characterises it as 'a most unhappy alteration.'

65. *So I hope*:] DELIUS here punctuates with a comma after 'hope,' and thus interprets: 'So (in case I am not to die by traitor's hand) I hope I am not destined to die on Brutus's sword.'—P. SIMPSON (*Sh. Punctuation*, p. 67) says: 'It is the function of the colon [in the Folio] to mark an emphatic pause. Compare its use in the Prayer Book to point the Psalms for singing. Compare also: "O pardon me, thou bleeding peece of Earth: That I am meeke and gentle with these Butchers."—III, i, 284.'—[Have we not another example in this present line? Octavius, I think, says 'So I hope' slowly, while looking fixedly at Brutus; then, after a short pause, 'I was not born to die on Brutus sword.'—Ed.

67. *Straine*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. 4.): Stock, race. [Compare: 'And he is bred out of that bloody strain That haunted us in our familiar paths.'—*Hen. V*: II, iv, 51.]

69. *peeuish*] DYCE (*Gloss.*): This appears to have generally signified, during Shakespeare's days, *silly*, *foolish*, *trifling*, . . . though, no doubt, the word was formerly used to signify, as now, *pettish*, *perverse*.

69. *worthles of such Honor*] JOHN HUNTER: That is, utterly unworthy to fall by Brutus's sword.—[SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. *worthless*. 2.) gives the present line as the only example wherein Shakespeare uses this word in the sense of *undeserving*, *unworthy*.]

Ioyn'd with a Masker, and a Reueller. 70

Ant. Old *Cassius* still.

Octa. Come *Antony* : away :

Defiance Traitors, hurle we in your teeth.

If you dare fight to day, come to the Field ;

If not, when you haue stomackes. 75

Exit Octavius, Antony, and Army

Cassi. Why now blow winde, swell Billow,

And swimme Barke :

The Storme is vp, and all is on the hazard.

Bru. Ho *Lucillius*, hearken, a word with you. 80

Lucillius and Messala stand forth.

Luc. My Lord.

Cassi Messala.

Messa. What fayes my Generall ?

Cassi. *Messala*, this is my Birth-day : as this very day 85

76. SCENE III. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

77, 78. *Why now...Barke*] As one line Rowe et seq.

78. *Barke:] bark?* Wh. i.

79, 80. *The Storme...Bru. Ho*] As one line, reading: *all's on th' hazard* Walker (Vers., 76).

80. *Ho*] Om. Pope, +, Cap. As

separate line Steev. Varr. Sing. i, Dyce ii, iii.

82. [*Brutus speaks apart to Lucilius.* Rowe et seq. (subs.)

83. *Messala*] Casca Bell's edition (throughout).

85. *Messala*] As separate line Pope et seq.

as] at Ktly.

71. *Old Cassius still*] JOHN HUNTER: This is spoken like Cassius! this is Cassius as he ever used to be, viz., a choleric fellow.

72. *Come Antony : away :*] Here, I think, is another example (see l. 65, above, and note) wherein the colon is used to mark an emphatic pause, as suggested by Percy Simpson. The two colons serve almost in place of stage-directions to indicate Antony's hesitation and the impatience of Octavius.—ED.

73. *Defiance . . . hurle we*] HOLT WHITE compares Milton: 'Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.'—*Paradise Lost*, i, 660; and observes that 'hurl' is here peculiarly expressive, as that is the word commonly used by the challenger in casting down his gage of battle. [Good sentences and well pronounced; but is it peculiar in Shakespeare to choose the most 'expressive' word?—ED.]

75. *stomackes*] That is, *inclination, disposition*.

85. *Birth-day*] For this punctuation, see l. 72, above.

85. *as this very day*] WRIGHT: For 'as' used redundantly with expressions of time, compare: 'Meantime I writ to Romeo That he should hither come as this dire night.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, V, iii, 247; and, 'One Lucio As then the Messenger.'—*Meas. for Meas.*, V, i, 74. [See, also, if needful, ABBOTT, § 114.—Professor ALLEN, in a note on *Tempest*, I, ii, 70, 'as at that time,' shows by a number of examples that many such adverbial forms with 'as' prefixed or suffixed once existed in the

Was *Cassius* borne. Giue me thy hand *Messala* : 86
 Be thou my witnesse, that against my will
 (As *Pompey* was) am I compeli'd to set
 Vpon one Battell all our Liberties.
 You know, that I held *Epicurus* strong, 90
 And his Opinion : Now I change my minde,
 And partly credit things that do presage.
 Comming from *Sardis*, on our former Ensigne 93

88. *am I*] *I am* Walker (Crit., ii, '78, '85, Huds. iii. forward Coll. 247), Huds. iii. (MS).

93. *former*] *foremost* Rowe, +, Var. 93. *Ensigne*] *ensigns* Lettsom.

old colloquial language of both England and Germany. He notices particularly the expression in the Prayer-Book Collect for Christmas: 'as at this time to be born of a pure Virgin.'—(*Minutes of Sh. Soc. of Philadelphia*, 1864; p. 12).

86–89. *Giue me thy hand Messala . . . our Liberties*] 'But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that . . . after supper he took him by the hand, and, holding him fast (in token of kindness, as his manner was), told him in Greek: "Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the Great was) to jeopard the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battle."'—Plutarch: *Brutus*, § 27; ed. Skeat, p. 139.

87–90. *Be thou . . . You know*] ABBOTT (§ 234): 'Thou' is often used in statements and requests, while 'you' is used in conditional and other sentences where there is no direct appeal to the person addressed. [Compare: 'Come thou on my side and entreat for me, As you would beg were you in my distress.'—*Rich. III.*: I, iv, 273.]

88. (*As Pompey was*)] VERITY: An allusion to the campaign of 48 B. C., which ended in the battle of Pharsalia in Thessalus. Knowing that Cæsar's troops were veterans, while most of his own were inexperienced, Pompey wished to avoid a decisive battle and to wear out the enemy; but his followers were impatient, and practically forced him to fight. The complete defeat at Pharsalus was the result.

90. *I held Epicurus strong*] WRIGHT: That is, 'I was firmly attached to the doctrines of Epicurus.' 'Just before the murder of Cæsar,' says Plutarch: 'It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus), beholding the image of Pompey, . . . he did softly call upon it to aid him.'—[*Cæsar*, § 45]; ed. Skeat, p. 100. And again, when Brutus told him of the vision he had seen at Sardis: 'Cassius being in opinion an Epicurean . . . spake to him touching the vision.'—[*Brutus*, § 26]; ed. Skeat, p. 136.

92. *credit things that do presage*] HERFORD: The theory of divinations was one of the points most hotly debated between the Epicureans and Stoics. The Stoics, holding that the universe was permeated with divine influence, . . . were the staunchest upholders of the significance of omens; the Epicureans, regarding the gods as dwelling apart from the world and indifferent to its affairs, repudiated presages and explained all 'visions' as optical illusions of sense. [See Lucretius: *De Rerum*, etc., Bk, ii, ll. 644–659.—ED.]

93. *former*] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. 3.): Situated more forward; front, fore. [The present line quoted.]

Two mighty Eagles fell, and there they perch'd,
 Gorging and feeding from our Soldiers hands, 95
 Who to *Philippi* heere conforted vs :
 This Morning are they fled away, and gone,
 And in their steeds, do Rauens, Crowes, and Kites
 Fly ore our heads, and downward looke on vs
 As we were sickely prey ; their shadowes seeme 100
 A Canopy most fatall, vnder which
 Our Army lies, ready to giue vp the Ghost.
Mcffa. Beleeue not fo.
Cassi. I but beleeue it partly,
 For I am fresh of spirit, and resolu'd 105
 To meete all perils, very constantly.

98. *fleeds*] *fleeds* F₃F₄.
Rauens] *ravenous* Warb.

102. *giue vp*] *give* Pope, Theob. Han.
 Warb.
 106. *perils*] *Peril* Ff, Rowe, +.

94, 95. Two mighty Eagles . . . from our Soldiers hands] 'When they raised their camp, there came two eagles that, flying with a marvellous force, lighted upon two of the foremost ensigns, and always followed the soldiers, which gave them meat and fed them, until they came near to the city of Philippos: and there, one day only before the battle, they both flew away.'—Plutarch: *Brutus*, § 26; ed. Skeat, p. 137.

95. Gorging] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *gorge*. 1.): To fill the gorge; to feed greedily. (In early use, of a bird of prey.) [The present line quoted.]

96. consorted] That is, *accompanied, attended*.

98. Rauens, Crowes, and Kites] Warburton justifies his reading, 'Ravenous crows,' by the ornithological statement that 'a raven and a crow is the same bird of prey'; to this EDWARDS (p. 112) replies: 'Though Mr Warburton cannot find it in the dictionaries, yet every crow-keeper in the country will tell him there is as real a difference between a raven and a crow as there is between a crow and a rook, or a rook and a jack-daw. The carrion crow, or gor-crow (*i. e.*, gore-crow) as it is called, is not the raven. Ben Jonson distinguished them in his *Fox*: "—vulture, kite, Raven, and gor-crow, all my birds of prey."—I, ii. And Willoughby, on *Birds*, would have told him that there is this small difference between them, that one weighs almost as much again as the other.'

100. sickely prey] MARK HUNTER: That is, sick to death and soon to become their prey.

101. fatall] That is, *foreboding ill*.

102. lies, ready] MARK HUNTER: There is a strong pause after 'lies,' and the trochee which follows, 'ready,' lends impressive emphasis to the verse.

104. I but beleeue it partly] WRIGHT: For this position of 'but' in the sentence, see, 'Where Brutus may but find it.'—I, iii, 161, where 'but' does not qualify the verb next which it stands. [Does not the rhythm in each case prescribe the position of 'but'?—ED.]

106. constantly] That is, with firmness of mind.

Bru. Euen so *Lucillius*.

107

Cassi. Now most Noble *Brutus*,

The Gods to day stand friendly, that we may

Louers in peace, leade on our dayes to age.

110

But since the affayres of men rests still incertaine,

Let's reason with the worst that may befall.

If we do lose this Battaile, then is this

The very last time we shall speake together :

What are you then determin'd to do ?

115

Bru. Euen by the rule of that Philosophy,

107. *Lucillius*] *Lucius* Rowe ii.

[*Lucilius* stands back. Coll. (monovolume).

109. *stand friendly.*] *stand friendly!* Coll. (monovolume).

110. *Louers in peace.*] *Lovers, in peace* Ed. conj.

110. *age.*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *age*: Col. *age!* Theob. et cet.

111. *rests*] *rest* Rowe et seq. *incertaine*] *uncertain* Cap. Jen. Varr. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Sing. i, Craik.

115. *determined*] *determin'd* Dyce.

109. **The Gods to day stand friendly.**] COLLIER'S punctuation of an exclamation point after 'friendly' (see *Text. Notes*), brings out more clearly than the Folio's comma, I think, that 'stand' is here the optative.—MARK HUNTER also thus explains the verb, although he retains the punctuation of the Folio.—ED.

110. **Louers**] That is, *friends*; compare, for this use of the word, II, iii, 9; III, ii, 16.

111. **rests**] WRIGHT notes that this is 'a printer's blunder, and not a plural inflection.'—The blunder may perhaps have been caused by the proximity of the *s* in the word 'still,' if, as has been said, the compositor was here working from dictation; or this may be still another example of the interpolation of an *s* in the Folio, for which see Walker (*Crit.*, i, 242), and compare l. 48, above.—ED.

112. **Let's reason . . . that may befall**] MARK HUNTER: That is, 'Let us imagine the worst that may happen to us, and calmly determine how we shall face it.' Not less than this seems to be implied in 'Let's reason with the worst.'

113, 114. **then is this The very last time, etc.**] WARBURTON: That is, I am resolved in such a case to kill myself. What are you determined of? [Might not Cassius have been considering that in the loss of the battle, he would likely be slain?—ED.]

116-123. **Euen by the rule of that Philosophy . . . That gouverne vs below**] Before entering upon the discussion of these lines, it is well to place before the student the passage from North's Plutarch upon which the passage is evidently based: 'Brutus answered him, being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: I trust (I know not how) a certain rule of philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing of himself, as being no lawful nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valiant; not to give place and yield to divine providence, and not constantly and patiently

[116-123. Euen by the rule of that Philosophy . . . That gouerne vs below]

to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and fly: but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battle fall out fortunate for us, I will looke no more for hope, neither seek to make any new supply for war again, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gave up my life for my country in the Ides of March, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world.'—[*Brutus*, § 27; ed. Skeat, p. 140.]-WARBURTON: This speech from Plutarch our Shakespeare has extremely softened in all the offensive parts of it; as any one may see who consults the original; and, with no less caution, has omitted his famous exclamation against virtue: 'O virtue! I have worship'd thee as a real good; but find thee only an unsubstantial name.' His great judgment in this is very remarkable, on two accounts: First, in his caution, not to give offence to a moral audience; and, secondly, as he has hereby avoided a fault, in drawing his hero's character. For to have had Brutus gone off the stage in the manner Plutarch represents it, would have suppressed all that pity (especially in a Christian audience) which it was the poet's business to raise. So that, as Shakespeare has managed this character, he is as perfect a one for the stage as *Cedipus*, which the critics so much admire.—STEEVENS: There is an apparent contradiction between the sentiments contained in this and the following speech, which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of Brutus. In this, Brutus declares his resolution to wait patiently for the determinations of Providence; and in the next he intimates that, though he should survive the battle, he would never submit to be led in chains to Rome. This sentence in North's translation is perplexed, and might be easily misunderstood. Shakespeare, in the first speech, makes that to be the present opinion of Brutus, which in Plutarch is mentioned only as one he formerly entertained, though he now condemned it.—CAPELL (i, 113): In making use of the line from Plutarch ['What are you determined to do?'] the propriety of language is violated; for to make the answer accord with it its terms ought to have been: 'How are you then determined to act?' This fault the poet fell into, probably, from his intentness on other matters; namely, upon softening Brutus's answers, and abating by artifice the rigor that is in the originals; a rigor that had revolted his audience, hurting something his Cassius, and making Brutus unamiable and less a subject of pity. How he affected this softening with regard to Cassius we may see by comparison with Plutarch: In Brutus, he takes a different method; such a one as throws a cloud on the answers (the first—chiefly) that has perplexed editors, and (with their printing) is not penetrable by any: The artifice here lies in dark'ning the moral and Christian sentiment that is convey'd in the first by throwing matter between; and in wording ambiguously the second speech's profession, which, in fact, is a Roman one and a covert declaration, like Cassius's reversing that of the former.—BLACKSTONE: I see no contradiction. Brutus would not determine to kill himself merely for the loss of *one* battle: 'We will try fortune in a second fight' (scene iii, l. 123, below). Yet he would not submit to be a captive.—MALONE assents to the views of Steevens, and dissents to Blackstone's solution, since 'the question of Cassius relates solely to the event of *this* battle.'—M. MASON observes that the inconsistency is apparent only; as thus: Brutus had determined to abide every extremity of war, but to be led in triumph through the streets would be a trial which, he acknowledges, he could not endure. 'Nothing,' adds Mason, 'is more natural than this. We lay down a system of conduct for ourselves, but

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occurrences may happen that will force us 'to depart from it.'—RITSON's method of 'reconciling' the 'apparent contradiction' is substantially the same as that of Mason.—COURTENAY (ii, 254) 'partly admits' that, as Steevens says, the passage in North's translation might be easily misunderstood. 'The perplexity,' says Courtenay, 'arises from North putting "I trust" in the present tense. The original is in the past tense.' See Langhorne, vi, 231, and Plutarch i, 1002.—[In the Clough-Dryden translation the verb is rendered 'I was led,' v, 346.—ED.] Courtenay thus continues: 'Shakespeare's adoption of a version contradicted not only by a passage immediately following, but by the event which he presently portrays, is a striking instance of his careless use of his authorities.'—['Striking' on account of its rarity?—ED.]—CRAIK (p. 366): The construction plainly is, I know not how it is, but I do find it, by the rule of that philosophy, etc., cowardly and vile. The common pointing, which completely separates 'I know not how,' etc., from what precedes, leaves the 'by the rule' without connection or meaning. It is impossible to suppose that Brutus can mean, I am determined to *do by*, the rule of that philosophy, etc. [On this ROLFE, Craik's modern editor, remarks: 'This meaning, which Craik considers "impossible," seems, on the whole, the best possible. So Dyce and Hudson appear to understand the passage, making "I know not how . . . the time of life," parenthetical.'—This parenthesis is, however, JOHNSON's, see *Text. Notes*.—ED.]—Craik continues: 'But how did Cato act? He slew himself that he might not witness and outlive the fall of Utica. This was merely "for fear of what might fall," to anticipate the end of life. It did not follow that it would be wrong, in the opinion of Brutus, to commit suicide in order to escape any certain and otherwise inevitable calamity or degradation, such as being led in triumph through the streets of Rome by Octavius and Antony.'—JOHN HUNTER: The question of Cassius may be presumed here to suggest to the mind of Brutus that Cassius expects him to say he will kill himself; and the answer of Brutus may be interpreted thus: I know not why it is, but even according to the principles of that philosophy, etc., I cannot see that it is anything but cowardly and base to anticipate the measure of our life-time, through fear of what might happen to us: my determination is, that arming myself with patience, I shall await the purpose of some powers above at whose disposal we on earth are.—BIRCH (p. 460): It is curious that Shakespeare in the speech 'To be or not to be,' which he gives to Hamlet, and where he may be supposed to speak his own sentiments, contradicts, in words as well as ideas, the thought of the Roman that it was cowardly to kill oneself. Hamlet does not doubt there is any one who would not rid himself of his misfortune if death was the end. According to Shakespeare, our religion has made us cowards from the hope of a future state, as the idea of a god would have deprived Brutus of the power of disposing of himself. Shakespeare makes Brutus give way to the taunts of the unbelieving Cassius, while Plutarch more naturally makes Brutus state at once that he was of a contrary mind to his former opinion on suicide, which made him condemn the act in another, but which he found untenable when placed himself in the same situation.—WRIGHT (*Introd.*, p. xxxvii, foot-note): North mistook Amyot's French, which is as follows: 'Brutus luy respondit, Estant encore ieune & non assez experimenté es affaires de ce monde, ie feis, ne sçay comment, un discours de philosophie, par lequel ie reprenois & blamois fort Caton de s'estre desfait soyymesme.' North translated *feis* (= *fis*) as if it were from *fier*, and this error misled Shakespeare, who gave a different turn to

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Brutus's speech. In III, ii, 48 he has represented Brutus as quite prepared for suicide.—HERR (p. 17): It will be perceived in Plutarch that the particular phrase, 'not to give place and yield to divine Providence,' refers to Cato, not to Brutus himself. So in Shakespeare, the corresponding words, 'arming with patience to stay the Providence,' refer also to Cato, not to Brutus himself; hence 'myself' in the passage should necessarily be printed *himself*: while so it is equally obvious the sense requires that the negative 'not' found in Plutarch, but accidentally lost out of the text of Shakespeare, should be restored, and that it justifies itself to absolute insertion therein. Finally, the ellipsis before 'not arming himself' should be understood to be 'for,' so as to run harmoniously with 'For fear of what' in the preceding line. In the reading proposed, it is true the measure is not observed; but it is better to make the author's meaning clear to the reader by retaining 'for not,' than to adhere too rigidly to metre, and leave his meaning in obscurity. Thus the subsequent remarks and reasoning of Brutus coincide, and the former just complaints of inconsistency disappear.—WORDSWORTH (*Sh. Historical Plays*, i, 222): May it not be that in his delineation of the character of Brutus our poet desired to set forth the utmost that the *natural* powers and faculties of man can be expected to attain to, *unenlightened by revelation and unassisted by divine grace?*—see sc. v. . . . Professor Morley is reported to have said [in a lecture on *Shakespeare*], 'From the study of Shakespeare's plays, one was led to the conviction that he was deeply religious, and that a religious purpose ran through the whole of his works.'—(*The Times*, 19th October, 1881.)—BEECHING: There is little likelihood that Shakespeare was misled by such an obvious mispunctuation as the colon after 'world' [in North's Plutarch, see *ante*]; and even if he was, that would not make him write nonsense. The interesting search for the *origines* of speeches must not prevent our interpreting those speeches on their own showing. Brutus says that not only does his philosophy forbid suicide 'for fear of what might fall,' but it is repugnant to him: 'I do find it cowardly and vile.' On being pressed by Cassius, he owns that victory and death are necessary alternatives; but there is still the possibility of death in battle. See sc. iv. The passage, 'I have the same dagger for myself,' III, ii, 48, can hardly come in evidence as to Brutus's feeling about suicide; he could scarcely contemplate the possibility of himself turning tyrant; and compare above: 'I have done no more to Cæsar than you shall do to Brutus.'—*Ibid.*, l. 38.—VERITY: I cannot help thinking that there *is* some confusion in the passage, and that Shakespeare has fallen into it through following North's Plutarch too closely. What Plutarch really makes Brutus say amounts to this: 'when I was young and unexperienced I blamed Cato for his self-destruction: *now* I think differently: if we fail, I shall kill myself.' That is, he does mean, in case of defeat, to imitate Cato, and says so.—MARK HUNTER: The true translation of Amyot [whom North here mistranslates] would be: 'Brutus answered him, "When I was but a young man . . . I made (I know not how I was led to do it) a philosophical discourse." . . . But for the error in punctuation (due perhaps to the printer), which makes Brutus at the time of the conversation 'but a young man,' the passage as a whole is consistent enough. . . . When Cassius asks him whether, if he will not slay himself, he is contented to be led in triumph through the streets of Rome, he answers rather vaguely than inconsistently. He may mean no more than that he will fight to the death. In the end he *acts* inconsistently with his professed principles; but the abandonment

By which I did blame *Cato*, for the death

117

117. By] Be F₂

of his principles form part of his tragic failure.—HERFORD: It is better to make 'I know not how' depend on what precedes than to suppose a long parenthesis (I know not how . . . time of life), foreign to the simple style of this play; the first two lines being then a direct answer to Cassius's question, which, however, they do not neatly fit. . . . Shakespeare's Brutus does not formally announce his retraction [as does Plutarch's]; he is startled into it by the sudden vision of a Roman triumph.—MACCALLUM (p. 185): It is possible that North [in translating Amyot] used *trust* in the first sentence as a preterite equal to *trusted*, just as he uses *lift* for *lifted*. But Shakespeare at least took it for a present: so he was struck by the contradiction which the passage seems to contain. He got over it, and produced a new effect, and one very true to human nature, by making Brutus's latter sentiment the sudden response of his heart, in defiance of his philosophy, to Cassius's anticipation of what they must expect if defeated. . . . This last may show us, however, that Shakespeare, even when he seems to copy most literally, always introduces something which comes from himself. Despite his wholesale appropriation of territory that does not in the first instance belong to him, the produce is emphatically his own.—I have reserved for the last, though out of chronological order, the remarks of CHARLES KNIGHT. His words—at times slightly caustic—are, on the whole, a summing up of the evidence; and an answer to the questions, viz.: Is there here any inconsistency? If there be, who is responsible—Plutarch, Amyot, or Shakespeare?—ED.]—C. KNIGHT (*Studies*, etc., p. 419): Most literal critics, why have you [who say that Shakespeare makes Brutus express himself inconsistently] not rather confided in Shakespeare than in yourselves? When he deserts Plutarch, he is true to something higher than Plutarch. In Brutus he has drawn a man of speculation; one who is moved to kill the man he loves upon no personal motive, but upon a theory; one who fights his last battle upon somewhat speculative principles; one, however, who, from his gentleness, his constancy, his fortitude, has subdued men of more active minds to the admiration of his temper and to the adoption of his opinions. Cassius never reasons about suicide: it is his instant remedy; a remedy which he rashly adopts, and ruins, therefore, his own cause. Brutus reasons against it; and he does not revoke his speculative opinions even when the consequences to which they lead are pointed out to him. Is not this nature? and must we be told that this nicety of characterization resulted from Shakespeare carelessly using his authorities; trusting to the false tense of a verb, regardless of the context? 'But he contradicts himself,' says the critic [Courtenay, see *ante*], 'by the event which he presently portrays.' Most wonderfully has Shakespeare redeemed his own consistency. It is when the mind of the speculative man is not only utterly subdued by adverse circumstances, but bowed down before the pressure of supernatural warnings, that he deliberately approaches his last fatal resolve. What is the work of an instant with Cassius, is with Brutus a tentative process. . . . The irresistible pressure upon his mind, which leads him not to fly with his friends, is the *destiny* which hovers over him.

117. Cato] Cato the Younger, governor of Utica, who, rather than fall into the hands of Cæsar, killed himself when Utica was besieged. He is the protagonist of Addison's tragedy.

Which he did giue himselfe, I know not how : 118
 But I do finde it Cowardly, and vile,
 For feare of what might fall, so to preuent 120
 The time of life, arming my selfe with patience,
 To stay the prouidence of some high Powers,
 That gouerne vs below.
Cassi. Then, if we loofe this Battaile, 124

118. *himselfe.*] *himself.* Pope, +, Coll.
 Hal. Wh. i.

118-121. *I know...of life.*] Pf, Rowe,
 Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Coll. Hal.
 Wh. Cam. Glo.+. (*I know...of life*)
 Johns. et cet.

121. *time*] *term* Cap. Craik, Coll. (MS).
life, arming] An omission be-
 tween these two words Warb. conj.
 122. *some*] *those* Coll. ii, iii. (MS),
 Craik.
 124. *this Battaile*] Om. Steev. conj.

120. *preuent*] MALONE: That is, *anticipate*.—STEEVENS: 'Prevent,' I believe, has here its common signification, [to *obstruct, hinder*].—DR JOHNSON, in his Dictionary, adduces this very instance as an example of it.—[Malone, *pace* Johnson and Steevens, is here unquestionably right.—SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) also thus interprets 'prevent' in the present passage, and MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. I. 1.), to use the words of Steevens, 'adduces this very instance as an example of it' in the sense of *anticipate*. Compare: 'I must prevent thee, Cymber.'—III, i, 44.—ED.]

121. *The time of life*] MALONE: That is, the full and complete time, the period.—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, etc., p. 240) observes that the MS correction (see *Text. Notes*) 'unquestionably reads better' than the Folio text; and, while acknowledging that Malone has correctly explained the phrase 'time of life,' remarks that Malone 'strangely persevered in printing "time" for *term*.'—SINGER (*Sh. Vindicated*, p. 240) thus replies: 'It would have been more strange if Malone had ventured to change the undoubted word of the poet! One of his chief merits is close adherence to the old text where good sense can be made of it. . . . "Time" is duration. [Compare] Baret: "Died before his *time*, *Filius immaturus obiit*.'"—Craik denounces the Folio reading as 'simply nonsense,' and willingly adopts the MS correction, which Collier himself does not, except in his *monovolume*.—ED.]

121. *arming my selfe with patience*] WARBURTON conjectures that between this and the preceding phrase some words are lost, perhaps to this effect: On the contrary, true courage is seen in, etc.—JOHNSON, referring to this conjecture, remarks: 'there is needed only a parenthesis to clear it [see *Text. Notes*, ll. 118-121]. The construction is this: I am determined to act according to that philosophy which directed me to blame the suicide of Cato; arming myself with patience, etc.'—[The occasion must, indeed, be desperate when we find Johnson recommending as an aid to clearness a method of punctuation for which, as Boswell tells us, he had a peculiar antipathy: 'Johnson's attention to precision and clearness in expression was very remarkable. He disapproved of a parenthesis; and, I believe, in all his voluminous writings not half a dozen of them will be found.'—*Life of Johnson*; ed. Fitzgerald, p. 441.—ED.]

124. *this Battaile*] STEEVENS justifies his proposed omission of these two words inasmuch as they derange the metre, and have already occurred in the foregoing speech of Cassius, l. 113; and, further, as an example of such an ellipsis, quotes: 'King Lear hath lost, he and his daughter ta'en.'—*Lear*, V, ii, 6.

You are contented to be led in Triumph
Thorow the streets of Rome. 125

Bru. No *Cassius*, no :
Thinke not thou Noble Romane,
That euer *Brutus* will go bound to Rome,
He beares too great a minde. But this same day 130
Must end that worke, the Ides of March begun.
And whether we shall meete againe, I know not :
Therefore our euerlasting farewell take :
For euer, and for euer, farewell *Cassius*,
If we do meete againe, why we shall smile ; 135
If not, why then this parting was well made.

Cassi. For euer, and for euer, farewell *Brutus* :
If we do meete againe, wee'l smile indeede ;
If not, 'tis true, this parting was well made.

Bru. Why then leade on. O that a man might know 140

126. *Thorow*] F₂. *Through* F₁F₂,
Rowe, Hal. Ktly. Huds. Coll. iii. *Along*
Pope, Han. *Thorough* Theob. et cet.
streets] *street* Rowe ii.
Rome.] *Rome?* Theob. ii. et seq.

127, 128. One line Rowe.
127-136. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.
131. *the Ides*] *that Ides* Ff, Rowe i.
begun] *began* Coll. Hal. Huds.
140-143. Mnemonic Pope, Warb.

130, 131. *this same day . . . the Ides of March begun*] See extract from Plutarch, ll. 116-123, *ante*.

131. *begun*] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. *begin*) says that this form of the imperfect is used by Shakespeare only when required by the rhyme. In the present passage he interprets 'begun' as the participle, *i. e.*, the work begun on the Ides of March. —WRIGHT shows, however, by many examples, that 'both *began* and "begun" are found for the preterite at an early period of the language.'

132. *whether we shall meete againe, I know not*] BIRCH (p. 460): Cassius did not speak of the possibility of meeting anywhere hereafter [ll. 113, 114, above] if they were not to meet alive after the battle. That was consistent with his faith as it was in Epicurus, but not with the stoical philosophy, the religion, or even character of Brutus, as given by Shakespeare himself [as in his lines to Cassius, 127-131]. Here he assents to the doctrine of Cassius, Hamlet, and Shakespeare, that a great mind will not put up with misfortunes—and casting off the idea of a disposer of events, he does not speak of submitting to Providence. Nearly the whole of this speech [from the present line to the end of the scene] is Shakespeare's, as nearly as the whole of the preceding was Plutarch's. Shakespeare omits in the first speech the acknowledgment of a future state—which is to be found in the Brutus of Plutarch—and makes Brutus and Cassius join in chorus to its complete disavowal. . . . Nothing is more clear than the sentiments of Shakespeare with regard to a future state; and here he offends against character and against truth in order to suppress an opinion contrary to his own.

137-140. *For euer, and for euer . . . a man might know*] MARK HUNTER: Cassius is too profoundly moved to find words of his own. He can only repeat

The end of this dayes businesse, ere it come : 141
 But it sufficeth, that the day will end,
 And then the end is knowne. Come ho, away. *Exeunt.* 143

[*Scene II.*]

Alarum. Enter Brutus and Meffala. 1

Bru. Ride, ride *Meffala*, ride and giue these Billes
 Vnto the Legions, on the other side.

Lowd Alarum.

Let them fet on at once : for I perceiue 5
 But cold demcanor in *Octauio's* wing :
 And sodaine push giues them the ouerthrow :
 Ride, ride *Meffala*, let them all come downe. *Exeunt* 8

SCENE IV. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

SCENE II. Cap. et seq.

The Same. The Field of Battle.
 Capell.

1. Alarum.] Alarums, as of a Battle
 join'd. Capell.

6. Octauio's] *Octavius'* Pope et seq.

7. And] *One* Han. A Warb. Johns.
 Ktly.

8. Exeunt] Exeunt, Alarums. Rowe
 et seq.

wistfully the words that have fallen from Brutus. Compare the spirit of the farewell scene as it is in Shakespeare with North's Plutarch: 'Cassius fell a-laughing to hear what he said, and embracing him, "Come on then," said he, "let us go and charge our enemies with this mind."' [*Brutus*, § 27; ed. Skeat, p. 140.] Compare and contrast the speech of the same Brutus: 'Fates, we will know your pleasures,' etc.—III, i, 115-117.

2. and giue these Billes] 'In the meantime Brutus, that led the right wing, sent little bills to the colonels and captains of private bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battle.'—Plutarch, *Brutus*, § 28; ed. Skeat, p. 140.

6. Octauio's] Compare, for this form of the genitive of a proper noun ending in *-ius*, the stage-direction, III, i, 306, and: 'Stand you directly in Antonio's way.'—I, ii, 8.

7. giues them the ouerthrow] For this construction—the present for the future tense—compare: 'This is the night That either makes me or fordoes me quite.'—*Othello*, V, i, 128.—ED.

[Scene III.]

*Alarums.**Enter Cassius and Titinius.*

1

Cassi. O looke *Titinius*, looke, the Villaines flye :
 My selfe haue to mine owne turn'd Enemy :
 This Ensigne heere of mine was t' rning backe,
 I slew the Coward, and did take it from him.

5

Titin. O *Cassius*, *Brutus* gaue the word too early,
 Who hauing some aduantage on *Octavius*,
 Tooke it too eagerly : his Soldiers fell to spoyle,
 Whil't we by *Antony* are all inclos'd.

Enter Pindarus.

10

Pind. Fly further off my Lord : flye further off,
Mark Antony is in your Tents my Lord :
 Flye therefore Noble *Cassius*, flye farre off.

Cassi. This Hill is farre enough. Looke, look *Titinius*
 Are those my Tents where I percciue the fire ?

15

Tit. They are, my Lord.

Cassi. *Titinius*, if thou louest me,

17

SCENE V. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

o. are] were Pope, + (—Var. '73).

SCENE III. Cap. et seq.

11. further...further] farther...farther

Another part of the Field, Cap.

Coll. Hal. Wh. i.

4, 5. **This Ensigne . . . and did take it from him**] [*Cassius*], perceiving his footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keep them from flying, and took an ensign from one of the ensign-bearers that fled, and stuck it fast at his feet.—Plutarch, *Brutus*, § 28; ed. Skeat, p. 143.—WRIGHT here interprets 'ensign' as the *ensign-bearer*; and 'it,' l. 5, as 'the ensign or standard which he carried.'

5. **I slew the Coward**] MARK HUNTER calls attention to this 'slaying of the standard-bearer, characteristic of Cassius's fiery, choleric temper,' as a touch added by Shakespeare to Plutarch's account.

7. **aduantage on**] Compare '—I have seen the hungry ocean gain Advantage on the kingdom of the shore.'—*Sonnet*, lxiv, 6.

8. **Tooke it too eagerly: his Soldiers fell to spoyle**] CRAIK (p. 369): That is, followed his advantage too eagerly. The prosody of this line, with its two superfluous syllables, well expresses the hurry and impetuosity of the speaker.—WRIGHT: As Prince Rupert's at Naseby, where Cromwell was the Antony of the day.

13. **farre off**] WRIGHT: It may be that 'far' is here the comparative and equivalent to *further*, just above. Compare: 'Far than Deucalion off.'—*Wint. Tale*, IV, iv, 442. See *Rich. II.*: V, i, 88: 'Better far off than near, be ne'er the near'; that is, to be never the nearer.

Mount thou my horfe, and hide thy spurres in him, 18
 Till he haue brought thee vp to yonder Troopes
 And heere againe, that I may rest assur'd 20
 Whether yond Troopes, are Friend or Enemy.

Tit. I will be heere againe, euen with a thought. *Exit.*

Cass. Go *Pindarus*, get higher on that hill,
 My sight was euer thicke : regard *Titinius*,
 And tell me what thou not'st about the Field. 25
 This day I breathed first, Time is come round,
 And where I did begin, there shall I end,
 My life is run his compasse. Sirra, what newes? 28

- | | |
|---|---|
| 21. <i>yond</i>] <i>yon'</i> Cap. Var. '78, '85. | Warb. Johns. <i>field</i> , [Pindarus goes up. |
| 23. <i>higher</i>] <i>thither</i> Ff, Rowe, Cap. | Dyce, Wh. i. <i>field</i> . [Exit Pindarus. |
| Jen. Var. '78, '85. <i>thee higher</i> Cap. conj. | Han. et cct. |
| <i>that</i>] <i>this</i> Cap. conj., Mal. conj. | 26. <i>breathed</i>] <i>breath'd</i> F ₃ F ₄ . <i>breathèd</i> |
| 24. <i>regard</i> Titinius] <i>regard</i> , Titinius, | Dyce. |
| F ₄ . | 28. <i>his</i>] <i>ils</i> Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. |
| 25. <i>Field</i> .] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. | <i>Sirra</i>] <i>Now</i> Pope, +. |

22. *euen with a thought*] STEEVENS compares: 'That which is now a horse, even with a thought The rack dislimns.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, IV, xiv, 10; and WRIGHT, 'Come with a thought.'—*Temp.*, IV, i, 164.

23. *Go Pindarus, get higher*, etc.] To this scene, with Pindarus aloft describing the fight to Cassius below, STEEVENS compares the third scene in Act V. of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, where Drusius and Penius describe, from an upper platform, the battle between the Romans and the Britons.—It was, however, a common stage device; probably a survival of the classic dramatic rule that all such actions were to be described to the audience by the actors. Compare: 'Aut agitur res in scenis, aut acta refertur. . . . Non tamen intus Digna geri promes in scenam; multa; tolles Ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens.'—Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, l. 179.—ED.

24. *My sight was euer thicke*] This and many other slight, yet realistic, details are contained in the account of the battle in Plutarch (*Brutus*, §§ 28, 29; ed. Skeat, pp. 142, 143), whom Shakespeare is here most closely following.—For the adjective 'thick' as applied to 'sight,' WRIGHT compares: 'His dimensions to any thick sight were invincible.'—2 *Hen. IV.*: III, ii, 336.

26. *Time is come round*] STEEVENS compares: 'The wheel is come full circle,'—*Lear*, V, iii, 174, in the dying speech of Edmund.

28. *compasse*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. V. b.): A circuit of time, round, revolution. [The present line quoted.]—WRIGHT compares: 'A sibyl that had number'd in the world The sun to course two hundred compasses.'—*Othello*, III, iv, 70.

28. *Sirra*] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*, s. v.): From *Sir*. The additional syllable had probably no definite origin, though explained by Minsheu as the interjection *ah* or *ha*. A term of address used to men or boys, expressing contempt, reprimand, or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker; sometimes employed less seriously in addressing children.

28. *Sirra, what newes*] CRAIK (p. 370): The expressive effect of the break in

Pind. Abouc. O my Lord.

Cass. What newes ?

30

Pind. *Titinius* is enclosed round about
With Horsemen, that make to him on the Spurre,
Yet he spurres on. Now they are almost on him :
Now *Titinius*. Now some light · O he lights too.
Hee's tane. *Show**,
And hearke, they shout for ioy.

35

Cass. Come downe, behold no more :
O Coward that I am, to liue so long,
To see my best Friend tane before my face.

Enter Pindarus.

40

Come hither sirrah : In Parthia did I take thee Prisoner,
And then I swore thee, sauing of thy life,

42

29. Abouc.] Within. Cap. Appearing
on the Hill. Jen.

'85, Ran.

29-31 O my Lord...*Titinius is*] As
one line, and reading: *my good Lord*
Steev. conj.

34. Now *Titinius.*] *Now Titinius*, Ff.
Titinius! Pope, +, Cap.

31-36. Lines end: *is...that...on...Titi-*
nious...hearke...ioy. Mal. *Steev.* Var. '03,
'13. Lines end: *about...Spurre...him...*
Titinius...too...hearke...ioy. Craik. Lines
end: *about ... Spurre ... him ... Titinius...*
hearke...ioy Dyce ii, iii.

34, 35. *Now...Hee's tane*] One line
Var. '21, Sing. i.

34. *light...lights*] '*light...lights* Mal.
Steev. Varr. Sing. Coll. Wh. i.

35, 36. One line Pope et seq.

35. *tane*] taken Wh. i.

37. *Come...more*] Two lines, ending:
downe...more Cap.

33, 34. Yet he ... *lights too*] Lines
end: *him; now ... lights too* Var. '78,

41. *Come...sirrah*] One line Pope et
seq.

the even flow of the rhythm produced by the superfluous syllable here, and the vividness with which it brings before us the sudden awakening of Cassius from his reverie, startled, we may suppose, by some sign of agitation on the part of Pindarus, will be felt if we will try how the line would read with 'Sir, what news?'—[Much depends upon the pronunciation of 'Sirrah'; and had Craik but given us some key to this, his note would have an added force.—ED.]

34. *Now Titinius.*] MARK HUNTER: Pindarus calls excitedly to Titinius, as if he could hear him, to quicken his pace and escape.—[The period after 'Titinius' may perhaps be here used to mark an incomplete sentence.—According to PERCY SIMPSON (*Sh. Punctuation*, p. 79), 'a full stop could be used even for an unfinished sentence. In such cases the sense was a sufficient guide.'—Compare II, i, 154 and note.—ED.]

34. *light*] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. verb. 1.) writes that "'light," in the sense to dismount from a horse or vehicle, apparently originates in an absolute use of the verb in the sense to relieve the horse or vehicle of one's weight.'—[The verb *alight* has the same meaning, although it is a distinct verb; it is, therefore, not necessary to print 'light' with an apostrophe (see *Text. Notes*), as though an abbreviation of *alight*.—ED.]

42. I swore thee] That is, I made thee take oath. Compare: 'Swear priests and cowards, and men cautelous.'—II, i, 147.

That whatsoeuer I did bid thee do, 43
 Thou should'st attempt it. Come now, keepe thine oath,
 Now be a Free-man, and with this good Sword 45
 That ran through *Cæsar's* bowels, search this bosome.
 Stand not to answer: Heere, take thou the Hilts,
 And when my face is couer'd, as 'tis now,
 Guide thou the Sword——*Cæsar*, thou art reueng'd,
 Euen with the Sword that kill'd thee. 50

47. *Hilts*] *hilt* Pope, +.

50. *thee.*] *thee*. [Kills him. Ff, Rowc.
 Dies. Capell. Pindarus stabs him. Cam.

+ , after *Sword*, l. 49. Cassius falls on
 his sword. Coll. iii. Kills himself. Pope
 et cet.

42. *sauing*] WRIGHT: 'Saving' is here a verbal substantive, and the full phrase was 'in saving of thy life'; the preposition *in* first degenerated into *a*, as in *a-hunting*, *a-fishing*, etc., and then disappeared altogether. Compare: 'I kill'd the slave that was a-hanging thee.'—*Lear*, V, iii, 274. In *John*, ii, 20 the *Authorised Version* has: 'Forty and six years was this temple in building,' where Tyndale gives 'a building.'

45. *Free-man*] Compare '—to live all Free-men,' III, ii, 23; and see note thereon.

46. *search this bosome*] WRIGHT compares: 'Alas, poor shepherd! searching of thy wound, I have by hard adventure found my own.'—*As you Like It*, II, iv, 44; and: 'The tent that searches To the bottom of the worst.'—*Tro. & Cress.*, II, ii, 16. He suggests that: 'Perhaps Cassius intentionally uses the word with this surgical meaning, his sword being the tent or probe which searched the wound of his grief.'—MARK HUNTER refers to the foregoing interpretation and remarks: I prefer merely, search this bosom for my heart, just as Titinius says: 'Come Cassius' sword and find Titinius' heart.'—l. 99, below.

47. *Hilts*] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*, s. v. *hilt*): 1. The handle of a sword or dagger. †b. Formerly often in *plural*, with same sense.—[WRIGHT compares: 'I'll run him up to the hilts, as I am a soldier.'—*Hen. V.* II, i, 68.]

49. *Cæsar, thou art reueng'd*] BOISSIER, in the following remarks, gives us a strange picture of the times: "You tell me," Cicero writes to Atticus, "that my Tusculans give you courage: so much the better. There is no surer and speedier resource against circumstances than that which I indicate."—(*ad Att.*, xv, 2). 'This resource was death. How many people accordingly availed themselves of it! Never has a more incredible contempt of life been seen, never has death caused less fear. Since Cato's, suicide became a contagion, a frenzy. The vanquished, Juba, Petreius, Scipio, know no other way of escaping the conqueror. . . . When Decimus Brutus, a fugitive, hesitates to choose this heroic remedy, his friend Blasius kills himself before him in order to set him an example. It was a veritable delirium at Philippi. Even those who might have escaped did not seek to survive their defeat. . . . Cassius was impatient, and killed himself too soon; Brutus closes the list by a suicide astonishing by its calmness and dignity. What a strange and frightful commentary on the *Tusculans*, and how clearly this general truth, thus put in practice by so many men of spirit, ceases to be a platitude!' (p. 323).—Ed.

Pin. So, I am free,
 Yet would not so haue beene
 Durft I haue done my will. O *Cassius*,
 Farre from this Country *Pindarus* shal^l run,
 Where neuer Roman shall take note of him.

55

Enter Titinius and Messala.

Messa. It is but change, *Titinius* : for *Octavius*
 Is ouerthrowne by Noble *Brutus* power,
 As *Cassius* Legions are by *Antony*.

Titin. These tydings will well comfort *Cassius*. 60

Messa. Where did you leaue him.

Titin. All disconfolate,
 With *Pindarus* his Bondman, on this Hill.

Messa. Is not that he that lyes vpon the ground ?

Titin. He lies not like the Liuing. O my heart ! 65

Messa. Is not that hee ?

Titin. No, this was he *Messala*,
 But *Cassius* is no more. O setting Sunne :
 As in thy red Rayes thou doest sinke to night ;
 So in his red blood *Cassius* day is fet.

70

51, 52. One line Rowe et seq.

56. SCENE V. Pope, Han. Warb.
 Johns.

Enter...and...] Re-enter...with...
 Capell.

60. well] much M. Hunter conj.

66. Is not that] Is that S. H. Clark
 (MS).

69. to night] to-night Knt, Coll. i, iii,
 Hal.

70. is fet] it fet Ff.

57. It is but change] WRIGHT: That is, the vicissitude of war, alternation of fortune. What they had lost on one side they had gained on the other.

60. These tydings] For 'tidings' used as a singular noun, see IV, iii, 174.

68. O setting Sunne] WRIGHT: It appears from l. 122 that it was only three o'clock.—MARK HUNTER: As the conspiracy at its stormy beginning was set with a dramatic background of actual tempest, so its decay and death is dramatically symbolised by setting sun and growing darkness.

69. sinke to night] CRAIK (p. 371) observes, in reference to Collier's and Knight's reading 'to-night': 'Surely a far nobler sense is given to the words by taking "sink to night" to be an expression of the same kind with *sink to rest* or *sink to sleep*. The colorless dulness of the coming night is contrasted with the red glow in which the luminary is descending. "O setting sun, Thou dost sink," meaning simply *thou dost set*, is not much in Shakespeare's manner. Besides, we hardly say, absolutely, that the sun *sinks*, whether we mean that it is setting or only that it is descending. And the emphasis given by the "to-night" to the mere expression of the time seems uncalled for and unnatural.'

The Sunne of Rome is fet. Our day is gone, 71
 Clouds, Dewes, and Dangers come; our deeds are done:
 Mistrust of my successe hath done this deed.

Messa. Mistrust of good successe hath done this deed.
 O hatefull Error, Melancholies Childe : 75
 Why do'st thou shew to the apt thoughts of men
 The things that are not ? O Error soone conceyu'd,
 Thou neuer com'st vnto a happy byrth,
 But kil'st the Mother that engendred thee.

Tit. What *Pindarus*? Where art thou *Pindarus*? 80

Messa. Seeke him *Titinius*, whilst I go to meet
 The Noble *Brutus*, thrusting this report
 Into his eares ; I may say thrusting it :
 For piercing Steele, and Darts inuenomed, 84

71. *Sunne*] *Sonne* F₁. *Son* F₃F₄.
sun Rowe et seq.

75. *Melancholies*] *Melancholy's* Pope
 et seq.

77. *O Error*] *Error* Pope,+
 (—Johns.), Cap.

80. *What*] *Why* Cap. (corrected in
 Errata).

84. *inuenomed*] *envenomèd* Dyce.

72. and Dangers come] 'Come' is here, I think, the imperative, as in 'Come, you spirits That tend on mortal thoughts.'—*Macbeth*, I, v, 41.—ED.

73, 74. *successe . . . good successe*] CRAIK (p. 372): It is plain that [in Shakespeare's time] 'success' simply was not understood to imply all that was conveyed by the expression 'good success.' By 'mistrust of my success' Titinius must be interpreted as meaning no more than mistrust, doubt, or apprehension of what I had met with; in conformity with what he afterwards says: 'Alas, thou hast misconstrued everything.'—I. 93. [Compare II, ii, 10.]

74. *Mistrust of good successe*] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 249): Alluding to Cassius's melancholy temperament.

76. *apt*] That is, easily impressed, impressionable. Compare: 'I find thee apt.'—*Hamlet*, I, v, 31.

77-79. *O Error soone conceyu'd . . . that engendred thee*] MARK HUNTER: It is to be regretted that Shakespeare did not 'blot' these lines. The fancy becomes a conceit and the conceit is followed too far, even if the thought were otherwise unimpeachable, as it is far from being. The Mother of error is said to be Melancholy; but obviously, Error is not reproached for slaying Melancholy, but for slaying Cassius. Cassius is thus the mother—certainly not a happy simile. Should we read *father*? Father or mother, to assert that a misunderstanding always results in the death of the person who misunderstands is far from asserting a universal truth.

79. *kil'st the Mother*] WRIGHT: Like the brood of the adder, according to a popular belief. Compare: 'The Adders death, is her owne broode.'—Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579 (ed. Arber, p. 46).

82, 83. *thrusting this report Into his eares*] Compare: 'You cram these words into mine ears against The stomach of my sense.'—*Tempest*, II, i, 106.

Shall be as welcome to the eares of *Brutus*,
As tydings of this fight. 85

Tit. Hye you *Messala*,
And I will feeke for *Pindarus* the while :
Why did'st thou fend me forth braue *Cassius*?
Did I not meet thy Friends, and did not they 90
Put on my Browes this wreath of Victorie,
And bid me giue it thee? Did'st thou not heare their
Alas, thou hast misconstrued euery thing. (Howts?
But hold thee, take this Garland on thy Brow,
Thy *Brutus* bid me giue it thee, and I 95
Will do his bidding. *Brutus*, come apace,
And see how I regarded *Caius Cassius* :
By your leaue Gods: This is a Romans part,
Come *Cassius* Sword, and finde *Titinius* hart. *Dies*

Alarum. Enter *Brutus*, *Messala*, *young Cato*, 100
Strato, *Volumnius*, and *Lucilius*.

95. [Crowning him. Coll. ii.

98. [Stabs himself. Rowe.

99. *Cassius*...*Titinius*] *Cassius*'...*Titinius*' Pope et seq.

100. SCENE VI. Pope, +.

91. **this wreath of Victorie**] 'By and by they . . . might see *Titinius* crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto *Cassius*.'—*Plutarch*, *Brutus*, § 29; ed. Skeat, p. 143.—[For a description and representation of the various garlands used as rewards among the Roman soldiery, see *GREEN* (pp. 224–226); but inasmuch as Shakespeare is here using the words of *Plutarch* it seems hardly fair to take the present passage, as does *Green*, as an example to show Shakespeare's knowledge and use of heraldic emblems.—*ED.*]

94. **hold thee**] Compare: 'Hold thee, there's my purse.'—*All's Well*, IV, v, 46.—*ABBOTT* (§ 212) takes 'thee' in both these passages as the dative. Presumably *ethical*.—*MARK HUNTER* thinks it better, although *hold* and 'hold thee' frequently precede the giving of something, that 'hold thee' be here taken in the sense of *stop*, *stay*. 'Here, of course,' says *Hunter*, "'hold thee" has no precise meaning, whether of *take* or *stay*, but merely enables *Titinius* to pass naturally from the lament for *Cassius*'s error to the crowning of his brows. We may paraphrase: "But enough of this."—*ED.*

95. **bid**] *WRIGHT*: Shakespeare uses both 'bid' and *bade* for the past tense. Compare: 'My gentle *Phebe* bid me give you this.'—*As You Like It*, IV, iii, 7.

98. **By your leaue Gods**] *MACMILLAN*: In accordance with the Platonic view, *Titinius* implies that he cannot voluntarily depart from life without the permission of the gods.—*MARK HUNTER*: The proud Roman scarcely thinks it necessary to ask pardon from heaven for slaying himself.

98. **a Romans part**] See note by *BOISSIER*, l. 49, *ante*.—*WRIGHT* compares: 'Why should I play the Roman fool and die On mine own sword?'—*Macb.*, V, vii, 30.

Bru. Where, where *Messala*, doth his body lye? 102

Messa. Loe yonder, and *Titinius* mourning it.

Bru. *Titinius* face is vpward.

Cato. He is flainc. 105

Bru. O *Iulius Cæsar*, thou art mighty yet,

104. *Titinius*] *Titinius*' Pope et seq.

103. mourning it] CRAIK (p. 373): An unusual construction of the verb *to mourn* in this sense. We speak commonly enough of mourning the death of a person or any other thing that may have happened; we might even perhaps speak of mourning the person who is dead or the thing that is lost; but we only *mourn over* the dead body.—[MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) does not quote the present passage under any of the various senses of the verb *to mourn*.]

104. *Titinius* face is vpward] JOSEPH HUNTER (ii, 150): This passage shows that the practice of the stage to represent death by lying with the face upward is as old as the time of Shakespeare.

106. O *Iulius Cæsar*, thou art mighty yet] HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 230): The final issue of the conspiracy, as represented by Shakespeare, is a pretty conclusive argument of the blunder, not to say the crime, of its authors. *Cæsar*, dead, tears them and their cause all to pieces. In effect they did but stab him into mightier life; so that Brutus might well say: 'O *Julius Cæsar*, thou art mighty yet,' etc. Am I wrong, then, in regarding the nemesis which asserts itself so sternly in the latter part of the play as a reflex of irony on some of the earlier scenes? I the rather take this view, inasmuch as it infers the disguise of *Cæsar* to be an instance of the profound guile with which Shakespeare sometimes plays upon his characters, humouring their bent, and then leaving them to the discipline of events.—Miss JULIA WEDGWOOD (*Contemporary Review*, March, 1893, p. 366): The keynote of the play is struck in [this speech] of the dying [*sic*] Brutus. We trace the first faint suggestion of that idea in Plutarch's assertion that the great genius which attended him through his lifetime, even after his death, remained as the avenger of his murder, pursuing through every sea and land all those who were concerned in it, and suffering none to escape. . . . Here Shakespeare touches silver and leaves gold. That idea of a guardian genius captivates his fancy, he uses it for the delineation of meaner men; he brings it into one of the finest speeches of Brutus; but in delineating the greatest of Romans he bids the guardian stand aside; the great genius who pursues *Cæsar*'s murderers shall be *Cæsar* himself.—J. M. BROWN (p. 100): As he sees comrade after comrade fall, Brutus feels the growing power [of *Cæsar*'s spirit]. Even Cassius, most bitter and unwilling though he was to see aught great in his foe, has, with his dying breath, to acknowledge the rising might of his spirit. It is this noble spirit that is the true protagonist of the tragedy. It is that that dominates every scene, every action, every word, every character, and the weakened personality of the would-be king brings out all the more distinctly the surpassing power of that which was almost becoming a separate force in nature and history, nay, feels the influence of it raising his ambitions and his tone far above the merely human. On his death the memory of the degenerate snatcher at the crown completely vanishes; and the other, the great spirit, suffers apotheosis; it reaches the divinity, the vacillating, superstitious *Cæsar* aped. *Cæsar*, . . . the ambition-ridden weakling, has to die 'with none so poor to do

Thy Spirit walkes abroad, and turnes our Swords 107
In our owne proper Entrailles, *Low Alarums.*

Cato. Braue *Titinius*,

Looke where he haue not crown'd dead *Cassius*. 110

Bru. Are yet two Romans liuing such as these?

The last of all the Romans, far thee well :

It is impossible, that euer Rome 113

107. *walkes*] *wa'kes* F₂.

et cet.

108. *Low Alarums.*] Om. Cap. Jen.

112. *The last*] *Thou last* Rowe, + Cap.

Low alarms. Var. '73.

Jen. Varr. Ran. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

110. *where*] Ff, Rowe. *if* Pope, +.

Romans.] *Romans!* Pope, +.

whether Var. '73, Cam. +. *wher* Cap.

far F₁.

him reverence' that the spirit of Cæsar may live as the never-failing fountain of imperial power. [Compare: 'Thou, thou it was, most divine Julius, that didst exact the revenge due to thy celestial wounds, compelling that proud head [Cassius's], so perfidious to thee, to implore the sordid aid of a slave, driven to that extremity of fury that he neither desir'd to live, nor durst to die by his own hand.'—Valerius Maximus, *Acts and Sayings*, etc., Bk, vi, ch. viii, § 4; trans. S. Speed, p. 293.—Ed.]

107, 108. *turnes our Swords . . . proper Entrailles*] STEEVENS compares: '—populumque potentem In sua victrici conversum viscera dextrâ.'—Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i, [ll. 3, 4].

108. *In our*] That is, *into* our; for other examples of 'in' thus used, see Shakespeare *passim*.

110. *where*] That is, *whether*; compare: 'See where their baser mettle be not moved.'—I, i, 71.

112. *The last of all the Romans*] MALONE, in justification of the present reading, and as an argument against Rowe's change '*Thou last*,' quotes from North's Plutarch the following: 'So when he [Brutus] was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being impossible that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he, he caused his bodie to be buried.'—(*Brutus*, § 29; ed. Skcat, 144). Malone further remarks that '*Thou last*' was 'not the phraseology of Shakespeare's time,' and in corroboration quotes: 'Take that the likeness of this railer here.'—3 *Ilen*. VI: V, v, 58; and: '—as you, O the dearest of creatures, would not even renew me with thine eyes.'—*Cymb.*, III, ii, 42.—STEEVENS, while following the Folio text, is still 'perfectly convinced' that in the instances quoted by Malone 'the' is 'merely the error of a compositor who misunderstood the abbreviations employed to express *thou* and *ye* in the original MS.' He considers, moreover, that the passage from Plutarch is not, in this case, to the purpose, since: 'The biographer is only relating what Brutus had said. In the text Brutus is the *speaker*, and is *addressing himself, propria personâ*, to Cassius.' In refutation of Malone's assertion that '*Thou last*' is not the language of Shakespeare, Steevens quotes: 'Thou loathed issue. . . Thou rag of honour! thou detested.'—*Rich. III.*: I, iii, 232.—He himself admits, however, that, as it is of no great importance to the meaning of Shakespeare, whether we read 'the' or *thou*, the Folio text is here to be preferred, which is the opinion of the present Ed.

Should breed thy fellow. Friends I owe mo teares
 To this dead man, then you shall see me pay. 115
 I shall finde time, *Cassius* : I shall finde time.
 Come therefore, and to *Tharsus* send his body,
 His Funerals shall not be in our Campe,
 Least it difcomfort vs. *Lucilius* come, 119

114. *fellow.*] *fellow*: Ff. Theob. et seq.
mo] F₂. *moe* F₃F₄, Craik. *more* 118. *Funerals*] Ff, Mal. Steev. Varr.
 Rowe et cet. Knt, Coll. Dyce, Craik, Sta. Wh.
 117. *Tharfus*] *Thassos* or *Thasos* *funeral* Pope et cet.

114, 115. I owe mo teares To this dead man] THEOBALD: This passage (but why I know not) seems twice to have been sneer'd [at] in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Lucè crying over Jasper, her sweetheart, suppos'd dead, says: 'Good friends, depart a little, whilst I take My leave of this dead man, that once I lov'd.' [IV, iv.]. And Master Humphrey, before, says to Lucè: '—it Shall be repaid again, although it cost me More than I'll speak of now.' [I, i.].—[Theobald says he knows not why this passage should be thus apparently derided; but is the sneer even apparent? Apart from the fact that the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* is burlesque, is there any other ground for such an assumption? There is, to be sure, a slight resemblance in the form of the lines and the thought, but no more than might not be easily accounted for by the similarity of the situations.—ED.]

114. *mo*] Compare: 'No, sir, there are *moe* with him.'—II, i, 82; and see note thereon.

116. I shall finde time, *Cassius* : I shall finde time] MARK HUNTER: Notice the solemn and impressive movement of this pathetic verse. There are three troches and the remaining feet are almost spondees.

117. *Tharsus*] THEOBALD: The whole tenor of history warrants us to write, as I have restored the text, *Thassos*. Tharsos was a town of Cilicia, in Asia Minor; and is it probable Brutus could think of sending Cassius's body thither out of Thrace, where they were now encamp'd? Thassos, on the contrary, was a little isle lying close upon Thrace, and at but a small distance from Philippi, to which the body might very commodiously be transported. Vide Plutarch, Appian, Dion Cassius. [Both Plutarch and Dion Cassius mention Thassos as the place to which the body of Cassius was conveyed. Appian refers to Thasos as the retreat of many of the nobility during the proscriptions; but does not, however, mention it as the place of Cassius's burial. The fact that it is so spoken of by Plutarch is, I think, quite sufficient to justify Theobald's remark—that is, if Shakespeare cared that the locality be correct.—ED.]

118. *Funerals*] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 240): So our old writers *passim*; Latin, *funera*. . . . In the [present passage], however, I suspect that the reading *funeral* is right; the construction seems to require it. Both forms were used.—[Shakespeare uses the form 'funerals' in only two other passages, viz.: 'Turn melancholy forth to funerals.'—*Mid. N. Dream*, I, i, 14; 'Wise Laertes son did graciously plead for his funerals.'—*Tit. And.*, I, i, 176.—'In the present passage,' WRIGHT notes, 'Shakespeare has taken the plural from Plutarch.' *Funeral* occurs four times in this play alone: III, i, 256; 260; III, ii, 94; III, iii, 21.—ED.]

And come yong *Cato*, let vs to the Field, 120
Labio and *Flauio* set our Battailles on :
 'Tis three a Clocke, and Romans yet ere night,
 We shal' try Fortune in a second fight. *Exeunt.* 123

[Scene II'.]

Alarum. Enter Brutus, Messala, Cato, Lucilius, I
and Flavius.

Bru. Yet Country-men : O yet, hold vp your heads.

Cato. What Bastard doth not? Who will go with me?

I will proclaime my name about the Field. 5

I am the Sonne of *Marcus Cato*, hoe.

A Foe to Tyrants, and my Countries Friend.

I am the Sonne of *Marcus Cato*, hoc.

Enter Souldiers, and fight. 9

121. *Labio*] *Labeo* Han. et seq.

Flauio] *Flavius* Ff et seq.

122. *a Clocke*] *o'clock* Theob. et seq.

SCENE VII. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

SCENE IV. Cap. et seq.

The Field of Battle. Pope. Another

part of the Field. Cap.

1. *Alarum*...*Brutus, Messala*] *Alarums.* Enter, fighting, Soldiers of both Armies, then *Brutus*. Capell.

2. *Flavius*] Others Capell.

9. Enter...fight] Charges the retiring Enemy. Capell.

122. 'Tis three a Clocke] VERITY: This is scarcely consistent with ll. 68, 69 *ante*, which indicated that the time was already evening. Probably the inconsistency arose thus: Plutarch says, 'He [Brutus] suddenly caused his army to march, being past three of the clock in the afternoon' (ed. Skeat, p. 148); but Plutarch is speaking of the second battle of Philippi, which took place twenty days later. . . . Here, in connecting [the two battles], he uses the statement of Plutarch, and forgets, apparently, that he has previously spoken of sunset.—MARK HUNTER: As a second fight is to follow on the same day, some hours of daylight are required for it. On the modern stage, with all its appliances to imitate sunset, the inconsistency could not pass unnoticed. But an Elizabethan audience might very well forget that they had just been called upon to *imagine* sunset. For dramatic and symbolic reasons Shakespeare wished Cassius to die with the sun. A little later he found it necessary to put the clock back, and trusted that the trick would succeed, as similar tricks generally succeeded with him. If we cannot thus account for the inconsistency on the 'double time' hypothesis, we must then suppose that Shakespeare wrote more carelessly than the average reader reads.

4. What Bastard doth not] WRIGHT: That is, Who is so base born that he doth not? Compare: 'What villain touched his body, that did stab And not for justice.'—IV, iii, 21.

And I am *Brutus*, *Marcus Brutus*, I, 10
Brutus my Countries Friend : Know me for *Brutus*.

Luc. O yong and Noble *Cato*, art thou downe ?
 Why now thou dyest, as brauely as *Titinius*,
 And may'ft be honour'd, being *Cato's* Sonne.

Sold. Yeeld, or thou dyest. 15

Luc. Oncly I yeeld to dye :
 There is so much, that thou wilt kill me straight :
 Kill *Brutus*, and be honour'd in his death.

Sold. We must not : a Noble Prisoner. 19

10. *And I am*] *Ff.* *Lucil.* *And I am*
Bru. *And I am* Rowe et cet.

the Enemy. *Cato* is overpowered and falls. *Mal.* et seq. (subs.)

11. Exit. Pope, +. Charges them in another part, and Exit, driving them in. The Party charg'd by *Cato* rally, and *Cato* falls. Capell. Exit, charging

16. *Oncly I*] *I only* Han.

Warb. marks omission of line following.

17. [Giving him money. Han. Johns.

19. *not: a*] *not, sir.* A Cap.

10, 11. *And I am Brutus . . . Know me for Brutus*] MACMILLAN: The name of the speaker of these two lines is omitted in the Folios. They are by almost all editors assigned to Brutus [see *Text. Notes*]. But Brutus was so well known that it is strange that he should tell his name with such emphasis, and it is still more strange that he should follow the lead of such a young man as Cato. The iteration of the name Brutus sounds like the language of a man who was pretending to be what he was not. The ascription of these two lines to Lucilius would make the motive and action of Lucilius much plainer to the audience, who would have some difficulty in taking in the situation with only the words 'Kill Brutus,' in l. 18, to enlighten them. It seems probable that the printer of the Folio by mistake put the heading '*Luc.*' two lines too low down.

16. *Oncly I yeeld to dye*] That is, I yield only in order to die. For other examples of this transposition of the adverb, sec, if needful, ABBOTT, § 420.

17. *There is so much . . . kill me straight*] WARBURTON supposes that before this line there is an omission, the lost line being a question by the soldier as to the amount of resistance still maintained by the enemy; to this Lucilius replies: 'There is so much,' etc.—JOINSON: Dr Warburton has been much inclined to find *lacunæ*, or passages broken by omission, throughout this play. I think he has been always mistaken. The Soldier here says: 'Yield, or thy diest.' Lucilius replies, 'I yield only on this condition, that I may die; here is so much gold as thou seest in my hand, which I offer thee as a reward for speedy death.' What now is there wanting? [See *Text. Notes*.—HEATH (p. 447) also thus interprets this line.]—MACMILLAN: Possibly Lucilius, speaking in the character of Brutus, means that so much can be laid to his charge that the soldier is sure to kill him immediately.—[The consistency of Hamner's stage-direction is not very obvious. Why should Lucilius think that the offer of money would serve as a bribe, when by his death the Soldier would naturally obtain all, whether offered or not? It is not, on the other hand, necessary to suppose with Warburton that there is here an omission in order to arrive at the interpretation suggested by Macmillan, which seems, on the whole, satisfactory.—ED.]

Enter Antony.

20

2. *Sold.* Roome hoe : tell *Antony*, *Brutus* is tane.1. *Sold.* Ile tell thee newes. Heere comes the Generall,
Brutus is tane, *Brutus* is tane my Lord.*Ant.* Where is hee ?*Luc.* Safe *Antony*, *Brutus* is safe enough : 25

I dare assure thee, that no Enemy

Shall ever take aliue the Noble *Brutus* :

The Gods defend him from so great a shame,

When you do finde him, or aliue, or dead,

He will be found like *Brutus*, like himselfe. 30*Ant.* This is not *Brutus* friend, but I assure you,

A prize no lesse in worth ; keepe this man safe,

Giue him all kindnesse. I had rather haue

Such men my Friends, then Enemies. Go on,

And see where *Brutus* be aliue or dead, 35And bring us word, vnto *Octavius* Tent :How euery thing is chanc'd. *Exeunt.* 37

20. Enter Antony] After l. 22 Cap. F₄ et seq.
 et seq. 35. *where*] Ff, Rowe. *if* Pope,+.
 22. *thee*] *the* Pope ii. et seq. *whether* Var. '73, Cam.+. *wher* Cap.
 24. [They show Lucilius. Cap. et cet.
 29. *or aliue*] *aliue* Warb. 36. *word*] Om. Ff.
 31. *Brutus friend,*] *Brutus, friend,* Octavius] *Octavius* Pope et seq.

31-34. I assure you . . . Friends, then Enemies] 'Antonius . . . said unto them: "My companions, I think you are sorry you have failed of your purpose, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong; but I assure you, you have taken a better booty than that you followed. For instead of an enemy you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For I had rather have such men my friends, as this man here, than mine enemies."'—Plutarch, *Brutus*, § 31; ed. Skeat, p. 149.

34. Friends, then Enemies] PERCY SIMPSON (*Sh. Punctuation*, p. 45) shows by several other examples from the Folio and contemporary books that it was the usual pointing to place a comma before 'than.' In the present instance this comma survived, however, down to and including the *Variorum* of 1821.—Ed.

35. *where*] That is, *whether*; see V, iii, 110 and I, i, 71.

37. *is chanc'd*] Compare: 'I Caska, tell us what hath chanc'd to-day.'—I, ii, 237.

[Scene V.]

Enter Brutus, Dardanius, Clitus, Strato, I
and Volumnius.

Brut. Come poore remaines of friends, reft on this
Rocke.

Clit. *Statillius* shew'd the Torch-light, but my Lord 5
He came not backe: he is or tane, or slaine.

Brut. Sit thee downe, *Clitus*: slaying is the word,
It is a deed in fashon. Hearke thee, *Clitus*.

Clit. What I, my Lord? No, not for all the World.

Brut. Peace then, no words. 10

Clit. Ile rather kill my selfe.

Brut. Hearke thee, *Dardanius*.

Dard. Shall I doe such a deed?

Clit. O *Dardanius*.

Dard. O *Clitus*. 15

Clit. What ill request did *Brutus* make to thee?

Dard. To kill him, *Clitus*: looke he meditates.

Clit. Now is that Noble Vessell full of grieve. 18

SCENE VIII. Pope, Han. Warb.
Johns.

Another part of the Field. Pope.

8. [Whispering. Rowe.

SCENE V. Cap. et seq.

13. *Shall*] Om. Cap.

5, 6. *Statillius shew'd the Torch-light, but . . . He came not backe*]
'Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battle: and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies, for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp: and from thence, if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus, seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said: "If Statilius be alive he will come again."—Plutarch, *Brutus*, § 32; ed. Skeat, p. 150.—[Here, I think, is an instance where Shakespeare's complete familiarity with his authority has blinded him to the fact that his auditors have not this same advantage; without reference to this extract from Plutarch these two lines are purposeless.—ED.]

6. *He came not backe*] WRIGHT: That is, he is not come back. For this use of the past tense for the perfect, compare: 'I saw not better sport these seven years' day.'—2 *Hen. VI*: II, i, 2. Again: 'And I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since.'—*Genesis*, xlv, 28.

8. *It is a deed in fashion*] Referring to the suicide of Cassius and Titinius. See also the note by Boissier on V, iii, 50.

18. *Vessell full of grieve*] DELIUS: Compare: 'I never saw a vessel of like

That it runnes ouer euen at his eyes.

Brut. Come hither, good *Volumnius*, lift a word. 20

Volum. What sayes my Lord?

Brut. Why this, *Volumnius*:

The Ghost of *Cæsar* hath appear'd to me

Two feuerall times by Night : at Sardis, once ;

And this last Night, here in Philippi fields : 25

I know my houre is come.

Volum. Not so, my Lord.

Brut. Nay, I am fure it is, *Volumnius*.

Thou seest the World, *Volumnius*, how it goes,

Our Enemies haue beat vs to the Pit : *Low Alarums.* 30

It is more worthy, to leape in our selues,

Then tarry till they push vs. Good *Volumnius*,

Thou know'st, that we two went to Schoole together : 33

25. *Philippi fields*] *Philippi-fields* F₃F₄, Rowe, +. *Philippi' fields* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll.

sorrow So fill'd and so becoming.'—*Wint. Tale*, III, iii, 21.—MARK HUNTER: The comparison of a human being with a vessel is biblical, and from the Bible Shakespeare probably took it. Several times in Shakespeare a woman is termed 'the weaker vessel,' from 1 *Peter*, iii, 7 (*Love's Labour's*, I, i, 270; *As You Like It*, II, iv, 6, etc.). Here and in *Wint. Tale* the allusion seems to be to the vessels that are made 'some to honour, and some to dishonour' (2 *Timothy*, ii, 20). Brutus, that noble vessel, is a vessel unto honour, 'sanctified and prepared unto every good work.'

23-25. **The Ghost of Cæsar . . . here in Philippi fields**] MARK HUNTER: Here we have 'long time' suggested. It could not have been at Sardis that the Ghost of Cæsar first appeared to Brutus (see note on IV, iii, 224). Moreover, the second appearance, if it occurred 'this last night' and 'in Philippi fields,' necessitates an interval of at least one night between the opening of the first scene of this Act (when the armies of the liberators came down from the heights to the plains of Philippi to engage the enemy) and the present scene. But, according to short time, there has been no such interval. The second battle takes place on the same day as the first battle.

26. **my houre is come**] DEIGHTON compares: 'Then they sought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come.'—*John*, vii, 30.

29. **Thou seest the World**] That is, you see the present state of affairs. Compare: '—till then, think of the world.'—I, ii, 330, and note.

30. **Our Enemies haue beat vs to the Pit**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, s. v. Pit): Like beasts of the chase.—MARK HUNTER: There may also be a reference to the grave.

33. **we two went to Schoole together**] MACMILLAN: Brutus, in Plutarch, 'prayed him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together.' Plutarch here refers to the studies of philosophy and rhetoric in which Volumnius and Brutus had been associated as grown men. Shakespeare makes the appeal more touching by supposing that they were schoolboys together.

Euen for that our loue of old, I prethee
Hold thou my Sword Hilts, whilest I runne on it. 35

Vol. That's not an Office for a friend, my Lord.

Alarum still.

Cly. Fly, flye my Lord, there is no tarrying heere.

Bru. Farewell to you, and you, and you *Volumnius*.

Strato, thou hast bin all this while asleepe : 40

Farewell to thee, to *Strato*, Countrymen :

My heart doth ioy, that yet in all my life,

I found no man, but he was true to me.

I shall haue glory by this loosing day 44

34. *prethee*] Ff. *pr'y thee* Pope, +, Craik, Sta. *prithe* Knt, Dyce, Cam. +. *pray thee* Cap. et cct.

35. *Sword Hilts*] *Swords Hilt* F₃F₄, Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. *sword-hilts* Mal. et seq.

35. *whilest*] *while* F₃F₄, Rowe, +. *whilst* Cap. Jen. *whilst* Var. '78 et seq.

41. *thee, to Strato,*] *thee too, Strato.* Theob. et seq.

42. *in all*] *all Ff.*

35. *Hilts*] See V, iii, 47.

38. *there is no tarrying heere*] '—one of them said there was no tarrying for them there, but that they must needs fly.'—Plutarch, *Brutus*, § 32; ed. Skeat, p. 150.—CRAIK compares: 'There is nor flying hence nor tarrying here.'—*Macbeth*, V, v, 48.

39-41. *Farewell to you . . . Farewell to thee*] ABBOTT (§ 232): The difference between 'thou' and 'you' is well illustrated by this farewell addressed by Brutus to his *schoolfellow* Volumnius, and his *servant* Strato. Compare also the farewell between the noble Gloucester and Edgar 'dressed like a peasant': '*Edg.* Now fare you well, good sir.' '*Glouc.* Now, fellow, fare thee well.'—*Lear*, IV, vi, 32, 41.—MARK HUNTER: Although Shakespeare apparently makes Strato, who was really Brutus's friend, his servant, Dardanius and Clitus, who are also servants, are addressed with the plural 'you.' 'Thee' in l. 41 is due to 'thou' in the preceding verse, which again is due to a desire for euphony. (Read the verse substituting '*you have been.*')

44. *I shall haue glory by this loosing day*] In Bell's Edition, after this line, the following is added: 'Retire and let me think a while—Now, one last look, and then, farewell to all; Scorning to view his country's wrongs, Thus Brutus always strikes for liberty. Poor slavish Rome, farewell.' Then follows l. 60: 'Cæsar now be still,' etc. [To these lines the editor, F. Gentleman, adds a note to the effect that though these lines are not in the original text, they are 'properly added,' but does not vouchsafe any information as to their authorship.—ED.]—CANNING (*Sh.'s Historical Plays*, p. 9): Brutus firmly believes in the glorious happiness of a Roman Republic without, apparently, studying whether his fellow-countrymen at that time desired such a form of government, or what the views of the majority were upon the subject.—[H. WHITE, translator of Appian's *History*, remarks (ii, 379, foot-note): 'Dion Cassius (xlvii, 40) says that before killing himself Brutus repeated the words of Hercules, "Delusive virtue, thou art but a name. I cultivated thee as a reality, but thou art the slave of fortune." Florus (iv, 7) puts in the mouth of Brutus

More then *Octavius*, and *Marke Antony*,
 By this vile Conquest shall attaine vnto.
 So fare you well at once, for *Brutus* tongue
 Hath al nost ended his liues History :
 Night hangs vpon mine eyer, my Bones would rest,
 That haue but labour'd to attaine this houre.

45

50

Alarum. Cry within, Flye, flye, flye.

Cly. Fly my Lord, flye.

Bru. Hence: I will follow:

I prythee *Strato*, stay thou by thy Lord,
 Thou art a Fellow of a good respect :
 Thy life hath had some smatch of Honor in it,
 Hold then my Sword, and turne away thy face,
 While I doe run vpon it. Wilt thou *Strato*?

55

58

46. *this*] *their* Walker (Crit., i, 302),
 Huds. iii.

47. *Brutus*] *Brutus*' Pope et seq.

53 *follow*] *follow thee*. Pope,+
 (—Var. '73), Cap. Steev. Varr.

'03, '13.

53. [Exeunt Clitus, Dardanius, and
 Volumnius. Cap.

56. *smatch*] *smack* Varr. Ran. Wh. i.
in it] *in't* Pope,+.

nearly the same words: "*Non in re, sed in verbo tantum esse virtutem.*" Brutus's dying speech given by Plutarch is much longer, as well as more appropriate and dignified, and better entitled to credence.'—H. B. FOSTER (Dio's *Annals of the Roman People*, iii, 155) notes that the above passage, 'Delusive virtue,' etc., is No. 374 among the *Fragmenta Adespota* in Nauck's *Fragmenta Tragicorum Græcorum*.—ED.]

56. *smatch*] WRIGHT: That is, *smack, tincture*. With the forms *smack* for the verb and 'smatch' for the noun, compare *ake* and *ache* as used in the Folio.—[See note on *Temp.*, I, ii, 433, this edition; and for other examples of *smack*, in this sense, see Schmidt, *Lex.*, s. v. The form 'smatch' is not used elsewhere by Shakespeare.—ED.]

57, 58. *Hold then my Sword . . . While I doe run vpon it*] GREEN (p. 202) gives a reproduction from one of the emblem-writers, Alciat, 1581, wherein is portrayed the death of Brutus, who is shown falling upon a sword which rests upon the ground. Green also quotes two verses by Whitney descriptive of this event; and adds: 'the references or allusions by the later poet to the earlier can scarcely be questioned; they are too decided to be the results of pure accident.'—[The similarity is certainly not due to accident, but to the fact that Whitney is here also following Plutarch. Two lines betray him, thus: 'But firste, his frendes perswaded him to flee, Whoc aunswer'd thus, my flighte with handes shalbee.' In Plutarch is this sentence: '—one of them said . . . that they must needs fly. Then Brutus, rising up, "We must fly indeed," said he, "but it must be with our hands, not with our feet."'—*Brutus*, § 32; ed. Skeat, p. 150.—ED.]

Stra. Giue me your hand firſt. Fare you wel my Lord.

Bru. Farewell good *Strato*. ——— *Cæſar*, now be ſtill, 60
I kill'd not thee with halfe ſo good a will. *Dyes*.

Alarum. *Retreat.* Enter *Antony*, *Oſtavius*, *Meſſala*,
Lucilius, and the Army.

Oſta. What man is that ?

Meſſa. My Maſters man. *Strato*, where is thy Maſter ? 65

Stra. Free from the Bondage you are in *Meſſala*,
The Conquerors can but make a fire of him :
For *Brutus* onely ouercame himſelfe,
And no man elſe hath Honor by his death.

Lucil. So *Brutus* ſhould be found. I thank thee *Brutus* 70
That thou haſt prou'd *Lucilius* ſaying true,

61. *Dyes*.] He runs on his ſword and
dies. Rowe et ſeq.

62. SCENE IX. Pope, Han. Warb.
Johns.

63. the Army] their Army. Mal. et
ſeq.

71. *Lucilius*] *Lucilius'* Pope et
ſeq.

61. I kill'd not thee with halfe ſo good a will] STAPFER (p. 350): The death of Brutus was not merely the penalty he paid for a ſeries of imprudent and miſtaken actions, but was alſo the expiation of a great crime. Dante and Virgil, after having travelled through the eight circles of hell, and having arrived at the loweſt abyſs of all, perceive the three-faced monſter, 'the Emperor of the realm of ſorrow,' who 'at every mouth a ſinner champ'd': "That upper ſpirit Who hath worſt puniſhment," ſo ſpake my guide, "Is Judas, he that hath his head within And plies the feet without. Of th' other two, Whoſe heads are under, from the murky jaw Who hangs, is Brutus: lo! how he doth writhe And ſpeaks not. The other Caſſius, that So large of limb."—Canto xxxiv, [ll. 56–63; trans. Cary]. . . . Many extenuating circumſtances could, indeed, eaſily be plead in Brutus's favour, and there is no human tribunal at whoſe bar he would not ſtand abſolved. . . . But from an abſolute, ideal point of view like Dante's, abſtracting all adventitious circumſtances of place, time and perſons, the regicide would deſerve a place of honour in the nethermoſt hell, for no crime could be greater than his—that of high treaſon againſt the Divine King, for he who had committed it would be guilty of trying to make himſelf wiſer than God, and of taking the place of the Moſt IIgh in the government of the world.—[Cary, in a note on the paſſage quoted by Stapfer, ſays: 'Landino ſtruggles, but I fear in vain, to extricate Brutus from the unworthy lot which is here assigned him. He maintains that by Brutus and Caſſius are not meant the individuals known by thoſe names, but any who put a lawful monarch to death. Yet if Cæſar was ſuch, the conſpirators might be regarded as deſerving of their doom. . . . If Dante, however, believed Brutus to have been actuated by evil motives in putting Cæſar to death, the excellence of the patriot's character in other reſpects would only have aggravated his guilt in that particular.']

71. *Lucilius ſaying true*] See V, iv, 30.

- Octav.* All that seru'd *Brutus*, I will entertaine them. 72
 Fellow, wilt thou bestow thy time with me?
Strat. I, if *Messala* will preferre me to you.
Octav. Do so, good *Messala*. 75
Messa. How dyed my Master *Strato*?
Strat. I held the Sword, and he did run on it.
Messa. *Octavius*, then take him to follow thee,
 That did the latest seruice to my Master.
Ant. This was the Noblest Roman of them all: 80
 All the Conspirators saue onely hee,
 Did that they did, in enuy of great *Cæsar*:
 He, onely, in a generall honest thought,
 And common good to all, made one of them. 84

75. good] Om. Cap. Steev. Varr. '03,

Han.

'13.

76. Master] Om. F₂. Lord F₃F₄,
 Rowe, -.

83, 84. generall honest...And] gener-
 ous, honest...Of Coll. ii, iii (MS), Craik.
 general-honest...And Walker (Crit., i,
 29), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. iii.

72. entertaine] That is, employ, take into service.

74. preferre] That is, recommend; compare: 'Shylock thy master spoke with me this day And hath preferr'd thee.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, II, ii, 155.

80. This was the Noblest Roman of them all] DOWDEN (p. 306): The life of Brutus, as the lives of such men must be, was a good life, in spite of its disastrous fortunes. He had found no man who was not true to him. And he had known Portia. The idealist was predestined to failure in the positive world. But for him the true failure would have been disloyalty to his ideals. Of such failure he suffered none. Octavius and Mark Antony remained victors at Philippi. Yet the purest wreath of victory rests on the forehead of the defeated conspirator.—SNIDER (ii, 255): These lines are often quoted as Shakespeare's actual opinion of Brutus, but they are spoken by Antony, to whom they appropriately belong, and to nobody else.—BOAS (p. 472): With characteristic felicity Antony, in his farewell tribute, gives Brutus the praise that he would have coveted most, of being a pattern specimen of humanity. Dante, with his keen imperialistic sympathies, consigns Brutus and Cassius to the lowest circle of the *Inferno*, with Judas as their companion in torture. Shakespeare, on the contrary, exhibits their motives and aims in the most favourable light. Yet the play is a demonstration throughout of the inevitable triumph of Cæsarism.

81. saue onely hee] ABBOTT (§ 118): 'Save' here seems to be used for *saved*, and 'he' to be the nominative absolute. [Compare: 'Save I alone.'—III, ii, 68.]

83, 84. a generall honest thought, And common good to all] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 430) observes, in regard to the MS correction (see *Text. Notes*), that: 'It is hardly requiring too much, in such a case, to suppose that the scribe misheard *generous* and wrote "general"; but the propriety of introducing the change into the text is a matter of discretion.'—To this moderate admission SINGER

His life was gentle, and the Elements 85
 So mixt in him, that Nature might stand vp,
 And say to all the World; This was a man. 87

(*Sh. Vindicated*, p. 249) retorts: 'We may trust he [Collier] will be discreet enough to avoid it.'—CRAIK (p. 378) pronounces the MS reading 'a great improvement upon the old text,' and adds: 'To act "in a general honest thought" is perhaps intelligible, though barely so; but, besides the tautology which must be admitted on the common interpretation, what is to act "in a common good to all"?'—WRIGHT gives the answer to Craik's question thus: 'Under the influence of a general honest motive, and for the common good of all. The construction is loose, as in "Impatient of my absence And grief, that young Octavius," etc., IV, iii, 171, but there is no necessity to read with Collier's MS annotator.'

85-87. His life was gentle . . . This was a man] STEEVENS compares:

'He was a man (then boldly dare to say)
 In whose rich soul the virtues well did suit;
 In whom so mix'd the elements all lay,
 That none to one could sovereignty impute;
 As all did govern, so did all obey:
 He of a temper was so absolute,
 As that it seem'd, when nature him began,
 She meant to show all that might be in man.'

Drayton, *Baron's Wars*, 1598, canto iii.—

MALONE notes that the original title of this poem was *Mortimeriados, The Lamentable Civil Warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons*, and that it was published before 1598. 'But,' continues Malone, 'Drayton afterwards newmodelled the piece entirely, and threw it into stanzas of eight lines, making some retrenchments and many additions and alterations throughout. An edition of his poems was published in 1602, but it did not contain *The Baron's Wars* in any form. They [Qu. it?] first appeared with that name in the edition of 1608. . . . The lines quoted by Steevens are from the edition of 1619. . . . I am inclined to think that Drayton was the copyist. . . . He perhaps had seen this play when it was first exhibited, and perhaps between 1613 and 1619 had perused the MS. . . . It is not improbable that both poets were indebted to Ben Jonson, who has this passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, acted in 1600 and printed in 1601: "A creature of a most perfect and divine temper: one in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met without emulation of precedency."—II, iii. (p. 266; ed. Gifford).—R. G. WHITE: Even if the likeness between the passages in question must necessarily be the consequence of imitation on the part of one poet, it would not follow that Drayton was the copyist. For we know that Shakespeare was ready enough to take a hint or even a thought from any quarter; and a decision that he did not do so in this case (imitation being presumed) must rest upon the previous establishment of the fact that *Jul. Cæs.* was written before 1603; as to conclude, from the resemblance, that the play was produced before the recasting of the poem is to beg the question in the most palpable way. . . . Imitation of one poet by the other might have been more reasonably charged . . . [on account of] the following similarity between a speech of Antony's and another passage in *The Baron's Wars*:

Oſa. According to his Vertue, let vs vſe him
Withall Reſpect, and Rites of Buriall.

88

89. *Withall* *With all* F₃F₄.

‘I tell you that, which you yourselves do know;
Shew you! sweet Caesar’s wounds, poor, poor dumb mouths,
And bid them speak for me; but were I Brutus,
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
In every wound of Caesar’s.’—III, ii, 234–239.

‘That now their wounds (with mouthes euen open’d wide)
Lastly inforc’d to call for present death,
That wants but tongues, your swords doe giue them breath.’—

Baron’s Wars, Bk, ii, st. 38 (ed. 1603).

Which was thus altered for the edition of 1619, in which it is a part of stanza 39:

‘So that their Woundes, like Mouthes, by gaping wide,
Made as they meant to call for present Death,
Had they but Tongues, their deepnesse gives them breath.’

85, 86. **Elements So mixt in him**] NARES (s. v. *Elements*): Man was supposed to be composed of the four elements, the due proportion and commixture of which in his composition was what produced in him every kind of perfection, mental and bodily. The four temperaments, or complexions, which were supposed immediately to arise from the four humours, were also more remotely referred to the four elements. Thus in *Microcosmus* the four complexions enter, and, being asked by whom they are sent, reply: ‘Our parents, the four elements’; and each afterwards refers himself to his proper element: *Choler* to fire; *Blood* to air; *Phlegm* to water; *Melancholy* to earth, [Act II, sc. i.]. No idea was ever more current or more highly in favour than this, particularly with the poets. Hence Sir Toby inquires: ‘Does not our life consist of the four elements?’—*Twelfth Night*, II, iii, 9. [Nares then quotes the present passage and also that from *The Baron’s Wars* given by Malone, and thus concludes]: It has been doubted which author copied the other; but the thought was so much public property at that time as to be obvious to every writer. So Browne says of a lady that such a jewel ‘was never sent To be possesst by one sole element, But such a work nature dispose and gave Where all the elements concordance have.’—*Brit. Past.*, i, 1, p. 8. The thought of Shakespeare’s 44th and 45th *Sonnets*, which form but one poem, turns chiefly upon this supposed combination; among other things he says: ‘My life being made of four, with two alone Sinks down to death oppress’d with melancholy.’ [Nares follows this with quotations from *The Mirror for Magistrates*; Massinger’s *Renegado*; Sir John Davies’ *Immortality of the Soul*; *Ant. & Cleo.*, and Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Nice Valour*, wherein allusion is made to this doctrine that four elements in equal proportion made a perfect disposition. The idea was common property, and in this instance, therefore, both Drayton and Shakespeare may be freed from the charge of plagiarism.—Ed.]

87. **This was a man**] Upon which word is the emphasis here to be placed?—JOSEPH HUNTER (ii, 151) decides that ‘was’ is the important word; metrically the accent there falls; but even then does not the sense require that we read it, ‘*This was a man*’?—Ed.

Within my Tent his bones to night shall ly, 90
 Most like a Souldier ordered Honourably :
 So call the Field to rest, and let's away,
 To part the glories of this happy day. *Exeunt omnes.*

FINIS. 94

93. omnes.] Om. Cap.

94. FINIS.] Om. F₄.

92. the Field] WRIGHT: That is, the army on the field of battle.

A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX

THE TEXT

'THE TRAGEDIE OF JULIUS CÆSAR' was first printed in the Folio of 1623, where it occupies twenty-two pages, from p. 109 to p. 130 inclusive, in the division of *Tragedies*, between *Timon* and *Macbeth*. The Acts alone are indicated—with the exception of *scena prima* at the beginning.

COLLIER: The manuscript originally used for the Folio must have been extremely perfect and free from corruptions, for there is, perhaps, no drama in the volume more accurately printed.

The CAMBRIDGE EDITORS, on account of the freedom from corruptions in the Text, opine that *Jul. Cæs.* 'may perhaps have been (as the preface [in the Folio] falsely implied that all were) printed from the original manuscript of the author.'

LIST OF EMENDATIONS ADOPTED IN THE TEXT OF THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION

This LIST does not include Stage Directions; divisions into metrical lines; mere punctuation, such as changing an *!* into an *?*; nor changes of spelling, such as *Pompey's* for 'Pompeyes'; *months* for 'moncths.' The Four Folios are considered as one text. The lines are numbered according to the Text, as in the present volume.

In the following passages—

Rowe amends 'laughter' to *laugher*.—I, ii, 84.

Grant White amends 'old men, fooles,' to *old men fool*.—I, iii, 74.

Cam. Edd. amend 'Is fauors like' to *in favor's like*.—I, iii, 141.

Theobald amends 'first of March' to *ides of March*.—II, i, 45.

Capell amends 'heare' to *arc*.—II, ii, 64.

Johnson amends 'lane' to *law*.—III, i, 47.

Theobald amends 'hart' to *heart*.—III, i, 231.

Staunton amends 'obiects, arts' to *abjects, orts*.—IV, i, 42.

Pope amends 'Pluto's' to *Plutus*.—IV, iii, 112.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

CAPELL (i. pt ii, p. 90): This play is, perhaps, some ten years younger [than the *Mer. of Ven.*, 1598], if (as it is probable) the three Roman plays were writ together; for one of them, *Ant. & Cleo.*, is entered in the books of the Stationers' Company under the year 1608.

MALONE (*Variorum*, 1821, ii, 295), in his Chronological Order of the plays, places *Jul. Cæs.* 27th in the list, with the date 1607, between *Macbeth* and *Twelfth Night*. 'Lord Sterline's Julius Cæsar,' says Malone (*ibid.*, p. 446), 'though not printed till 1607, might have been written a year or two before; and perhaps its publication in that year was in consequence of our author's play on the same subject being then first exhibited.' [See Malone's note on I, i, 1.] The same observation may be made with respect to an anonymous performance, called *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge*, of which an edition (I believe the second) was likewise printed in 1607. There is an edition without date, which probably was the first. This play, as appears by the title-page, was privately acted by the students of Trinity College, Oxford. In the running title it is called *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar*, perhaps the better to impose it on the public for the performance of Shakespeare. The subject of that piece is the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, the death of Julius, and the final overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. The attention of the town being, perhaps, drawn to the history of the *hook-nosed fellow of Rome*, by the exhibition of Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.*, the booksellers, who printed these two plays, might have flattered themselves with the hope of an expeditious sale for them at that time, especially as Shakespeare's play was not then published. It does not appear that Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæsar* was ever acted: neither it nor his other plays being at all calculated for dramatic exhibition. On the other hand, Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.* was a very popular piece; as we learn from Digges, a contemporary writer, who . . . has alluded to it as one of [Shakespeare's] most celebrated performances. [See note by Theobald on IV, iii, 1.] We have certain proof that *Ant. & Cleo.* was composed before the middle of the year 1608. An attentive review of that play and *Jul. Cæs.* will, I think, lead us to conclude that this latter was first written. Not to insist on the chronology of the story, which would naturally suggest this subject to our author before the other, in *Jul. Cæs.* Shakespeare does not seem to have been thoroughly possessed of Antony's character . . . Antony is not fully delineated till he appears in [*Ant. & Cleo.*]. The rough sketch would naturally precede the finished picture. . . If the date of *The Maid's Tragedy* [by Beaumont and Fletcher] were ascertained, it might throw some light on the present enquiry; the quarrelling scene between Melantius and his friend being manifestly from a similar scene in *Jul. Cæs.*, [IV, iii.]. . . That the *Maid's Tragedy* was written before 1611 is ascertained by a MS play now extant, entitled *The Second Maid's Tragedy*, which was licensed by Sir George Buck, on the 31st of October, 1611. I believe it never was printed. If, therefore, we fix the date of the original *Maid's Tragedy* in 1610, it agrees sufficiently well with that here assigned to *Jul. Cæs.* [In regard to this play mentioned in the *Vertue MSS*, COLLIER (*Introd.*, p. 5) says: 'This might be the production of Lord Stirling, Shakespeare's drama, that written by Munday, Drayton, Webster, Middleton, and others [entitled *Cæsar's Fall*], or a play printed in 1607, under the title of *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar and Pompey*. Mr Peter Cunningham, in his *Revel's Accounts* (*Introd.*, p. xxv.), has shown that a dramatic piece, with the title of *The Tragedy of Cæsar*, was exhibited at Court on Jan. 31, 1636-7.']

CHALMERS (p. 431): It is more than probable that the *argument* of Alexander [Earl of Stirling's] play supplied Shakespeare with his outline; as the play itself furnished Shakespeare with thoughts and expressions to fill up the figure. It is, therefore, improbable that our poet produced his *Jul. Cæs.* before 1607. . . . I have not observed any note of time in the play itself which would make this

inference more certain. [In the list of all the plays in order Chalmers places *Jul. Cæs.* the 29th, between *Macbeth* and *Ant. & Cleo.* Was he forgetful of the fact that Plutarch furnished 'the argumen.' to both the *Earl of Stirling* and *Shakespeare?*—ED.]

DRAKE (*Sh. and his Times*) decides upon 1607 as the most likely date of the composition, and in his chronological list likewise places *Jul. Cæs.* between *Macbeth* and *Ant. & Cleo.*

KNIGHT: The passages [in *Ant. & Cleo.* to which Malone has referred] do not so much point to the general historical notion of the characters, as to the poet's own mode of treating them. This would imply that the play of *Jul. Cæs.* had preceded that of *Ant. & Cleo.* But there is nothing to fix the exact time when either of them was written. We believe that they were among the latest works of Shakespeare.

COLLIER (*Introd.*, p. 3): We think there is good ground for believing that *Jul. Cæs.* was acted before 1603. We found this opinion upon some circumstances connected with the publication of Drayton's *Baron's Wars*, and the resemblance between a stanza there found and a passage in *Jul. Cæs.* [In the notes to the passage to which Collier refers, 'His life was gentle; and the elements So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up And say to all the world, This was a man,'—V, v, 85, will be found the opinions of Malone, Steevens, and others in regard to the similarity between this and the verse from Drayton which Collier compares; for convenience of reference this verse is here repeated: 'Such one he was, of him we boldly say, In whose rich soul all sovereign powers did suit, In whom in peace th' elements all lay So mix'd, as none could sovereignty impute; As all did govern, yet all did obey: His lively temper was so absolute, That 't seem'd, when heaven his model first began, In him it shew'd perfection in a man.' Malone was aware that this stanza was not in the early issue, 1596, of *Mortimeriados*; and that the entire form of the poem, as well as the name, was altered in a later edition, but he apparently did not know that any edition earlier than that of 1608 contained this stanza, or that before that time the name was changed to *The Baron's Wars*. Collier thus continues]: 'This course [the change of form and name] Drayton took before 1603. . . . We apprehend that he did so because he had heard or seen *Jul. Cæs.* before then; and we think that strong presumptive proof that he was the borrower, and not Shakespeare, is derived from the fact that in the subsequent impressions of *The Baron's Wars*, in 1605, 1608, 1610, and 1613, the stanza remained precisely the same as in the edition of 1603; but that in 1619 . . . Drayton made even a nearer approach to the words of his original: "He was a man, then boldly dare to say, In whose rich soul the virtues well did suit; In whom so mix'd the elements did lay, That none to one could sovereignty impute; As all did govern, so did all obey: He of a temper was so absolute, As that it seem'd when Nature him began, She meant to show all that might be in man."'" [To Steevens is due the credit for noticing first the similarity between this later form of the verse and the passage in *Jul. Cæs.* From the mention, in *Hamlet*, III, ii, of the Capitol as the scene of Cæsar's assassination, and its representation in that place in the present play, Collier adduces that *Jul. Cæs.* is the older of the two tragedies. That this was the popular notion is shown by many references to other writings; to these examples Collier adds: 'Thy stately Capitol (proud Rome) had not beheld the bloody fall of pacified Cæsar, if nothing had accompanied him,' Edward Dyer,

Prayse of Nothing, 1585; and thus concludes: 'Robert Greene, a graduate of both Universities, makes the same statement, and Shakspeare may have followed some older play, where the assassination scene was laid in the Capitol. Chaucer had so spoken of it in his *Monk's Tale*.'—For a further discussion on this point, see notes, III, i, 18.—ED.

VERPLANCK (*Introd.*, p. 6) quotes the foregoing remarks by Collier, and thus comments: Allowing that the resemblance pointed out to be one not admitting of the easy explanation of an origin common to both, or of an accidental coincidence, it no more proves Drayton to be the copyist than Shakespeare. The improved edition of the *Baron's Wars* had been printed in 1603; and if it had then been read by the great dramatist, he might have afterwards unconsciously used this or any other thought, and so improved the expression of it that Drayton, in his subsequent version of this poem, was induced to improve his original thought in somewhat the same words. This is as probable a solution as Mr Collier's, and more so, as it agrees better with the other evidence—if, indeed, there be any need of a conjectural hypothesis on the subject, which I do not think there is. But the truth is that, however uncommon the idea and expression may now appear to the modern reader, both were, in the age of Shakespeare and Drayton, familiar to all readers of poetry, and part of the common property of all writers. . . . [See Note on V, v, 85, by Nares.] Thus it is quite evident that there cannot well be a slighter foundation for any chronological argument than that drawn from such a supposed imitation of one writer from another, when the opinions, images, and expressions are part of the common-place property of the writers of the age. . . . Thus the composition of this drama, like *Coriol.*, may, with all reasonable probability, be assigned to some of the seven or eight years subsequent to 1607—that period of the author's life, and of the history of English liberty, when the principles of popular rights were first distinctly and continuously brought into collision with the doctrine of divine regal power and prerogative.

W. W. LLOYD (ap. Singer, viii, 515): My own impression is, as regards the play [by Munday, Drayton, Middleton, etc.] and the poem [*Mortimeriados*] of 1602–3, that Shakespeare's drama was subsequent to them, an impression, however, due to little more than his readiness to welcome every scattered beauty he encountered, and then to the preoccupation of these years with the composition of other dramas of pretty certain and confirmed chronology.

CRAIK (p. 49), after presenting substantially Malone's reasons, concludes that 'the present Play can hardly be assigned to a date later than 1607; but there is nothing to prove that it may not be of considerably earlier date. It is evident that the character and history of Julius Cæsar had taken a strong hold of Shakespeare's imagination. There is perhaps no other historical character who is so repeatedly alluded to throughout his Plays.' [Craik gives in full the passages wherein mention is made of Cæsar; to economise space the references only are here given]: *As You Like It*, V, ii, 34; *2 Hen. IV.*: I, i, 23; *Hen. V.*: V, Prolog. 28; *1 Hen. VI.*: I, i, 56; *Ib.*, I, ii, 139; *2 Hen. VI.*: IV, vii, 65; *3 Hen. VI.*: V, v, 53; *Rich. III.*: III, i, 69–84; *Hamlet*, I, i, 114; *Ib.*, V, i, 236; *Ant. & Cleo.*, I, v, 29; *Ib.*, II, vi, *passim*; *Ib.*, III, ii, 54; *Ib.*, III, xiii, 82; *Cymb.*, II, iv, 21; *Ib.*, III, i, *passim*. [To these may be added: *Merry Wives*, I, iii, 9; *Meas. for Meas.*, II, i, 263; *Love's Labour's*, V, ii, 618; *Rich. II.*: V, i, 2; *2 Hen. VI.*: IV, i, 137; *Rich. III.*: IV, iv, 336;

3 *Hen. VI.*: III, i, 18; *Macbeth*, III, i, 57; *Othello*, I, iii, 127.]—MARK HUNTER (*Introd.*, p. lxxviii.) refers to the foregoing note by Craik, and says: 'Of such allusions, however, there is not one in any authentic play of Shakespeare of earlier date than 1599 that betrays any knowledge of Julius which is not popular or traditional.' In a foot-note he remarks: 'The allusions in the three parts of *Hen. VI.* are of a different character, but those in Pt i. occur in scenes admittedly not Shakespeare's, while all the allusions in Parts 2 and 3 are found word for word in the older plays, *The Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, in which plays Shakespeare's share is much more than doubtful'. . . Most of the [later] allusions are clearly traceable to Plutarch. It is not contended that Shakespeare was unacquainted with North's Plutarch before 1599.'

BATHURST (p. 79): From the verse, I should say positively that [*Jul. Cæs.*] is not so late as 1602. It is mostly unbroken, like the Histories. Antony's speech, 'O pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,' II, i, 283, is remarkably unbroken and antiquated in the metre; his speech, 'O mighty Cæsar,' Ib., i. 170, much the reverse. Between the two we have instances of the weak ending; and so in Brutus's soliloquy:

'All the interim is
Like a Phantasma.'

It is worth while to compare the last speech [V, v, 88-93] with that of *Ant. & Cleo.*, in *pari materia*.

Both DYCE and STAUNTON follow Collier in assigning *Jul. Cæs.* to a date prior to 1603.

HALLIWELL (Folio Edition, xiii, 374): *Jul. Cæs.* was written in or before the year 1601, as appears from the following lines in Weever's *Mirror of Martyr's*, printed in that year,—lines which unquestionably are to be traced to a recollection of Shakespeare's drama, not to that of the history as given by Plutarch:

'The many-headed multitude were drawne
By Brutus speech, that Cæsar was ambitious
When eloquent Mark Antonie had shewne
His Vertues, who but Brutus then was vicious?'

This interesting allusion disposes of the various theories which have assigned the composition of *Jul. Cæs.* to a later date. [Halliwell saw fit, however, to modify this assertion, and in his *Outlines*, ed. ii, 1883, he thus refers to these lines: 'There is supposed to be a possibility, derived from an apparent reference to *Jul. Cæs.* in Weever's *Mirror of Martyr's*, that this tragedy was in existence as early as 1599. . . . Shakespeare's was not, perhaps, the only drama of the time to which the lines of Weever were applicable.'—ED.]

HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 222): It seems to me that in *Jul. Cæs.* the diction is more gliding and continuous, and the imagery more round and amplified, than in the dramas known to have been of the poet's latest period. . . . Take a sentence from the soliloquy of Brutus just after he has pledged himself to the conspiracy:

'Tis a common proof
That lowliness is young ambition's ladder,

Whereto the climber-upward turns his face;
 But, when he once attains the upmost round,
 He then unto the ladder turns his back,
 Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
 By which he did ascend.'

Here we have a full, rounded period in which all the elements seem to have been adjusted, and the whole expression set in order, before any part of it was written down. The beginning foresees the end, the end remembers the beginning, and the thought and image are evolved together in an even, continuous flow. The thing is, indeed, perfect in its way, still it is not in Shakespeare's latest and highest style. Now compare with this a passage from the *Wint. Tale*:

'When you speak, sweet,
 I'd have you do it ever: when you sing,
 I'd have you buy and sell so; so give alms;
 Pray so; and for the ordering your affairs,
 To sing them too: when you do dance, I wish you
 A wave o' the sea, that you might ever do
 Nothing but that; move still, still so, and own
 No other function.'

Here the workmanship seems to make and shape itself as it goes along, thought kindling thought, and image prompting image, and each part neither concerning itself with what has gone before nor what is coming after. The very sweetness has a certain piercing quality, and we taste it from clause to clause, almost from word to word, as so many keen darts of poetic rapture shot forth in rapid succession. Yet the passage, notwithstanding its swift changes of imagery and motion, is perfect in unity and continuity. Such is, I believe, a fair illustration of what has long been familiar to me as the supreme excellence of Shakespeare's ripest, strongest, and most idiomatic style. *Ant. & Cleo.* is pre-eminently rich in this quality, but there is enough of it in *The Tempest*, *Wint. Tale*, *Coriol.*, and *Hen. VIII.* to identify them as belonging to the same stage and period of authorship. But I can find hardly so much as an earnest of it in *Jul. Cæs.*; and nothing short of very strong positive evidence would induce me to class this drama with these, as regards the time of writing. [Hudson, therefore, on the evidence of Halliwell's quotation from Weever, adopts a date prior to 1601.—ED.]

FURNIVALL (*Succession of Sh.'s Plays*, p. xxxix.): [We must take into account that] Shakspeare's great patron and friend, Southampton, was declared traitor and imprisoned in 1601; was threatened with death, and in almost daily danger of it till Elizabeth's own death in 1603 set him free through King James; the rebellion and execution of Essex, Southampton's friend and the cause of his ruin, to whom Shakspeare had two years before alluded with pride in his Prologue to *Hen. V.*, l. 30. At any rate, the times were out of joint. Shakspeare was stirred to his inmost depths, and gave forth the grandest series of tragedies that the world has ever seen: *Hamlet* (followed by the tragi-comedy *Meas. for Meas.*), *Jul. Cæs.*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Tro. & Cress.*, *Ant. & Cleo.*, *Coriol.*, *Timon*. [In a following 'Trial table' Furnivall assigns the date 1601-3 to *Jul. Cæs.*] In a letter to The Academy, 18 September, 1875, Furnivall writes: 'I must note, too, how closely Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, 1601, would come home to the ears and hearts of this same London

audience of 1601, after the favourite's outbreak against his Sovereign. *El tu, Brute?* would mean more to them than to us. Indeed, it is possible that the conspiracy against Elizabeth may have made Shakespeare choose 1601 as the time for producing, if not writing, his great tragedy, with its fruitful lesson of conspirators' ends.' This date he also adopts in the *Introd.* to the *Leopold Shakespeare*, p. lxvii. In reference to the foregoing communication WRIGHT (*Introd.*, p. xlv.), after calling attention to 'the singular reticence of Shakespeare with regard to contemporary events,' says: 'To my own mind the coincidence in time between the representation of the play, assuming the date 1600-1601 to be correct, with the desperate attempt of Essex, is a coincidence only, so far as regards Shakespeare. Still the hearers would have their own thoughts, and the play to them might have a meaning which the author did not consciously intend.'

FLEAY (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, p. 357) opines that *Jul. Cæs.* as it appears in the Folio is but an alteration and abridgement, by Ben Jonson, of Shakespeare's original play. His reasons for so deciding are substantially as follows: In all the plays, other than *Jul. Cæs.*, wherein the name *Anthony* occurs, it is spelt with *th*; in this play it is, however, either *Antony* or *Antonic*, which is the form used by Ben Jonson in *Catiline*; again, the number of participles in *-ed*, with final syllable pronounced, is out of proportion to that in other plays; certain phrases which appear only in *Jul. Cæs.* may be also found in Jonson's works, e. g., 'come home to you,' I, ii, 328, is not found elsewhere in Shakespeare with just this shade of meaning, equivalent to the French '*chez toi*'; Jonson, in *Catiline*, has, however, 'I'll come home to you,' III, i, [ed. Gifford, p. 252]; 'quality and kind,' I, iii, 73, is not used by Shakespeare, who speaks of 'quality and brain,' 'quality and name.' Jonson, *Every Man In His Humour*, has, 'Spirits of our kind and quality,' II, i; 'bear me hard,' which occurs three times in *Jul. Cæs.* and in no other of Shakespeare's plays, is used by Jonson, who has: 'Ay, though he *bear me hard* I yet must do him right.'—*Catiline*, IV, v, [ed. Gifford, p. 318]. The large proportion of short lines where no pause is required is an evidence of abridgement for representation. This is quite unlike Shakespeare in his complete work; but may be seen in the surreptitious quartos of *Hamlet* and *Rom. & Jul.* The number of once-used words is not great, which is in Jonson's manner, since we know his dislike to strange words as shown by the last Act of *The Poetaster*. It is probable, Fleay thinks, that Shakespeare worked with Jonson on *Sejanus* in 1602, and what then more likely than that Jonson should be chosen to remodel Shakespeare's play if needed in a form shorter than originally written. The practice of following up a successful play by others is well-known. 'Is it not, then, highly probable,' asks Fleay, 'that this play, produced about 1601 originally, should be revived in 1607, the date of Lord Sterling's *Julius Cæsar* and of *Cæsar's Revenge*, . . . or if it were produced in 1607, as Malone believes, that the other play was then published in rivalry to it? In any case I think it likely that *some* production or reproduction was at that date, and another after Shakespeare's death, with Jonson's alterations. There is a stilted feeling about the general style of this which is not the style of Jonson, but just what one would fancy Shakespeare would become with an infusion of Jonson.' As regards the resemblance between the quarreling scene, in *The Maid's Tragedy*, and that between Brutus and Cassius, Fleay decides that Beaumont and Fletcher's play 'was probably produced in 1609, the year after *Philaster* [which is imitated from *Cymb.*]. It is, therefore, not improbable that *Jul. Cæs.* was reproduced in the year after, or, at any rate, about the same time as *Cymb.*, that is, in or close on 1607,

just as Shakespeare's fourth period began.' Fleay calls attention to the like use of the word 'lane,' meaning *narrow conceits*, in the line as in the Folio, 'the lane of children,' III, i, 48, and a passage in Jonson's *Staple of News*; but herein has been anticipated by Steevens both in the interpretation and illustration (see note *ad loc. cit.*). The Folio reading has not, moreover, been accepted by any editor since Johnson's emendation '*law*.' Fleay also notices (as did Malone) the similarity between that passage in V, v, 'His life was gentle, and the elements So mixed in him,' etc., and the lines in *Cynthia's Revells* (acted in 1600): 'A creature of a most divine temper: one in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met without precedency.'—II, iii. 'Surely,' adds Fleay, 'Shakespeare did not deliberately copy Jonson: but if he wrote before him, *Jul. Cæs.* must come before 1600, into the time of the historical plays. This agrees with the date of allusion discovered by Halliwell, but the paucity of rhymes, number of short lines, and brevity of the play are conclusive as to its not having been produced in its present state at that date. It has been abridged by some one for theatrical representation—if not by Jonson, by some one else.' The final step in Fleay's argument is concerned with that passage in Jonson's *Discoveries*, which has already been the source of so much comment, wherein Jonson, in illustration of the many errors of the man whose memory he honoured 'this side of idolatry,' quotes a line presumably as it originally appeared in this play: 'as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong." He replied, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause."' From this Fleay deduces the following: '(1) That a line in *Jul. Cæs.*, as it originally stood, has been altered from its first form as quoted by Jonson into: "Know Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause Will he be satisfied" [as it now stands in the Folio text, III, i, 56]. (2) That this alteration had been made in the acting copy, . . . though Jonson's statement of its being an alteration was not published till after his death in 1637. (3) That Jonson gives this as one of "many" instances. We cannot now find these in Shakespeare's works, but it is a fair inference that other similar corrections have been made. (4) These alterations were not commonly known; such an opportunity for what our forefathers called "merry jests" would never have been lost. We have, then, a play in which one error at least has been corrected; and an author to whom this correction was privately known—a play in which there is a deficiency of some thousand lines as compared with the others of the same class by the same author; . . . a play with various peculiar phrases and usages of words; and the same critic-author in whose works these peculiar words and phrases are found. Add to these considerations . . . the probability that these two writers had worked together on *Sejanus*, and I think there is a case made out that the play of *Jul. Cæs.* as we have it was corrected by Ben Jonson, whether it had been produced by Shakespeare in 1600–1 in a different form or not. If it had, . . . it would be written by him as a continuation of the series of Histories immediately after *Hen. V.* to which play the general style of *Jul. Cæs.* seems to be more like than to any other work of Shakespeare. . . . If the allusion [in *Hamlet*, III, ii, 109–111] is to Shakespeare's play, it distinctly points to an acting of Cæsar's part by an inferior player: which would give us a reason for the ill-success of the piece at its first production. Hamlet's speech—"Be the *players* ready?"—so strongly contrasts Polonius with the good actors, that he must, I think, be referring to some actual performer. . . . Of course, as I hold the alterations in this play . . . to have taken place principally at the ends of speeches, and especially at the ends of scenes, the proportion of rhymes has been too seriously interfered with to be of any use by way of com-

parison with other plays of Shakespeare.'—[This article is reprinted in Fleay's *Shakespeare Manual*, ch. xi, pp. 262-270. In 'his Life of Shakespeare, 1886, he adopts a date anterior to 1601 as the most likely on account of the allusions in *Mirror of Martyrs* and *Hamlet*, the Quarto of which appeared in 1601.—ED.]

FURNIVALL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, p. 503) characterises the whole of Fleay's theory as 'mere vagary'; he shows by numerous examples from other plays that Fleay's assertion, in regard to certain phrases and words peculiar to *Jul. Cæs.* and plays of Jonson, is not founded on fact and can thus be disproved; that 'the spelling of the name *Antony* is easily accounted for, because the hero's Latin name *Antonius* is also given to him in the play, as it also is in *Sejanus*; that there is no evidence for the statement that Shakespeare and Jonson worked together on *Sejanus* beyond Jonson's words in his recast play: "this book, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the public stage; wherein a second pen had good share: in place of which, I have rather chosen to put weaker, and, no doubt, less pleasing, of mine own, than to defraud so happy a genius of his right by my loathed usurpation." Is it likely that a play of which Shakespeare, about the best part of his middle time, wrote "good share," would fail; and that when Jonson re-wrote this "good share," the play would succeed? (Dr Nicholson has since shown cause to believe that Sheppard was Jonson's helper, as Sheppard claims that he "dictated" to Jonson when he wrote *Sejanus*.) . . . Fleay asks us to believe that Shakespeare wrote *Jul. Cæs.* in 1600-1 (which is no doubt true), and that at the very time he was engaged on his other Roman Plays, *Coriol.* and *Ant. & Cleo.*, in 1606-8, he let Ben Jonson alter his *Jul. Cæs.* in 1607. Is not this too great a demand on our credulity? Again, as to the "very important argument" from Jonson's *Discoveries*, it makes dead against Fleay's theory. For, as Mr Hales well remarked to me, if Ben Jonson had really revised Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.*, he would certainly have told us that he, the great Ben, had set his friend's ridiculous passages all right. Jonson was not the man to hide his light under a bushel. The only point in the whole paper,' concludes Furnivall, 'which I can at present accept is the justification of the Folio reading "lanc," III, i, 48; and this is taken without acknowledgement from Steevens.'

J. W. HALES (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, p. 505): Of external evidence in favour of Fleay's theory there is not one trace, nor is there a single fragment of definite internal evidence.

Professor INGRAM (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, p. 450) has compiled a table of the chronological order of Shakespeare's plays, based on the percentage of 'light endings' (that is, lines ending with words such as *am, has, since, though*) and 'weak endings' (such words as *and, but, from, if*). 'From this table,' says Ingram, 'the following results seem to be deducible: (1) During the first three-fourths (or thereabouts) of Shakespeare's life, he used the light endings very sparingly, and the weak endings scarcely at all. (2) The last fourth (or thereabouts) is . . . unmistakably distinguished from the earlier stages by the very great increase in the number of light endings, and, still more, by the first appearance in any appreciable number, and afterwards the steady growth, of the weak endings. (3) Hence in any discrimination of periods which is founded on metrical considerations, this last may be called the "weak-ending Period." (4) To this Period *Cymb.* undeniably belongs. (5) *Jul. Cæs.* belongs, not to this, but to the preceding Period.' [In

Ingram's table *Jul. Cæs.* stands twentieth in the list, between *Meas. for Meas.* and *Othello*.]

WARDE (i, 424): That Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.*, at all events in its original form, had appeared several years previously to 1607 seems to be incontestably proved. [Thus, also, Warde in his revised ed. of 1899; vol. ii, p. 138.—Ed.]

ELZE (p. 351) considers the allusion in Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, 1601, as 'most unequivocal,' and calls attention to a passage in Weever's *Dedication*, wherein the author says that his book had 'lain for two years in his desk ready for the press,' and hence, remarks Elze, 'Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.* must have been written before 1601, nay, before 1599. This is a striking proof that Shakespeare's career began and ended earlier than is generally supposed.'

STOKES (p. 35): The great similarity of style between this play and *Hamlet* and *Hen. V.* has been pointed out by Gervinus . . . and others, and, I suppose, must have been felt by nearly every reader. It is not only shown by the many allusions to Cæsar in these plays (allusions, by the by, which show a co-ordinate estimation of his character), but by the 'minor relations' of these plays. This point is so strong that, taking into consideration some of the references [mentioned by Malone, Collier, Halliwell, and others], there can scarcely be any doubt that the original production of this play must be placed in 1599-1600. It may have been revised afterwards, and the appearance of several works bearing similar titles suggests, as Mr Fleay says, its reproduction at that date. [To the apparent allusions to Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.* Stokes adds the following from a collection of poems on the death of Elizabeth, entitled *Sorrowes Joy*, 1603: 'Upon the Death of our Late Queene. They say a comet wöiteth to appeare, When Princes baleful destinie is neare; So Julius Starre was scene with fiery crest, Before his fall to blaze among the rest,' &c. With this he compares: 'When beggars die there are no comets seen; The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.'—II, ii, 36.]

WRIGHT (Clarendon, ed. *Introd.*, p. viii.): That *Jul. Cæs.* was not brought out before 1600 is rendered probable by the use of the word 'eternal' for *infernal* in I, ii, 176 [see Note *ad loc.*]. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it is evident that public attention had been directed by the Puritan party to the license of the players, and very shortly after the accession of James I. an Act was passed to restrain the abuses of the stage. . . . For some reason or other, whereas in three plays which were all printed in 1600, Shakespeare uses the word 'infernal,' he substitutes *eternal* for it in *Jul. Cæs.*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*, and my inference is that he did so in obedience to the popular objections which were urged against the profanity of the stage, and that the plays in which 'eternal' occurs as the equivalent of *infernal* were produced after 1600. If this inference be sound, it follows that *Jul. Cæs.* was brought out subsequently to 1600, and if Weever almost quoted from it in 1601, the date of the play is fixed between very narrow limits. [Elze has, however, shown that Weever's poem was written at least two years before its publication.—Ed.]

VERITY (*Introd.*, p. ix.): The style, versification, and general tone of *Jul. Cæs.* belong to the period 1600-1601 of Shakespeare's career. . . . Having the more striking allusion in the *Mirror of Martyrs*, which points so strongly to

1600-1601, we need not lay great stress upon Drayton's lines [in *The Baron's Wars*, 1603].

BOAS (p. 457): The frequent references to Cæsar in *Hamlet* indicate that Shakespeare had recently been dwelling on the dictator's career, and the kinship of character between the Danish Prince and Brutus suggests that they were created about the same time. The style of the drama is similar to that of the best comedies and English history-plays. . . . The conceits of the early days have fallen away, and the pregnant obscurity of the final period is still to come. . . . Thus 1600-1601 may be confidently accepted as the date.

ROLFE (*Introd.*, p. 10), on the strength of Weever's words in his dedication as noticed by Elze, thinks: 'We may, therefore, safely assume that *Jul. Cæs.* was written as early as 1599. As it is not included in the famous list of Shakespeare's plays in Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, published September, 1598, it is improbable that it was then in existence. Moreover, the internal evidence of metre, style, etc., favours the date as thus fixed within very narrow limits.'

BRANDES (i, 358): There are several reasons for believing that *Jul. Cæs.* can scarcely have been produced earlier than 1601. The years 1599 and 1600 are already so full of work that we can scarcely assign to them this great tragedy as well; and internal evidence indicates that the play must have been written about the same time as *Hamlet*, to which its style offers so many striking resemblances.

MARK HUNTER: Evidence from external sources goes to show that *Jul. Cæs.* was produced not much earlier than 1598, and not later than 1599. If the evidence is to be trusted, *Jul. Cæs.* is not a third period play of the middle-tragedy subdivision, but a second period play, ranking with the later histories. . . . Metrical tests provide no grounds for dating *Jul. Cæs.* later than 1599.

MACMILLAN: The internal evidence afforded by the study of the play is in harmony with . . . the external in the *Dedication to the Mirror of Martyrs*, that *Jul. Cæs.* was composed not later than the year 1599.

SIDGWICK (p. 95): The date 1601 [as the year of composition of *Jul. Cæs.*] is confirmed by the internal evidence from style and versification. Judged purely by its literary and metrical quality it may be placed at the very point of transition from Shakespeare's first to his second manner—so far as the tragic style is concerned. It is the first of the great series of plays of deep tragic interest.

E. H. C. OLIPHANT (*Mod. Lang. Review*, Jan., 1909, p. 190): *Jul. Cæs.* is most certainly of two dates, though but little of the early work is left. There is plenty of reason to believe that the play in some form was in existence in 1599, when Weever penned an allusion to it and Jonson ridiculed a line from it in *Every Man Out of his Humour*. The original play, of which traces are visible here and there, must have been of very early date; witness the passage V, iii, 51-65: 'So I am free, . . . O my heart.' The only argument used against an early date for the play is its absence from Meres's list in 1598, but Meres's list does not pretend to be an exhaustive one, and if this play was as early and as stiff as the few passages still extant serve to indicate, it is little wonder that it was not mentioned among the round dozen he

honours with notice. That it was greatly curtailed is shown by the frequency with which characters who are on the stage are allowed to remain mute. Note particularly that the Lepidus of II, i. (who is not the Lepidus of IV, i.) appears only once and does not speak; that in V, iii, Strabo [*sic*], Volumnius, and Lucilius are all mute; while two non-characters, Labeo and Flavius, are addressed instead of the two former, and that Lucius is confounded with Lucilius.

MACCALLUM (p. 172): Owing to Weever's reference we cannot put *Jul. Cæs.* after *Hamlet*, but it seems to have closer relations with *Hamlet* than with *Hen. V.* It is not rash to place it between the two, in 1600 or 1601. This does not, however, mean that we necessarily have it quite in its original form. On the contrary, there are indications that it may have been revised some time after the date of composition.

RECAPITULATION:

1779 CAPELL.....	1607 or 1608
1790 MALONE.....	... 1607
1799 CHALMERS.....	not before 1607
1817 DRAKE.....	... 1607
1841 KNIGHT.....	among the latest plays
1842 COLLIER.....	before 1603
1847 VERPLANCK.....	after 1607
1856 LLOYD.....	after 1603
1857 CRAIK.....	not later than 1607
1857 DYCE }	before 1603
1860 STAUNTON }	before 1603
1865 HALLIWELL }	before 1601
1872 HUDSON }	before 1601
1874 FURNIVALL.....	1601-1603
1874 FLEAY.....	1601
1874 INGRAM.....	before <i>Othello</i> and after <i>Meas. for Meas.</i>
1875 WARDE.....	before 1607
1876 ELZE.....	before 1599
1878 STOKES.....	... 1599
1878 WRIGHT.....	after 1600
1895 VERITY }	1600
1896 BOAS }	1600
1900 ROLFE.....	1599
1900 BRANDES.....	before 1601
1900 MARK HUNTER }	1599
1902 MACMILLAN }	1599
1904 SIDGWICK.....	1601
1910 MACCALLUM.....	1600 or 1601

SOURCE OF THE PLOT

The basis of nearly all the incidents in *Jul. Cæs.* is to be found in the lives of *Julius Cæsar*, *Brutus*, and *Mark Antony* as given in Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together*, the first edition of which was issued in 1579; the second, in 1595. North's translation was

not from the original Greek, but from the French of Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre, whose translation, from a Latin version of the original, was first published in 1559, and later in 1565. North apparently used the earlier edition. Later editions of North's translation were issued in 1603, 1612, 1631, 1657, and 1676.—SKEAT (*Preface*, p. ix.) says: 'The edition of 1676 is the latest noticed by Lowndes, and I doubt if the work has ever been reprinted since.* This may be partly accounted for if we remember that a new translation, for which Dryden wrote a preface, appeared in 1683-6, and no doubt took its place, being frequently reprinted till supplanted in its turn by a superior translation by the two Langhornes in 1770. And thus it came to pass that the translation by North, long popular and much esteemed, was gradually pushed aside and fell into very unmerited neglect, a fate which seems all the harder when we observe that the translation which first supplanted it was a very indifferent performance.'—To this list may be added a revised edition of the translation called Dryden's, by A. H. Clough, first issued in 1859, which since then has been several times re-issued, and is now accepted as the standard edition of modern times.

Shakespeare's method of using his authority has frequently been illustrated throughout the *Commentary* in the foregoing pages, nevertheless I am sure that no apology is needed for quoting the following remarks on this point by Archbishop TRENCH: '[I do not] think it too much to affirm that [Shakespeare's] three great Roman plays, reproducing the ancient Roman world as no other modern poetry has ever done—I refer to *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*—would never have existed, or, had Shakespeare lighted by chance on these arguments, would have existed in forms altogether different from those in which they now appear, if Plutarch had not written, and Sir Thomas North, or some other in his place, had not translated. We have in Plutarch not the framework or skeleton only of the story, no, nor yet merely the ligaments and sinews, but very much also of the flesh and blood wherewith these are covered and clothed. How noticeable in this respect is the difference between Shakespeare's treatment of Plutarch and his treatment of others, upon whose hints, more or less distinct, he elsewhere has spoken. How little is it in most cases which he condescends to use of the materials offered to his hand. Take, for instance, his employment of some Italian novel, Bandello's or Cinthio's. He derives from it the barest outline—a suggestion perhaps is all, with a name or two here and there, but neither dialogue nor character. On the first fair occasion that offers he abandons his original altogether, that so he may expatiate freely in the higher and nobler world of his own thoughts and fancies. But his relations with Plutarch are different—different enough to justify, or almost to justify, the words of Jean Paul, when in his *Titan* he calls Plutarch "der biographische Shakespeare der Weltgeschichte." What a testimony we have to the true artistic sense and skill, which with all his occasional childish simplicity the old biographer possesses, in the fact that the mightiest and completest artist of all times should be content to resign himself into his hands, and simply to follow where the other leads.

'His *Julius Cæsar* will abundantly bear out what I have just affirmed—a play dramatically and poetically standing so high that it only just falls short of that supreme rank which *Lear* and *Othello*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* claim for themselves, without rival or competitor even from among the creations of the same poet's brain. It

* North's translation is included in the Temple Classics, published by J. M. Dent.—Ed.

is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole play—and the same stands good of *Coriolanus* no less—is to be found in Plutarch. Shakespeare, indeed, has thrown a rich mantle of poetry over all, which is often wholly his own; but of the incident there is almost nothing which he does not owe to Plutarch, even as continually he owes the very wording to Sir Thomas North'—(pp. 51, 52).

MACCALLUM (p. 164) thinks that 'there has been a tendency to overestimate the loans of the Roman Plays from Plutarch'; and, after quoting a portion of the above extract from Trench (beginning 'But his relations with Plutarch' and ending 'to follow where the other leads'), says: 'To this it might be answered, in the first place, that Shakespeare shows the same fidelity in kind, though not in degree, to the comparatively inartistic chronicles of his mother-country. That is, it is in part . . . his tribute, not to the historical author, but to the historical subject. Granting, however, the superior claims of Plutarch, it is yet an overstatement to say that Shakespeare is content to resign himself into his hands, and simply to follow where the other leads. . . . Indeed, however much Plutarch would appeal to Shakespeare in virtue both of his subjects and his methods, it is easy to see that even as a "grave learned philosopher and historiographer" he is on the hither side of perfection. He interrupts the story with moral disquisitions, and is a little apt to preach, and often, through such intrusions and irrelevancies, or the adherence of the commonplace, his most impressive touches fail of their utmost possible effect: at least he does not always seem aware of the full value of his details, of their depth and suggestiveness when they are set aright. Yet he is more excellent in details than in the whole: he has little arrangement or artistic construction; he is not free from contradictions and discrepancies; he gives the bricks and mortar, but not the building, and occasionally some of the bricks are flawed, or the mortar is forgotten. And his stories have this inorganic character because he is seldom concerned to pierce to the meaning that would give them unity and coherence. He moralises, and only too sententiously, whenever an opportunity offers; but of the principles that underlie the conflicts and catastrophes which, in his free-and-easy way he describes, he has at best but fragmentary glimpses. And in all this the difference between the genial moralist and the inspired tragedian is a vast one—so vast that, when once we perceive it, it is hard to retain a fitting sense of the points of contact. In Shakespeare, Plutarch's weaknesses disappear or, rather, are replaced by excellences of precisely the opposite kind. . . . In a sense he is more of a philosophic historian than his teacher. At any rate, while Plutarch takes his responsibilities lightly in regard both to facts and conclusions, Shakespeare, in so far as that was possible for an Elizabethan, has a sort of intuition of the principles that Plutarch's narrative involves; and, while adding some pigment from his own thought and feeling to give them colour and visible shape, accepts them as his presuppositions which interpret the story and which it interprets. Thus the influences of North's Plutarch, whether of North's style or of Plutarch's matter, though no doubt very great, are in the last resort more in the way of suggestion than of control.'

DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, xvii, pp. 67–81) has made an exhaustive comparison of the whole Tragedy with the passages from Plutarch; and arrives at practically the same conclusions as MacCallum: That Shakespeare's indebtedness to North's translation is not so great as has been generally supposed.—LLOYD (*Crit. Essay*; Singer, ed. ii, p. 573) is, I believe, the first to have suggested that the general tone

of Antony's oration seems to indicate an acquaintance with the speech given to Antony by Appian in his history of the Civil Wars, a translation of which was made by Bynnmán in 1578 (see note on III, ii 83).—That there is a resemblance may not be denied; but if this work were known to Shakespeare, he has failed to make any extensive use of it; this one passage is the single place where any marked similarity is shown. Plutarch's account of Antony's oration is meagre, to say the least, and Shakespeare may, therefore, have consulted Appian when his main authority failed him. Lloyd also opines that Antony's sarcastic iteration of 'honourable,' as applied to Brutus and Cassius, was suggested by passages in Cicero's *Second Philippic* (see note, III, ii, 109); but this is, I think, very doubtful; there was no translation of the *Philippics* in Shakespeare's time. Any strong corroborative proof of Shakespeare's use of Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars* is lacking, albeit both Steevens and Malone quote passages in support of this, notably in reference to Cæsar's exclamation, 'Et tu, Brute?' and to the number of wounds said to have been received by Cæsar; but Philemon Holland's is the earliest translation of Suetonius, and its date (1606) is by several years later than the date of composition of *Jul. Cæs.*—Dr SYKES (*Introd.*, xiii.) asserts that, besides Plutarch, Shakespeare 'knew and used Appian, Dio, Ovid, and possibly Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Virgil's *Georgics*, Boccaccio's *Life of Cæsar*, and Eedes' Latin play.' That Shakespeare was acquainted with these Latin authors is abundantly shown throughout his works, but in regard to Dion Cassius's *Annals of the Roman People* (Dio in Sykes's list) the case is different. No translation of the *Annals* appeared until that by Manning in 1704, and had Shakespeare had sufficient knowledge of Greek to read this author in the original he need not have resorted to North's translation of Plutarch, which, by incontrovertible evidence, we know he used. Dion Cassius must, therefore, I think, be excluded on the same grounds as Suetonius; so likewise Valerius Maximus, a translation of whose 'Acts and Sayings of the Noble Romans' was first given by Speed in 1678. Quotations from all three of these writers will be found here and there in the *Commentary*, not, however, in proof of Shakespeare's intimate knowledge of their writings, but often as a check on the historic accuracy of his authority, Plutarch.

The question which naturally presents itself then is: Which edition of North's translation did Shakespeare use? Any discussion of this point is, however, of comparatively recent date, and attention was called to it first by the publication of a pamphlet by A. P. Paton in reference to a copy of North's Plutarch, ed. 1612, which was presented to the Greenock Library in 1870. The book had been formerly the property of G. J. Weir, of Greenock, and had been purchased by him in or about 1814. The following description of the volume, and remarks, so far as they refer to *Jul. Cæs.*, are from Paton's pamphlet:

'At the head of the title-page there is written: "Vive : ut Vivas : W S : pretiu is 18." . . . The Folio is full bound. . . . On one of the backs there has been stamped W. S. In the body of the book there are only two brief notes, and they are apparently by the W. S. of the Title page. Wherever he got the authority for "Et tu, Brute," Shakespeare was mainly adhering to North's Plutarch, and using its language; and at [the account of the assassination], where he, almost for the only time and decidedly, differs from the historian, there is written on the margin: "Brute—Brutus" in brackets. The other note is at the "Ides of March," opposite which W. S. has put "March 15," which, considering that, if Shakespeare's, the one would belong to his youth, and the other to his manhood, bears a resemblance to the "March 16" in the Berry Autograph, as does the last part of its

"Shakspeare" . . . to the "Vive ut Vivas" here. There are also about one hundred and four minute but characteristic MS marks, by this W. S., to passages in thirteen out of the sixty-five Lives contained in the volume, and many of the marked passages have been found to correspond with passages in the three Roman Plays. These passages are not such as another W. S., in Shakespeare's lifetime, would mark in comparing the History with Shakespeare's Plays, assuming that they were written before 1612, (which we do not think), for such a person must then have marked hundreds of passages in the lives of Cæsar, Coriolanus, and Antony, and would not likely mark any passage at a distance from those Lives. Neither would, nor, we may almost say, could Shakespeare mark these lives to the extent he used them. He would require to study them bodily, and have them by heart, and any marks by him on them must have been at points that had been overlooked, or where some difference was to be made. In *Jul. Cæs.* among the seven marked passages are the following: (1) " . . . he said it was better to die once than always to be affraid of death." [See II, ii, 38, 39.] (2) " . . . as for these fat men and smooth combed heads, quoth he, I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carion leane people, I feare them most, meaning Brutus and Cassius." [See I, ii, 211-220.] (3) "It is reported that he had three-and-twentie wounds upon his bodie." [See V, i, 60.] In the life of Antonius the following passage is marked: "He used a maner of phrase in his speech called Asiaticke, which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery and vaine ambition." Upton (*Crit. Obs.*) quotes this passage, and says: "This style our poet has very artfully and learnedly interspersed in Antony's speeches." . . . In Plutarch's description of the death of Cæsar in the lives of Julius Cæsar and Brutus there is nothing to give foundation to the passage where Brutus says: "—let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood Up to the elbows," III, i, 122, but in the life of Publicola, W. S. has put a mark opposite the marginal title: "The confederacie confirmed with drinking of mans bloud," and the passage: " . . . they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great and horrible oath, drinking the bloud of a man, and shaking hand in his bowels, whom they would sacrifice." [Another passage marked by W. S. is that wherein mention is made of Brutus's style of speaking being modelled on that of the Lacedæmonians; see note by Lloyd, III, ii, 6.] W. S. has marked the following passage in the Life of Lycurgus: 'For mine owne opinion, I like well of the Laconians manner of speaking: which is not to speake much, but when they speake, to touch the matter effectually and to make the hearers understand them. I think also that Lycurgus selfe, was short and quick in his talke.'—SKEAT (*Sh.'s Plutarch; Preface*, p. xiii.) quotes in part from the foregoing remarks by Paton, and says: 'On the whole, since there are these few indications which fairly point to Shakespeare as having been the owner of the book, and as there is no argument whatever on the contrary side, it seems quite possible that the claim may be allowed; and there is thus a probability that the edition of 1612 is the one which Shakespeare actually bought for his own use, though he no doubt had become acquainted with "North's Plutarch," in an earlier edition, some years previously. Before 1612 there were three editions, any one of which would be equally likely to come under his notice; but he must certainly have become acquainted with the work before 1603, because there is a clear allusion to it in one of his earlier plays, viz.: *Mid. N. Dream*; compare II, i, 75-80 with the *Life of Theseus*, containing the names *Perigouna* (see p. 279, l. 26), *Ægles* (p. 284, l. 28), *Ariadne* (p. 283, l. 18), *Antiopa*, and *Hippolyta* (p. 288, ll. 2-4).'

Since, therefore, so far as the text is concerned, there is, as Skeat remarks, but little to choose between the editions of 1603 and 1612, he has in his reprint adopted that of 1612.—LEO, in the *Preface* to his excellent photo-lithographic reproduction, *Four Chapters from North's Plutarch*, says: 'The question, whether Shakespeare possessed the edition of 1612 or not, is one not worthy of discussion. After having written at least one of the plays, viz., *Coriolanus*, *Jul. Cæs.*, or *Ant. & Cleo. before 1612*, after thus having become acquainted with Plutarch by perusing a former edition of that author's works, he might have indulged in the luxury of buying a second copy of a newly published edition, *but he cannot have made use of that edition when he wrote the plays*, since at that time it was not yet printed.'—Of the three editions which Shakespeare might have used, that is, 1579, 1595, and 1603. Leo decides upon that of 1595, for the following reasons: (1) The edition of 1603 contains, among other additions to the text, the *Life of Augustus Cæsar*, which if known to Shakespeare would have been the basis of some 'highly interesting touches in the likeness of Octavius Cæsar,' and 'if these be wanting, we are entitled to believe that the painter had no opportunity of seeing them, *i. e.*, he made use of an edition into which this new biography of Octavius was not yet admitted.'

(2) In the passage in *Coriol.*, Act II, p. 14 in the Folio, 'Of the same House Publius and Quintus were, That our best Water, brought by Conduits hither,' the words in North's Plutarch, ed. 1579, stand thus: 'Of the same house were *Publius* and *Quintus*, who brought to Rome their best water they had by conducts.' In the edition of 1595 this last word is spelt *conduites*, as in the Folio. On this, however, Leo does not lay much stress, since Shakespeare uses this same form, *conduits*, in plays prior to the year 1595. No one will, I think, wish to contest the superiority of either of these two editions, the one over the other, as the source of Shakespeare's Roman plays; Leo declares that that of 1603 is the worse printed of the three early editions. With Leo's rejection of the edition of 1612 I concur, albeit somewhat reluctantly, since Dr Skeat in his volume, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, and Dr Aldis Wright, in his Introduction to the Clarendon edition, have adopted the text of 1612; and the final judgement of two such scholars is not to be lightly set aside. Where all is, however, conjecture, may not each of us be at liberty to construct a story to explain this puzzle of the late date and the MS notes by W. S.? Perhaps, then, the early edition of North's Plutarch, which had served its turn with Shakespeare, had become so thumbred and tattered with constant use that when this later edition of 1612 appeared he purchased it and to its fresh pages transferred some of the notes from his working copy; this will possibly account for the rarity of the *written* notes; a mark would have been sufficient reminder for one familiar with what he had previously set down in full. All this is, however, such stuff as dreams are made of.

The following extracts are from North's Plutarch, ed. 1595, as given in Leo's facsimile. I have not, however, retained the ancient form of the printed *u* for *v* and *vice versa*, or the long *j*:

The Life of Julius Cæsar

At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in olde time men say was the feast of sheapeheardes or heard men, and is much like unto the feast of the LYCÆIANS in ARCADIA. But howsoever it is, I, i, 77. that day there are divers noblemen's sonnes, young men (and some of them magistrates themselves that governe then) which run naked through the citie, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thongs, haire

and all on, to make them give place. And many noble women and gentle women also goe of purpose to stand in their way, and doe put forth their handes to be stricken, as schollers hold them out to their schoolemaster, to be

I, ii, 13. stricken with the ferula: perswading themselves that, being with childe, they shall have good deliverie, and also being barren, that it will make them to conceive with childe. *Cæsar* sate to beholde that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chaire of golde, appparelled in triumphing manner. *Antonius* who was Consull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place,

I, ii, 255. the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæsar*, and presented him a Diadeame wreathed about with laurell. Whereupon there rose a certaine cry of reioicing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when *Cæsar* refused the Diadeame, then all the people together made an outcry of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him again, there was a second shout of ioy, but yet of a few. But when *Cæsar* refused it againe the second time, then all the whole people shouted. *Cæsar* having made this prooffe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chaire, and commanded the crown to be caried unto *Jupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were set up images of *Cæsar* in the city, with Diadems upon their heades, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, *Flavius*

I, i, 74. and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe, and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted *Cæsar* as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioicing at it, and called them *Brutes*: because of *Brutus*, who had in old time driven the kings out of *ROME*, and that brought the kingdome of one person, unto the government of the Senate and people. *Cæsar* was so offended withall, that he deprived *Marullus* and *Flavius*

I, ii, 306. of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them *Bruti* and *Cumani*, to wit, beasts and fooles.

Hereuppon the people went straight unto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the first *Brutus*, and by his mother of the house of the *Servilians*, a noble house as any was in *ROME*, and also nephew and sonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithstanding, the great honors and favor *Cæsar* shewed unto him, kept him backe that of him selfe alone, hee did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdome. For *Cæsar* did not only save his life, after the battell of *Pharsalia*, . . . but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Pretorship for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Consull, the fourth year after that, having through *Cæsars* friendship, obtained it before *Cassius*, who likewise made sute for the same: and *Cæsar* also, as it is reported, sayd in this contention, indeed *Cassius* hath alleaged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before *Brutus*. . . . Now they that desired change, and wished *Brutus* onely their Prince and Governor above all other: they durst not come to him them selves to tell him what they would have him

I, iii, 160. to doe, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætor's seate, where hee gave audience, and the most of them to this effect. Thou sleepest, *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* indeede. *Cassius* finding *Brutus* ambition sturred up the more by these seditious bils, did pricke him II, i, 52-54. forward and egge him on the more, for a privat quarrel he had conceived againt *Cæsar*. . . . *Cæsar* also had *Cassius* in great gealousie, and suspected him much: whereuppon he sayd on a time to his friends, what will *Cassius* do, think ye? I like not his pale looks. An

other time when *Cæsars* friends complained unto him of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them againe, as for those fat men and smooth-comed heads, qu[oth] hee, I never reckon of them; but these pale visaged and carian leane people, I feare them most, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. [This is also mentioned in the *Life of Brutus*, § 6.]

I, ii, 337.

I, ii,
211-213.

Certainely, destiny may easier be foreseene, then avoyded: considering the strange and wonderfull signes that were sayd to be scene before *Cæsars* death. For, touching the fires in the 'ement, and spirites running I, iii, 28-30. up and downe in the night, and also the solitary birdes to be scene at noone dayes sitting in the great market place: are not all these signes perhappes worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But *Strabo* the Philosopher writeth, that divers men were I, iii, 27. scene going up and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the souldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæsar* I, iii, 17-20. self also doing sacrifice unto the goddes, found that one of the II, ii, 48. beastes which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast cou'd live without a heart. Furthermore there was a certain Soothsayer who had given *Cæsar* warning long time afore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of March, (which is II, ii, 24. the fifteenth of the moneth), for on that day he should be in great daunger. That day being come, *Cæsar* going unto the Senate house, and speaking merily unto the Soothsayer, tolde him, the Ides of Marche be come: so be they, softly answered the Sooth sayer, III, i, 6, 7. but yet are they not past. And the very day before, *Cæsar* supping with *Marcus Lepidus*, sealed certaine letters, as he was wont to II, ii, 41-43. do at the bord: so talke falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best: hee, preventing their opinions, cried out aloud, death unlooked for. Then going to bed the same night, as his maner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windowes and dores of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraied when saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being fast a sleepe, weepe and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches. For shee dreamed that *Cæsar* II, ii, 5, 6. was slaine, and that she had him in her armes. Others also do deny that shee had any such dreame, as, amongst other, *Titus Livius* writeth that it was in this sort. The Senate having set upon the top of *Cæsars* house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia* dreamed that shee saw it broken down, and that shee thought shee lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that, *Cæsar* rising in the morning, shee prayd him if it wer possible, not to go out of the dores that day, but to adorne II, ii, 14. the session of the Senate, untill an other day. And if that hee made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that *Cæsar* likewise did feare and suspect somewhat, because his wife *Calpurnia* untill that time, was never given to any feare and II, ii, 18. superstition: and then for that he saw her so troubled in minde with this dreame shee had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothsayers having sacrificed many beastes one after an other, tolde him that none did like

them: then he determined to send *Antonius* to adorne the session of the Senate.

But in the meane time came *Decius Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæsar* put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had

II, ii, 68. appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conspiracy with *Cassius* and *Brutus*: he fearing that if *Cæsar* did adorne the session on that day, the conspiracy would out, laughed the soothsayers to scorne, and reproved *Cæsar*, saying: that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might thinke hee mocked them, considering

I, iii, 95-98. that by his commaundement they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to graunt him all things, and to proclaime him king of all the provinces of the Empire of *ROME* out of *ITALY*, and that he should weare his Diadem in all other places both by sea and land.

II, ii, 107-110. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should depart for that present time, and returne againe when *Calpurnia* should have better dreames: what would his enemies and ill willers say, and how could they like of his friends words? And who could perswade them otherwise, but that they should thinke his dominion a slavery unto them and tyrannicall in him selfe? And yet if it be so, sayd he, that you utterly mislike of this day, it is better that you goe your selfe in person, and saluting the Senate, to dismisse them till an other time. Therewithal he took *Cæsar* by the hand, and brought him out of his house.

Cæsar was not gone farre from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what hee could to speake with him: and when he saw he was put backe by the great prease and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put him self into *Calpurnias* hands, to be kept till *Cæsar* came backe againe, telling

her that he had great matters to impart unto him. And one *Artemidorus* also, borne in the Ile of *GNIDOS*, a doctor of Rhetoricke in the Greeke tongue, who by meanes of his profession was very familiar

with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against *Cæsar*: came and brought him a little bill, written with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking how *Cæsar* received all the supplications that were offered him, and that hee gave them straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and sayed: *Cæsar*,

III, i, 11-14. reade this memoriall to your selfe, and that quickly, for they be matters of great waight, and touch you nearly. *Cæsar* tooke it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to him selfe, went on withall to the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gave him that memoriall, and not *Artemidorus*, who did what he could all the way as he went to give it *Cæsar*, but he was alwayes repulsed by the people. For these things, they may seem to come by chaunce: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of *Pompey* dedicated by him selfe amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the Theater: all these were manifest proofes, that it was the ordinaunce of some god that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that *Cassius* (though otherwise hee did favour the doctrine of *Epicurus*) beholding the image of *Pompey*, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterprise: hee did softly call uppon it to aide him. But the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former

reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man halfe besides him selfe. Now *Antonius*, that was a faithfull friend to *Cæsar*, and a valiant man besides of his handes, him *Decius Brutus Albinus* III, i, 33. entertained out of the Senate house, having begunne a long tale of set purpose. So *Cæsar* comming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feete to doe him honor. Then part of *Brutus* company and confederates stooode round about *Cæsar*s chayre, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made sute with *Metellus Cimber*, to call home his brother againe from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their sute, they followed *Cæsar*, till hee was set in his chaire. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, because the more they were denied the more they pressed upon him, and were the earnestest with him: *Metellus* at length, taking his gowne with both his hands, pulled it over his necke, which was the signe given the confederats to set upon him. Then *Casca*, behinde him, strake him in the necke with his sword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortall, because it seemed the feare of such a devilish attempt did amaze him and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But *Cæsar* turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword, and held it hard: & they both cried out, *Cæsar* in Latin: O vile traitor *Casca*, what doest thou? And *Casca* in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe mee. At the beginning of this stur, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw: they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, not so much, as once to make an outcry. They on the other side that had conspired his death compassed him in on everie side with their swords drawn in their hands, that *Cæsar* turned him no where but hee was stricken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wilde beast taken of hunters. For it was agreede among them, that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murther: and then *Brutus* gave him one wound about his privities. Men report also, that *Cæsar* did still defend him selfe against the rest, running every way with his body: but when he saw *Brutus* with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gowne over his head, and made no more resistaunce, and was driven either casually, or purposedly, by the counsell of the conspirators, against the base whereupon *Pompeys* image stooode, which ran all of a goare blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed that the image tooke just revenge of *Pompeys* enemy, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yeelding up his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blowes. When *Cæsar* was slaine, the Senate (though *Brutus* stood in the middest amongst them, as though he would have saied somewhat touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with marvellous feare and tumult. . . . But *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, which were two of *Cæsars* chiefest friends, secretly conveying them selves away, fled into other mens houses, and forsooke their own. *Brutus* and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenance to flie, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads

III, i, 33.

III, i, 41-57.

III, i, 89.

III, i, 228.

III, ii,
194-199.III, i,
113-115.III, i,
125-128.

like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speake with every great personage whom they met in their way. . . .

The next morning, *Brutus* and his confederates came into the market place to speake unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it
 III, ii, 1-40. seemed they neither greatly reprov'd nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they shew'd, that they were sorry for *Cæsars* death and also that they did reverence *Brutus*. Now the Senate granted generall pardon for all that was past; and, to pacifie every man, ordained besides, that *Cæsars* funerals should bee honored as a god, and established all things that he had done: and gave certain provinces also and convenient honors unto *Brutus* and his con-

III, ii, 252-271. federates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietnes againe. But when they had opened *Cæsars* testament, and found a liberall legacie of money, bequethed unto every citizen of *ROME*, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market place) all bemangled with gashes of swords: then there was no order to keepe the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked up formes, tables, and stooles, and layed them all about the body, and setting them a fire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrands, and went unto their houses that had slain *Cæsar*, to set them a fire. Other also ran up and down thee city to see if they could meete with anie of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meete with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves up safely in their houses. There was one of *Cæsars* friends called *Cinna*, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Cæsar* bad him to supper, and that he refused, & would not go: then that *Cæsar* tooke him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now *Cinna*, hearing at that time that they burnt *Cæsars*

body in the market place, notwithstanding that he feared his dreame,
 III, iii. and had an ague on him besides: he went into the market place to honor his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man tolde it to another, and that other unto an other, so that it ran straight through them all, that hee was one of them that murdered *Cæsar*: (for indeed one of the traitors to *Cæsar* was also called *Cinna* as him selfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murderer, they fell uppon him with such fury that they presently dispatched him in the market place. This sturre and fury made *Brutus* and *Cassius* more afraied, then of all that was past, and therefore within few dayes after, they departed out of *ROME*. . . .

But [*Cæsars*] great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him al his lifetime, did continue after in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to *Cassius*

above all other, is most to be wondred at: For he, being overcome
 V, iii, in battel at the iorney of Philippes sleu him selfe with the same
 49, 50 sword with which he strake *Cæsar*. Againe, of signs in the element, the great comet, which seven nights together was seene very bright
 II, ii, 36, 37. after *Cæsars* death, the eight night after was never seen more. . . .

But above all, the ghost that appeared unto *Brutus* shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murther of *Cæsar*. The vision was thus. *Brutus* being ready to passe over his army from the city of *ABYDOS* to the

other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires (for by report hee was as careful a Captaine, and lived with as litle sleepe, as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent dore, and looking IV, iii, towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatnes and dreadfull look, which 319-331. at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stode by his bed side and sayd nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him: I am thy ill angell, *Brutus*, and thou shalt see me by the city of *PHILIPPES*. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and sayd: well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirite presently vanished from him. After that time *Brutus*, being in battell neare unto the city of *PHILIPPES*, against *Antonius* and *Octavius Cæsar*, at the first battell he won the victory, and overthrowing all them that withstoode him, he drave them into young *Cæsars* camp, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this V, v, 23-26. spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon *Brutus*, knowing hee should die, did put himself to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrowen, he ranne unto a little rocke not farre off, V, v, 60, 61. and there setting his swordes point to his brest, fell upon it, and slue him selfe, but yet as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend that dispatched him.

The Life of Brutus

Now when *Cassius* felt his friendes, and did stirre them up against *Cæsar*: they all agreed, and promised to take part with him so *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conspiracie. For they told him that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so much require men of manhood I, iii, 156-183. and courage to draw their swords: as it stood them upon to have a man of such estimation as *Brutus*, to make every man boldly thinke, that by his onely presence the fact were holy, and just. If he tooke not this course, then that they should goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they should be more fearefull: because every man would thinke that *Brutus* would not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had bene good and honest. Therefore *Cassius*, considering this matter with himselfe, did first of all speake to *Brutus*, since they grew straunge together for the sute they had for the Prætorshippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that I, ii, 40-193. they had imbraced one another: *Cassius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house the first day of the moneth of Marche, because he heard say that *Cæsars* friendes should move the councill that day, that *Cæsar* should be called king by the Senate. *Brutus* answered him, he would not be there. But if we be sent for sayd *Cassius*: how then? For my selfe then sayd *Brutus*, I meane not to hold my peace, but to withstand it, and rather dye than lose my libertie. *Cassius* being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why, quoth he, what *ROMAINE* is he alive that will suffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knowest thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkest thou that they be cobblers, tapsters, or suchlike base mechanicall people, that write these billes and scrowles which are found dayly in thy Prætors chair, and not the noblest men and best citizens that do it? No, be thou well assured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common distributions amongst the people, and for common playes, and to

see fensers fight at the sharpe, to shew the people pastime: but at thy handes they specially require (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the tyrannie, being fully bent to suffer any extremitie for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thy selfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kissed *Brutus*, and imbraced him: and so each taking leave of other, they went both to speak with their friendes about it. Now amongst *Pompeys* friendes, there was one called *Caius Ligarius*, who had bene accused unto

II, i,
239, 240.

Cæsar for taking part with *Pompey*, and *Cæsar* discharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæsar* so much for his discharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his hart he was alway his mortall enemy, and was besides verie familiar with *Brutus*, who went to see him being sicke in his bed, and sayd unto him: O *Ligarius*, in what a time

II, i,
345-369.

art thou sicke? *Ligarius*, rising up in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, sayd unto him: *Brutus*, sayd he, if thou hast any great enterprise in hand, worthy of thy selfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feele all their acquitaunce whom they trusted, and layed their heades together, consulting upon it, and did not onelic picke out their friendes, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not affrayed to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not

II, i,
159-171.

acquaint *Cicero* with their conspiracie, although he was a man whom they loved dearely, and trusted best: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his feare, he would quite turne and alter all their purpose, and quench the heate of their enterprise, the which specially required hot and earnest execution, seeking by perswasion to bring all things to such safetie, as there should be no perill. . . . And they thought good also to bring in an other *Brutus* to ioyn with [them], surnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes himselfe, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaves, and fensers at the sharpe, whom he kept to shew the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that *Cæsar* had some trust in him. *Cassius* and *Labeo* told *Brutus Albinus* of it at the first, but he made them no aunswere. But when he had spoken with *Brutus* himselfe alone, and that *Brutus* had told him he was the chief ringleader of all this conspiracie: then he willingly promised him the best aide he could. Furthermore, the onely name and great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the most

II, i,
132-158.

of them to give consent to this conspiracie. Who having never taken othes together, nor taken or given any caution or assuraunce, nor binding themselves one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding the goddes did reveal it by manifest signes and tokens from above, and by predictions of sacrifices: yet all this would not be beleevved. Now *Brutus*, who knew very well that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most couragious men of *ROME* did venture their lives, waighing with himself the greatness of the daunger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and

II, i,
265-306.

fashion his countenance and lookes, that no man could discern he had anything to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne house, then he was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him against his will when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himselfe he fell into such deepe thoughtes of this enterprise, casting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there

was some marvellous great matter that troubled his minde, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himselfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we have told you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whom *Brutus* married being his cosin, not a mayden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband *Bibulus*, by whom she had also a young sonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwards wrote a booke of the actes and gestes of *Brutus*, extant at this present day. This young Lady being excellently well seen in Philosophie, loving her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: because she would not aske her husband what he ayled before she had made some prooffe by her selfe, she took a litle rasour, such as barbers occupie to pare men's nayles, and causing her maydes and women to go out of her chamber, gave herself a great gash withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a goare bloud, and incontinently after, a vehement fever tooke her, by reason of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiving her husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest payne of all, she spake in this sort unto him. I being,

II, i,
308-333.

O *Brutus*, (sayd she) the daughter of *Cato*, was married unto thee, not to be thy bedfellow and companion in bed and at borde onelie, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee, of thy good and evill fortune. Now for thy selfe, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our matche: but for my part, how may I shewe my ductie towards thee, and how much I would do for thy sake, if I cannot constantly beare a secret mischaunce or grief with thee, which requireth secrecie and fidelity? I confesse, that a woman's wit commonly is too weake to keepe a secret safely: but yet, *Brutus*, good education, and the companie of veruous men, have some power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my selfe, I have this benefit moreover: that I am the daughter of *Cato*, & wife of *Brutus*. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before: untill that now I have found by experience, that no paine nor grieve whatsoever can overcome me. With those wordes she shewed him her wounde on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove her selfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what she sayd unto him, and lifting up his handes to heaven, he besought the goddes to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good passe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of so noble a wife as *Porcia*: so he then did comfort her the best he could. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæsar* would not fayle to come: the conspiratours determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meete safelie at that time without suspicion; and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the citie would be there. Who, when they should see such a great matter executed, would every man then set to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought also, that the appointment of the place where the counsell should be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of seates for men to sit in, where also was set up the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and consecrated in honour of him: when he did beautifie that part of the citie with the Theater he built, with divers porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the ROMAINES call, Idus Martias: so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought *Cæsar* thither to be slaine, for revenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gowne, that no body saw nor knew, but his wife onely. The

other conspiratours were all assembled at *Cassius* house, to bring his sonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called *Toga Virilis*, and from thence they came all in a troupe together unto *Pompeys* porche, looking that *Cæsar* would straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull assured constancie of these conspiratours, in so daungerous and waightie an enterprise as they had undertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reason of their office, whose duetie is to minister justice to every body: they did not onely with great quietnesse and courtesie heare them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive eare, as if they had no other matter in their heades: but moreover, they gave just sentence, and carefully dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine summe of money, refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale unto *Cæsar*. Then *Brutus* casting his eyes upon the conspiratours, sayd, *Cæsar* shall not let me to see the law executed. Notwithstanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chiefest was, *Cæsars* long tarying, who came very late to the Senate: for because the signs of the sacrifices appeared unluckie, his wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothsayers bad him beware he went not abroad. The second cause was, when one came unto *Casca*, being a conspiratour, and taking him by the hand, sayd unto him: O *Casca*, thou kepest it close from me, but *Brutus* hath told me all. *Casca* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and sayd: why, how now, how commeth it to passe thou art thus rich, that thou doest sue to be *Ædilis*? Thus *Casca*, being deceived by the other's doubtfull wordes, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracie. An other Senator called *Popilius Læna*, after he had saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius* more friendly then he was wont to do: he rounded softly in their eares,

III, i, 19-23. and told them, I pray the goddes you may go through with that you have taken in hand, but withall, dispatch I read you for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had sayd, he presently departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conspiracie would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men post hast unto him, and told him

II, iv. his wife was a dying. For *Porcia*, being verie carefull and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward grieve of minde: she could hardly keepe within, but was frighted with every little noyse and crie she heard, as those that are taken and possest with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking every man that came from the market place what *Brutus* did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what newes. At length, *Cæsars* comming being prolonged as you have heard, *Porcias* weakenesse was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she sodainly swoounded, that she had no leasure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layed in her bed, and tended by her women. When *Brutus* heard these newes, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his country and common wealth, neither went home to his house for any newes he heard. Now, it was reported that *Cæsar* was comming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was affrayed of the unlucky signes of the sacrifices) but to adorne matters of importance unto the

III, i, 26-32. next session and councill holden, fayning himselfe not to be well at ease. When *Cæsar* came out of his litter: *Popilius Læna*, that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and had prayed the goddes they might

bring this enterprise to passe: went unto *Cæsar*, and kept him a long time with a talke. *Cæsar* gave good eare unto him. Wherefore the conspiratours (if so they should be called) not hearing what he sayd to *Cæsar*, but conjecturing by that he had told them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie discoverie of their conspiracie: they were affrayed every man of them; and one looking in an others face, it was easie to see that they all were of a minde, that it was no taryng for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their owne hands. And when *Cassius* and certaine other clapped their handes on their swordes under their gownes to draw them: *Brutus*, marking the countenance and gesture of *Lena*, and considering that he did use himselfe rather like an humble and earnest suter then like an accuser: he sayd nothing to his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracie), but with a pleasaunt countenance encouraged *Cassius*. And immediately after, *Lena* went from *Cæsar*, and kissed his hand: which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himselfe that he had held him so long in talke. Now all the Senators being entred first into this place or chapter house where the counsell should be kept, all the other conspiratours straight stood about *Cæsars* chaire, as if they had had some thing to have sayd unto him. And some say that *Cassius* casting his eyes upon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had bene alive. *Trebonius* on the other side, drew *Antonius* aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sat, and held him with a long talke without. When *Cæsar* was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his comming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, & amongst them they presented one *Tullius Cimber*, who made humble sute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They III, i, 41. all made as though they were intercessours for him, and took him by the handes, and kissed his head and brest. *Cæsar* at the first, simply refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwarde, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his hands plucked *Cæsars* gowne over his shoulders, and *Casca* that stood behind him, drew his dagger first, and strake *Cæsar* upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. *Cæsar* feeling himselfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitour *Casca*, what doest thou? *Casca* on the other side cried in Greeke, and called his brother to helpe him. So divers running on a heape together to flie upon *Cæsar*, he looking about him to have fled, saw *Brutus* with a sword drawn in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let *Cascaes* hand go, and casting his gowne over his face, suffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the conspiratours thronging one upon another because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swordes and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt an other, and among them *Brutus* caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloudied. *Cæsar* being slaine in this maner, *Brutus*, standing in the midst of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senatours that were not of the conspiracie, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both affrayed and amazed, fled one uppon an others necke in hast to get out at the doore, and no man followed them. For it was set downe and agreed betweene them, that they should kill no man but *Cæsar* only, and should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspiratours, but *Brutus* determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill II, i. 175-212. *Antonius*, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny:

besides also, for that he was in great estimation with souldiers, having bene conversant of long time amongst them: and specially having a minde bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Consull with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. First, for that he sayd it was not honest: secondly, because he told them there was hope of chaunge in him. For he did not mistrust but that *Antonius*, being a noble minded and couragious man (when he should know that *Cæsar* was dead), would willingly helpe his cuntrye to recover her libertie, having them an example unto him, to follow their courage and vertue. So *Brutus* by this means saved *Antonius* life, who at that present time disguised himself and stale away. . . .

There, [in the Capitoll] a great number of men being assembled together one after an other: *Brutus* made an oration unto them to winne the favour of the people and to justify that they had done. All those that were by, sayd they had done well, and cryed unto them that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereupon, *Brutus* and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in troupe, but *Brutus* went formost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people

III, ii, saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels
11-50. of all sortes, and had a good will to make some sturre: yet, being
ashamed to do it, for the reverence they bare unto *Brutus*, they kept
silence, to heare what he would say. When *Brutus* began to speake, they gave
him quiet audience: howbeit immediately after, they shewed that they were not
all contented with the murther. . . .

The next day following, the Senate, being called againe to councell, did first of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civill warre: then they also gave *Brutus* and his consoris great prayses, and lastly they appointed them severall governements of Provinces. For unto *Brutus* they appointed CRETA: AFRICK, unto *Cassius*: ASIA, unto *Trebonius*: BITIYNTIA unto *Clodius*: and unto the other *Decius Brutus Albinus*, GAULE on this side the Alps. When this was done, they came to talke of *Cæsars* will and testament and of his funerals and tombe. Then

III, i, *Antonius* thinking good his testament should be read openly, and
252-270. also that his body should be honourably buried, and not in hugger
mugger, least the people might thereby take occasion to be worse
offended if they did otherwise: *Cassius* stoutly spake against it. But *Brutus* went
with the motion, & agreed unto it: wherein it seemeth he committed a second
fault. For the first fault he did was, when he would not consent to his fellow
conspiratours, that *Antonius* should be slayne: And therefore he was iustly
accused, that thereby he had saved and strengthened a strong and

III, ii, grievous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when
253-263. he agreed that *Cæsar's* funerals should be as *Antonius* would have
them: the which indeede marred all. For first of all, when *Cæsar's*
testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed
unto every Citizen of ROME, 75 Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and
arbors unto the people, which he had on this side of the river of Tyber, in the place
where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loved him, and were
marvellous sory for him. Afterwards when *Cæsars* body was brought into the
market place, *Antonius* making his funerall oration in prayse of the dead, according
to the aunient custome of ROME, and perceiving that his words moved the common

people to compassion: he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yet the more, and taking *Cæsars* gowne all bloody in his hand, he layed it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithall the people fell presently into such a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cryed out, kill the murtherers: others plucked up formes, tables, and stalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funerals of *Clodius*, and having layed them all on a heape together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of *Cæsar*, and burnt it in the midst of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, some here, some there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houses that killed him, to set them a fire. Howbeit the conspirators foreseeing the daunger before, had wisely provided for themselves, and fled. . . .

Now the state of *ROME* standing in these termes, there fell out another chaunge and alteration, when the young man *Octavius Cæsar* came to *ROME*. He was the sonne of *Julius Cæsars* Nece, whom he had adopted for his sonne, and made his heire, by his last will and testament. But when *Julius Cæsar* his adopted father was slaine, he was in the city of *APOLLONIA* where he studied tarying for him, because he was determind to make warre with the *PARTHIANS*: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to *ROME*. . . . After that, these three, *Octavius Cæsar*, *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, made an agreement betwene themselves, and by those articles devided the provinces belonging to the Empire of *ROME* among themselves, and did set up bills of proscription & outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of *ROME* to suffer death, and among that number, *Cicero* was one. . . .

IV, i, 1-56.

IV, iii,
198-203.

Now whilst *Brutus* and *Cassius* were together in the city of *SMYRNA*: *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* to let him have part of the money whereof he had great store, because all that he could rappe and rend of his side he had bestowed it in making so great a number of shippes, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commaundement. *Cassius* friends hindered this request, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reason that *Brutus* should have the money which *Cassius* had gotten together by sparing, and levied with great evill will of the people their subiectes, for him to bestow liberally upon his souldiers, and by this meanes to win their good willes, by *Cassius* charge. This notwithstanding, *Cassius* gave him the thirde part of this totall summe. . . .

IV, iii,
77-84.

About that time, *Brutus* sent to pray *Cassius* to come to the citie of *SARDIS*, and so he did. *Brutus* understanding of his coming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Now, as it commonly hapneth in great affaires betwene two persons, both of them having many friends and so many Captaines under them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad every man avoide and did shut the dores to them. Then they began to powre out their complaintes one to the other, and grew hot and loude, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them loud within, and angry betwene them selves, they were both amased and afraied also least it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commaunded, that no man should

IV, ii.

come to them. Notwithstanding, one *Marcus Phaonius*, that had bene a frend and a follower of *Cato* while he lived, and tooke upon him to counterfeate a Philosopher, not with wisdome & discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and franticke motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boot to let *Phaonius*, when a mad moode or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sodaine in all his doings, and cared for never a Senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speach after the profession of the Cynicke Philosophers (as who would say, dogs) yet his boldnes did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in despite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture, which hee counterfeated of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old *Nestor* sayd in *Homer*:

My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me.

For I have scene moe yeares than suchie thrce.

Cassius fell a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeate Cynicke. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. . . . The next day after, *Brutus*,

upon complaint of the SARDIANS, did condemne and noted *Lucius*

IV, iii, 2. *Pella* for a defamed person, that had been a Prætor of the ROMAINES, and whom *Brutus* had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery and pilferie in his office. This judgement much misliked *Cassius*: because he him selfe had secretly (not many daies before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproved *Brutus*, for
IV, iii, 7, 8. that he would shew him selfe so straight and severe, in such a time as was meeter to beare a litle then to take things at the worst.

Brutus in contrary manner aunswered, that he should remember the Ides of Marche, at which time they slue *Iulius Cæsar*: who neither piled nor polled the country, but onely was a favorer and suborner of all them that did robbe and spoile, by his countenance and authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly sette aside iustice and equity: they should have had more reason to have suffered *Cæsars* friendes, to have robbed and done what wrong and iniury they had would, then to bear with their owne men. For then sayd he, they could but have sayed we had been cowardes, but now they may accuse us of iniustice, besides the paines we take, and the daunger we put our selves into. And thus may we see what *Brutus* intent and purpose was.

[The following account of the vision which appeared to Brutus is more circumstantial than that in the *Life of Cæsar*:]

But as they both prepared to passe over againe, out of ASIA into EUROPE: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull signe unto him. *Brutus* was a carefull man, and slept very litle, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day-time, and in the night no longer then the time he was driven to be alone, and when everybody else tooke their rest. But now whilst he was in warre, and his head ever busily occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen: after he had slumbered a litle after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his waightiest causes, and after hee had taken order for them, if hee had any leysure left him, he would reade some booke till the third watch of the night, at what time the Cap-

tainies, petty Captaines, and Colonels, did use to come to him. So, being ready to goe into EUROPE, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as hee was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of waighy matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the dore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and monstrous shape of a body comming towards him, and sayd never a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him, I am thy evill spirit, *Brutus*: and thou shalt see me by the city of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* being no otherwise afraied, replied againe unto it: well, then I shall see thee againe. The spirite presently vanished away: and *Brutus* called his men unto him, who tolde him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all. Thereupon *Brutus* returned againe to think on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went unto *Cassius*, to tell him what vision had appeared unto him in the night. *Cassius* being in opinion an EPICUREAN, and reasoning thereon with *Brutus*, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our sect, *Brutus*, we have an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele or see, that which we suppose we doe both see and feele: but that our senses being credulous and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their owne objects) are induced to imagine they see and coniecture that which in trueth they doe not. . . .

With these words *Cassius* lid somewhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they raised their campe, there came two Eagles that, flying with a marvellous force, lighted uppon two of the foremost ensignes, and alwaies followed the souldiers, which gave them meat, and fed them, untill *V, i, 91-96*. they came neare to the city of PHILIPPES: and there, one day onely before the battell, they both flew away. Now *Brutus* had conquered the most part of all the nations of that country; but if there were any other city or Captaine to overcome, then they made all cleare before them, and so drew towards the coastes of THASSOS. . . . The ROMAINS called the valley between both camps, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were never scene two so great armies of the ROMAINS, one before the other ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octavius Cæsars*, in number of men: but for bravery and rich furniture, *Brutus* army far excelled *Cæsars*. For the most part of their *V, i, 10-14*. armors were silver & gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully given them: although, in all other things, he taught his Captaines to live in order without excesse. *Brutus* . . . first of all mustered his army, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the maner of the ROMAINS. . . . Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certain unlucky signs unto *Cassius*. For . . . there *V, i, 98*. were seene a marvellous number of fowles of prey, that feed uppon dead carkasses: and bee-hives also were found, where Bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the campe. . . . The which began somewhat to alter *Cassius* mind from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the souldiers also in a marvellous feare. Thereupon *Cassius* *IV, iii, 223*. was of opinion not to try this warre at one battell, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But, *Brutus* in contrary manner, did alway before and at that time also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, as soone as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his country to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together.

. . . Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight battell the next day. So *Brutus*, all supper-time, looked with a chearefull countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of Philosophy, and after supper went to bed. But touching *Cassius*, *Messala* reporteth that he supped by him selfe, in his tent with a few of his frindes, and that all supper time he looked very sadly,

and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and
V, i, 85-90. that after supper he tooke him by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindnesse, as his manner was), told him in Greek:

Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled against my minde and will (as *Pompey* the great was) to ieopard the liberty of our countrey to the hazard of a battell. And yet we must be lively, and of good corage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although wee follow evill counsell. *Messala* writeth, that *Cassius* having spoken these last wordes unto him, he bad him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his birthday. The

V, i, 18. next morning, by breake of day, the signall of battell was set out in *Brutus* and *Cassius* campe, which was an arming scarlet coat: and both the Chieftaines spake together in the middest of their armies. There *Cassius*

V, i, 108-136. began to speake first, and sayd: The gods grant us, O *Brutus*, that this day we may win the field, and ever after live all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods have so ordayned it, that the greatest & chieftest things amongst men are most uncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to day then we wish or looke for, we shall hardly meete againe, what art thou then determined to doe, to slic, or die? *Brutus* aunswered him, being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: I trust, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophy. by the which I did greatly blame and reprove *Cato* for killing of himselfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods: nor concerning men, valiant, not to give place and yeeld to divine providence, and not constantly & patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and flie: but being now in the middest of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God that this battell fall out fortunate for us, I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for war again, but wil rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I have up my life for my countrey in the Ides of March, for the which I shall live in an other more glorious world. *Cassius* fell a laughing to heare what he saied, and imbracing him, come on then saied he, let us goe and charge our enemies with this minde. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* praied *Cassius* he might have the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was farre meeter for *Cassius*: both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. . . .

Now *Antonius* men did cast a trench from the marishe [marsh] by the which they lay, to cutte of *Cassius* way to come to the sea: and *Cesar*, at the least his army stirred not. . . . In the meane time *Brutus*, that ledde the right wing, sent litle bils to the Colonels and Captaines of private bandes, in the which hee wrote the word of the battell:

V, iii, 6-9. and he him selfe, riding a horse backe by all the troupes, did speak to them, and incoraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them understood what was the word of the battell, and besides, the most part of them never taryed to have it tolde them, but ranne

with great furie to assaile the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one from another. . . .

Furthermore, the voward, and the middest of *Brutus* battell, had already put all their enemies to flight that withstoode them, with great slaughter: so that *Brutus* had conquered all on his side, and *Cassius* had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Cassius*, thinking he had overcome them, as him selfe had done: and *Cassius* on the other side taried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had been overthrowen as him selfe was. . . . Now *Brutus* returning from the chase, after he had slaine and sacked *Cæsars* men: he wondred much that he could not see *Cassius* tent standing up high at it was wont, neither the other tents of his campe standing as they were before. . . . This made *Brutus* at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aide *Cassius*, who was in this state as you shall heare. First of all, he was marvellous angry to see how *Brutus* men ran to give charge upon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commandement to give charge: and it grieved him beside, that after he had overcome them, his men fell straight to spoile, and were not carefull to compasse in the rest of the enemies behinde. But with tarying two long also, more than through the valiantnesse or foresight of the Capitaines his enemies: *Cassius* found him selfe compassed in with the right wing of his enemies army. Whereuppon his horsemen brake immediately, and fled for life towards the sea. Furthermore, perceiving his footemen to give ground, hee did what he could to keepe them from flying, and took an ensigne from V, iii, 2-5.

one of the ensigne bearers that fled, and stucke it fast at his feete: although with much a do he could scant keepe his owne guard together. So *Cassius* him selfe was at length compelled to flic, with a few about him, unto a little hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Cassius* him selfe saw nothing, for his sight was V, iii, 14-50. very bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much a do) how the enemies spoiled his campe before his eyes. He also saw a great troupe of horsmen, whom *Brutus* sent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent *Tilinnius*, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. *Brutus* horsemen saw him comming a far off, whom when they knew that he was one of *Cassius* chiefest frends, they shouted out for joy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about a horsebacke, with songs of victory and great rushing of their harnesse, so that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Cassius*, thinking in deede that *Tilinnius* was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friendes taken, for my sake, before my face. After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and took *Pyndarus* with him, one of his freede bondmen whom he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battell of the PARTHIANS, where *Crassus* was slain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow: but then, casting his cloke over his head, and holding out his bare necke unto *Pindarus*, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time *Pindarus* was never scene more. Whereuppon some tooke occasion to say, V, iii, 90-99. that he had slaine his maister without his commandement. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see *Tilin-*

nus crowned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great speed unto *Cassius*. But when he perceived by the cries and teares of his friendes which tormented them selves, the misfortune that had chaunced to his Captaine *Cassius*, by mistaking: he drew out his sword, cursing him selfe a thousand times that he had taried so long, and so slue him selfe presently in the field. *Brutus* in the meane time came forward still, and understoode also that *Cassius* had been overthrowen: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neare to his camp. So when

V, iii, he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Cassius*, calling him the last of all the ROMAINES, being impossible that ROME
 IIII-III9. should ever breede againe so noble and valiant a man as he: he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of THASSOS, fearing lest his funerals within his campe should cause great disorder.

[The second battle of Philippi was separated from the first by nearly three weeks; Shakespeare has, however, merged the accounts, as given by Plutarch, into one action.]

For the day before the last battell was given . . . the selfe same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before unto
 V, v, 23-26. *Brutus* in the city of SARDIS, did now appeare againe unto him in the selfe same shape & forme, and so vanished away, and said never a word. . . . Then sodainly, one of the chieftest Knights he had in all his armie, called *Camulatus* . . . came hard by *Brutus* on horsebacke, and rode before his face to yeeld him selfe unto his enemies. *Brutus* was marvellous
 V, iii, 122. sorie for it: wherefore, partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he sodainly caused his armie to march, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. . . .

There was the sonne of *M. Cato* slaine, valiantly fighting amongst the lustie youtnes. For notwithstanding that he was verie wearie, and overharried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him,
 V, iv, 5-11. telling aloud his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slaine rounde about him. So there were slaine in the field all the chieftest gentlemen & nobility that were in his armie: who valiantly ranne into any daunger to save *Brutus* life. Amongst whom there was one of *Brutus* friends
 V, iv, 15-34. called *Lucilius*, who seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of al men else they met in their way, but going all together right against *Brutus*, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behind, told them that he was *Brutus*: and because they should beleieve him, he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he said he was affraide of *Cæsar*, and that he did trust *Antonius* better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking themselves happie men: they caried him in the night, and sent some before unto *Antonius*, to tell him of their comming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* prisoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like himselfe so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neere together, *Antonius* staid a while be- thinking himselfe howe he should use *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said. *Antonius*, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken or shall take *Marcus Brutus* a live: and I beseech God keepe him from that fortune. For wheresoever he be found, alive or dead: he

will be found like himselfe. And now for my selfe, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of armes here, bearing them down that I was *Brutus*, and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* words made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, said unto them: My companions, I think ye are sorie you have failed of your purpose, and that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I do assure you, you have taken a better bootie then that you followed. For, in stead of an enemy, you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me *Brutus* alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For, I had rather have such men my friends, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custodie; and *Lucilius* ever after served him faithfully, even to his death.

Nowe *Brutus* having passed a little river, walled in on every side with hie rockes, and shadowed with great trees, being then darke night; he went no further, but stayed at the foote of a rock with certain of his Captain and friends that followed him: and looking up to the firmament that was full of starres, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect,

*Let not the wight from whom this mischief went
(O Jove) escape without dew punishment.*

And saith that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he had scene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before: specially when he came to name *Labio* and *Flavius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie being a thirst, and seeing *Brutus* a thirst also: he ranne to the river for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the selfe same time they heard a noise on the other side of the river. Whereupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* servant, with him, to see what it was: and returning straight againe, asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* smiling, gently tolde them all was drunke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he sent him againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being sore hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought there was no great number of men slaine in battell, and to knowe the truth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promised to goe through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to goe see their campe) and from thence if all were well, that he would lift up a torch light in the aire, and then return againe with speede to him. The torch light was lift up as he had promised, for *Statilius* went thither. Nowe *Brutus* seeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he said: if *Statilius* be alive, he will come againe. But his evill fortune was such, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands and was slaine. Now, the night being farre spent, *Brutus* as he sate bowed towards *Clitus*, one of his men, and told him somewhat in his eare, the other answered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proved *Dardanus*, and said somewhat also to him: at length he came to *Volumnius* himselfe, and speaking to him in Greeke, praied him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarying for them there, but that they must needs flie. Then *Brutus*, rising up, we must flie in deede, said he, but it must be with our handes not with our feete. Then taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerefull counte-

nance. It reioyceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my neede, and I doe not complaine of my fortune, but only for my coun-
V, v, 42-50. tries sake: for, as for me, I thinke myself happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetuall fame of our courage and man-hood, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attaine unto by force nor money, neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughty and uniuert men, have slaine good men, to usurp tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Having said so, he praised every man to shift for themselves, and then he went a litle aside with two or three only, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of Rhethoricke. He came as neere to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his handes,
V, v, 58-61. and falling downe upon the point of it, ranne himselfe through. Others say, that not he, but *Strato* (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that *Brutus* fell downe upon it: and so ranne himselfe through, and dyed presently. *Messala*, that had beene *Brutus* great friend, became afterwards *Octavius Casars* friend. So, shortly after, *Cesar* being at
V, v, 72-79. good leasure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* friend, unto him, and weeping said: *Cesar*, behold, here is he that did the last service to my *Brutus*. *Cesar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwarde he did him as faithfull service in all his affaires as any GRECIAN else he had about him, until the battle of *ACTIUM*.

[The following passages, from the *Life of Marcus Antonius*, supplied Shakespeare with a few more details:]

When he [*Antonius*] saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare *Cesar* spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his oration with lamentable words, and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine to conclude his oration, he unfolded
III, ii, 180-190. before the whole assembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruell and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently tooke *Casars* body, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables and fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke firebrands, and ran to the murtherers houses to set them a fire, and to make them come out to fight. *Brutus* therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons, were driven to flie the city.

Also this account of the Triumvirate and Proscriptions:

So *Octavius Cesar* would not leane to *Cicero*, when he saw that his whole travell & endeavor was onely to restore the common wealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends

IV, i, 3-9. againe: and thereupon all three met together (to wit, *Cesar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*) in an Iland environed round about with a litle river, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did devide all the empire of *ROME* betweene them, as if it had bene their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of bloud and holines of friendship at their fecte. For *Cesar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* wil, *Antonius* also forsooke *Lucius Cesar*, who was his Uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered *Lepidus* to kill his own brother *Paulus*. Yet some writers affirme, that *Cesar* and *Antonius* requested *Paulus* might be slaine, and that *Lepidus* was contented with it.

THE
TRAGEDY OF
JVLIVS CÆSAR.

[BY SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, EARL OF STERLINE.]

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[REPRINT OF THE EDITION OF 1637.]
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THE ARGUMENT.

At that time when the Romans travelled with an unsatiable ambition to subdue all Nations, by whose overthrow they could conceive any expectation, either of glory or profit: Caius Iulius Cæsar, a man of a lofty minde, and given to attempt great things, ascending by severall degrees to the Consulship, procured a power to warre against the Gaules: amongst whom, after a number of admirable battels and victories (by the approbation of all the world, having purchased a singular reputation both for his courage and skill in Arms) he being long accustomed to command, was so drunke with a delight of sovereignty, that disdaining the simplicity of a private life, he was so farre from denuding himselfe of the authority which he had, that altogether transported with a desire of more, he sent to the Senate, to have his government of the Gaules prorogated for five years: which suit being repugnant to the Lawes (as directly tending to tyranny) was by the people publicly repelled. By which occasion, and some others rising from an emulation between him and Pompey the great, pretending a high indignation, hee incontinent crossed the Alpes, with such forces (though few) as he had in readinesse, and with a great celerity came to Rome, which he found abandoned by Pompey, in whom the Senate had reposed their trust, whom shortly after, by a memorable battell in the fields of Pharsalia he discomfited: and having by the overthrow of Scipio, death of Cato, and flight of Pompeyes sonnes, as it were, rooted out all the contrary faction, he returned to Rome, and indirectly by the meanes of Antonius, laboured to be proclaimed King: which having rendred him altogether odious; Caius Cassius, Marcus Brutus, Decius Brutus, Publius Casca, and divers others (Noble men) conspired his death, and appointed a day for the same: at which time, notwithstanding that Cæsar was dissuaded from going forth, by many monstrous apparitions, and ominous presages; yet being perswaded by Decius Brutus Albinus, he went towards the fatall place, where the Senate was assembled.

The Conspirators in like manner had many terrors: amongst others, Portia the wife of Marcus Brutus, although shee had insinuated her selfe in her husbands secret by a notable prooffe of extraordinary magnanimity, yet on the day dedicated for the execution of their designe, through the apprehension of his danger, she fainted divers times, whereof Brutus was advertised, yet shrinked not, but went forwards with his confederates to the appointed place, where they accomplished their purpose, every one of them giving Cæsar a wound, and me a ground whereupon to build this present Tragedy.



The persons names who speake.

IUNO.	CAIUS CASSIUS.
CÆSAR.	MARCUS BRUTUS.
ANTONIUS.	PORTIA.
CICERO.	CALPHURNIA.
DECIUS BRUTUS.	NUNTIIUS.

The Scene in Rome.



THE TRAGEDY OF JVLIVS CÆSAR.

ACT I.

Junio. 5

Though I (a Goddesse) grace the azure round,
 Whilst birds (all bright with eyes) my Coach do move,
 And am with radiant starres, heavens Empreffe crown'd,
 The thunderers sister, wife of mighty *Iove*,
 And though I banquet in th'etheriall bowres, 10
 Where Ambrosie and Nectar serves for meate,
 And at the meeting of th' Immortall powres,
 Am still advanc'd unto the highest feat:
 Yet by those glorious shewes of boundlesse blisse,
 My burden'd minde can no way be reliev'd: 15
 Since immortality affords but this,
 That I live ever to be ever griev'd.
 In vaine, vaine mortals seeke for helpe at me,
 With sacred odours on my Altars throwne:
 What expectation can they have to see 20
 One venge their wrongs, who cannot venge her own?
 May *Pallas* then drowne thoufands if she please,
 Who metamorphos'd *Diomedes* mates?
 And must my enemies alwaies live at ease,
 As me to spight appointed by the fates? 25
 Of all the dying race which lives below,
 With such indignities none could comport,
 As wound my brest, whom Gods and men doe know,
 To be abus'd by *Iove* in many a fort.
 Though knowne to me, from others if conceal'd, 30
 His faults might breed me griefe, but yet not shame;
 Where, loe, now both through heaven and earth reveal'd,
 Each slanderous Theater doth his scorne proclaime.
 If divine foules divinely liv'd aloft,
 The world below would imitate them then, 35

But humaniz'd by haunting mortals oft, 36
 Where men should grow like Gods, Gods grow like men.
 My painted *Iris* in her beauties pride,
 Smiles not on *Phæbus* with so many hewes,
 As *Iove* in divers shapes himselfe can hide, 40
 When he poore Maydes (by *Cupid* spurr'd) purfues;
 He *Danae* (a golden shower) decciv'd;
 And did (a Swanne) in *Ledaes* bofome light;
 Then (turn'd a Bull) *Agenors* daughter reav'd;
 And *Io* made a Cow to mocke my fight: 45
 But O! I wifh that with fuch wanton Dames,
 He ftill to fport would as with me remaine;
 Not able then to touch celeftiall flames,
 All (like the drunkards mother) might be flaine.
 Then fuch a troupe as *Rheas* bofome ftiores, 50
 Would not hold him and me at endleffe jarres;
 The heavens are peftred with my husbands whores,
 Whofe lights impure doe taint the pureft ftarres.
 "Though wrongs, when groffe, are heavy to digeft,
 "An Aftors greatneffe doth fome grieffe remove, 55
 "Of whom to fuffer wrong it fhames one leaft:
 "If I were wrong'd I would be wrong'd by *Iove*;
 But (ah) this long, tormented hath my brest,
 A Man, a Boy, a fhepherd, yea, and worfe,
 The Phrygian fire-brand, the adultrous gueft, 60
 Who firft wrought wrong by fraud, and then by force;
 He, he was he, whofe verdict mov'd me moft,
 Whilft partiall fancies judg'd of beauties right;
 Nor was it ftange though one all judgement loft,
 Who had three naked Goddeffes in fight; 65
 And yet I know, had not his wandring eyes
 The Cyprian brib'd by fome lascivious fmiles,
 My pompous birds (in triumph) through the fkyes,
 Had borne the gold which oft her Nymphs beguiles;
 And am I fhe whofe greatneffe is admir'd, 70
 Whom *Iove* for wife, whom thoufands court for love?
 Whom haughty *Ixion* to embrace defir'd,
 Yet with a cloud deluded did remove?
 And what made me a matter to fubmit,
 Where my authority might have avail'd? 75
 Whilft though I promis'd wealth, and *Pallas* wit,
 Yet with a yong man, *Venus* moft prevail'd;
 "But how durft he of one the glory raife,
 "Where two contemn'd would needs the wrong repaire?
 "It fpites our fexe to heare anothers praife, 80
 "Of which each one would be thought onely faire.
 To venge my felfe no kinde of paine I fpar'd,
 And made his greateft gaine his greateft loffe:
 As *Venus* gave him *Helen* for reward,
 I gave him *Helen* for his greateft croffe; 85

Nor did he long with joy her love enjoy, 86
 Whose fatall flames his Country did confound,
 Whilst Armies arm'd for her did *Troy* destroy,
 And *Neptunes* labours leuell'd with the ground;
 Whilst *Simois* seem'd to be a buriall field, 90
 Whose streams (as streets) were with dead bodies pav'd.
 All *Zanthis* Plain (as turn'd a Sea) did yeeld
 A flood of blood, from *Heroes* wounds receiv'd;
 Whilst braving thousands once, though much esteem'd,
 By dust and blood deform'd, of *Hector* slaine, 95
 (Not like *Patroclus* by the sword redeem'd)
 The body basely was bought backe againe;
 Then, by the same mans sonne who kill'd his sonne,
 Old *Priamus* surpriz'd, sigh'd forth his breath,
 And even most harm'd where he for helpe had runne, 100
 The Altar taking, taken was by death.
 Though wrestling long to scape the heavens decree,
 (Blood quenching lust) last parted from the light,
 He who lov'd *Helen*, and was loath'd by me,
 Did (as a Sacrifice) appease my sight. 105
 Then, having liv'd (if wretches have a life)
 Till (in all hers ere dead, oft buried spi'd)
 Though once known both, nor mother then, nor wife,
 The fertile *Hecuba* (made childelesse) dy'd.
 Thus, by those meanes it would have seem'd to some 110
 That scorn'd beauty had beene well reveng'd:
 But whilst they were o're-com'd, they did o're-come,
 Since they their states for better states have chang'd.
 I in one part that people did confound,
 But did enlarge their power in every place: 115
 All war-like Nations through the world renown'd,
 From Phrygian ruines strive to raise their race.
 And yet two traitors who betrayd the rest
 O! that the heaven on treason sometime smiles!
 Though having worst deserv'd, did chance the best, 120
 More happy then at home in their exiles;
 Did not *Antenor* (stealing through his foes)
 Neere to th' Egean Mountains build a Towne;
 Of which some nurrlings once shall seeke repose,
 Amidst the waves, and in the depths sit downe: 125
 Their Citie (spousing *Neptune*) shall arise,
 The rarest Common-wealth that ever was,
 Whose people, if as stout as rich and wise,
 Might boast to bring miraculous things to passe.
 Then false *Æneas*, though but borne t' obey, 130
 Did (of a fugitive) become a King:
 And some of his neere Tibers streames that stay,
 Would all the world to their obedience bring.
 Their ravenous Eagles soaring o're all lands,
 By violence a mighty prey have wonne, 135

That baftard brood of *Mars* with martiall bands, 136
 Have conquer'd both the Manfions of the Sunne;
 Their courfe by mountaines could not be controld,
 No; *Neptune* could not keep his bofome free:
 The parching heate, nor yet the freezing cold, 140
 Their Legions limits no way could decree;
 Yet, of that City there can come no good,
 Whose rifing walles with more then barbarous rage,
 The builder firft bath'd with his brothers blood,
 Which their prodigious conquests did preface. 145
 Oft hath that Towne my foule with anguifh fill'd,
 Whose new-borne ftate did triumph o're my wrath,
 Like my old foe who in his Cradle kill'd
 The Serpents which I fent to give him death.
 By *Sabins*, *Albans*, *Tufcans*, oft affail'd, 150
 Even in her infancy I tofs'd *Romes* ftate,
 Yet ftill *Laomedons* falfe race prevail'd,
 And angry *Iuno* could doe nought but hate.
 Then when the gallant *Gaules* had vanquifh'd *Rome*,
 Who bafely bought her liberty with gold, 155
 A banifh'd man *Camillus* chanc'd to come,
 And her imballanc'd ftate redeem'd of old;
 Great *Hanniball* our common caufe purfu'd,
 And made his bands within their bounds remaine,
 With Confuls and with Pretors blood, imbru'd, 160
 At *Thrafimene*, and at *Cannas* flayne;
 In Romans mindes, ftange thoughts did doubt infufe,
 But whilft they fear'd the taking of their Towne,
 He who could vanquifh, victory not ufe,
 Was by their brafen fate (when high) thrown downe; 165
 O what a torrent of Barbarian bands,
 In inundations once their walles did boaft,
 Whilft Teutons huge, and Cymbers from their Lands,
 Like Gyants march'd, a more then monftrous hofte?
 But though from parts unknowne to ruine *Rome*, 170
 I led thofe troupes which all the world admir'd,
 Yet did fierce *Marius* me with them o're-come,
 And I in vaine to venge old wrongs aspir'd;
 By meanes more bafe I likewise fought her harmes,
 Whilft *Ianus* Church imported never peace, 175
 I rais'd up abjeft *Spartacus* in Armes,
 Who neere eclips'd *Romes* glory with difgrace.
 Though I who all the world for helpe have fought,
 From *Europe*, *Africke*, and from *Asia* thus,
Gaules, *Carthaginians*, and the Cymbers brought, 180
 Yet did the dammage ftill redound to us:
 Of heaven and earth I all the pow'rs have prov'd,
 And for their wracke have each advantage watch'd:
 But they by forraine force cannot be mov'd:
 By Romans, Romans onely may be match'd. 185

And I at last have kindled civil warre, 186
 That from their thoughts (which now no reason bounds)
 Not onely laws, but Natures laws doth barre;
 The Sonne the Syre, the brother brother wounds
 Whilſt th' Eagles are oppos'd to th' Eagles ſo; 190
 O what contentment doth my minde attaine!
 No wound is wrong beſtow'd, each kills a foe,
 What ever ſide doth loſe, I alwayes gaine.
 But this my foule exceedingly annoyes,
 That all at one time cannot be ſuppreſt: 195
 "The warre helps ſome, as others it deſtroyes,
 And thoſe who hate me moſt, ſtill proſper beſt.
 Whilſt with their blood their glory thouſands ſpend,
 Ah! ones advancement aggravates my woe,
 Who vaunts himſelfe from *Venus* to deſcend, 200
 As if he claim'd by kinde to be my foe.
 I meane the man whoſe thoughts nought can appeaſe,
 Whilſt them too high a blinde ambition bends,
 Whom (as her minion) Fortune bent to pleaſe,
 Her rareſt treaſures prodigally ſpends; 205
 Not onely hath he daunted by the Sword
 The *Gauls*, the *Germans*, and th' *Egyptians* now,
 But of all Lords pretends to be made Lord,
 That who command the world to him may bow;
 Thus diſpoſſeſſing Princes of their Thrones, 210
 Whilſt his Ambition nothing can aſſwage,
 That the ſubjected world in bondage grones,
 The prey of pride, the ſacrifice to rage,
 "Men raille on *Iove*, and ſigh for *Saturnes* time,
 "And to the preſent, Ages paſt preferre, 215
 "Then burden would the Gods with every crime,
 "And damne the heavens, where onely th' earth doth erre.
 Though *Iove* (as ſtupid) ſtill with *Cupid* ſports,
 And not the humour of proud *Cæſar* ſpies?
 Who may (if forcing thus the worlds chiefe Forts) 220
 Then *Titans* earſt, more pow'rfull, ſcale the ſkies.
 Yet leſt he thrall him too, who none free leaves,
 We from the bounds above him muſt repell,
 To brawle with *Pluto* in th' umbragious Caves,
 There ſince he will be firſt, made firſt in hell. 225
 What? with that Tyrant I will ſtraight be even,
 And ſend his foule to the Tartarian grove:
 Though *Iove* will not be jealous of his heaven,
 Yet *Iuno* muſt be jealous of her *Iove*;
 And though none in the heavens would do him ill, 230
 I'll raiſe up ſome in th' earth to haſte his death:
 Yea, though both heaven and earth neglect my will,
 Hell can afford me Miniſters of wrath:
 I'll croſſe *Cocytus*, and the ſmoaking lakes,
 To borrow thence my brothers damned bands, 235

The furies arm'd with fire-brands, and with Snakes,	236
Shall plant their hell where <i>Rome</i> so stately stands;	
Whil't Furies furious by my fury made,	
Do spare the dead to have the living pin'd:	
O! with what joy will I that Army leade?	240
"Nought then revenge more calmes a wronged minde;	
I must make this a memorable age,	
By this high vengeance which I have conceiv'd:	
But what though thousands dye t' appease my rage?	
So <i>Cæsar</i> perish, let no foule be fav'd.	245
	<i>Exeunt.</i>

Chorus.

"We should be loath to grieve the gods,	
"Who hold us in a ballance still;	
"And as they will	
"May weigh us up, or downe;	5
"Those who by folly foster pride,	
"And do deride	
"The terrour of the Thunderers rods,	
"In seas of sinne their soules do drowne,	
"And others them abhorre as most unjust;	10
"Who want Religion do deserve no trust:	
How dare fraile flesh presume to rise	
(Whilst it deserves heavens wrath to prove)	
On th' earth to move,	
Lest that it opening straight,	15
Give death and buriall both at once?	
How dare such ones	
Look up unto the skies,	
For feare to feele the Thunderers weight?	
"All th' Elements their Makers will attend,	20
"As prompt to plague, as men are to offend.	
All must be plagu'd who God displease,	
Then whilst he Bacchus rites did scorne,	
Was Pentheus torne;	
The Delians high disdain	25
Made Niobe (though turn'd a stone)	
With teares still mone,	
And (Pallas to appease)	
Arachne weaves loath'd webbes in vaine:	
Heaven hath prepar'd ere ever they begin,	30
A fall for pride, a punishment for sinne.	
Loe, Iuno yet doth still retaine	
That indignation once conceiv'd,	
For wrong receiv'd	
From Paris as we finde;	35
And for his cause (bent to disgrace	
The Trojan race)	37

Doth hold a high disdain, 38
Long layd up in a loftie minde:

"We should abstaine from irritating those 40
"Whoſe thoughts (if wrong'd) not till reveng'd reſpoſe.

Thus, thus for Paris fond deſire,
Who of his pleaſures had no part,
For them muſt ſmart:
Such be the fruits of luſt, 45
Can heavenly breſts ſo long time lodge
A ſecret grudge?

Like Mortals thrall to yre,
Till juſtice ſometime ſeemer uniuſt?
"Of all the furies which affliãt the ſoule. 50
"Luſt and revenge are hardeſt to controull:

The Gods give them but rarely reſt,
Who do againſt their will contend,
And plagues do ſpend,
That fortunate in nought, 55
Their ſpirits (quill parted from reſpoſe)
May ſtill expoſe

The ſtormy troubled beſt
A prey to each tyrannicke thought:
"All ſelfe-accuſing ſoules no reſt can finde; 60
"What greater torment then a troubled minde?

Let us adore th' immortal powers,
On whoſe decree, of all that ends,
The ſtate depends,
That (farre from barbarous broiles) 65
We of our life this little ſpace
May ſpend in peace

Free from afflictions ſhowres;
Or at the leaſt from guilty toyles;
"Let us of reſt the treaſure ſtrive to gaine, 70
"Without the which nought can be had but paine.

ACT 2. Scene 1.

Julius Cæſar, Marcus Antonius.

Now have my hopes attain'd the long'd for heaven,
 In ſpight of partiall Envies poyſnous blaſts:
 My Fortune with my courage hath prov'd even; 5
 No Monument of miſcontentment laſts.
 Thoſe who corral'd me, by me o're-throwne,
 Did by their falls give feathers to my flight:
 I in ſome corner rather live unknowne
 Then ſhine in glory, and not ſhine moſt bright; 10
 What common is to two, reſts no more rare,
 In all the world no *Phænix* is ſave one, 12

- That of my deeds none challenge might a share 13
 Would God that I had acted all alone:
 And yet at last I need to mourne no more 15
 For envy of the *Macedonians* praise,
 Since I have equall'd all that went before;
 My deeds in number do exceed my dayes.
 Some earst (whose deeds rest registred by Fame)
 Did from their Conquests glorious titles bring, 20
 But Greatnesse to be great, must have my name,
 To be a *Cæsar* is above a King.
- Ant.* Those warre-like Nations, which did Nations spoile,
 Are by thy Legions to our laws made thrall;
 "What can brave mindes not do by time and toyle? 25
 "True magnanimity triumphs o're all.
- Cæf.* Th'out-ragious *Gauls* who in most monstrous swarmes
 Went wasting *Asia*, thundering downe all things,
 And (*Macedony* quaking at their Armes)
 Did insolently make, and un-make Kings: 30
 Those *Gauls* who having the worlds Conquerours foil'd,
 (As if the world might not have match'd them then)
 Would sacrilegiously have *Delphos* spoil'd,
 And warr'd against the Gods, contemning men;
 Yea, those whose Ancestors our City burn'd, 35
 (The onely people whom the *Romanes* fear'd)
 By me (*Romes* nurpling) match'd, and o're-match'd mourn'd:
 So what they first eclips'd, againe they clear'd.
 Then, as to Subjects having given degrees,
 The *Gauls* no more presuming of their might, 40
 I (wounding *Neptunes* bosome with wing'd trees)
 Did with the world-divided *Britains* fight;
 The *Germans* from their birth inur'd to warre,
 Whose martiall mindes still haughtie thoughts have bred,
 Whil't neither men, nor walls, my course could barre, 45
 (Mask'd with my banners) saw their Rhene runne red;
 The Easterne Realmes when conqu'ring now of late,
 My comming, and o're-comming was but one;
 With little paine ear't *Pompey* was call'd great,
 Who fought soft bands whose glorious dayes were gone: 50
 But what though thousands set ones praises forth,
 For fields which shadows, and not swords, obtain'd;
 The rate (too easie) vilifies the worth:
 "Save by great paines, no glory can be gain'd:
 From dangers past, my comfort now proceeds, 55
 Since all who durst gaine-stand I did o're-come:
 And, in few words to comprehend my deeds,
Rome conquer'd all the world, and *Cæsar*, *Rome*.
- Ant.* Loe those who striv'd your vertue to suppress,
 (As whose great actions made them jealous still) 60
 Whil't labouring but too much to make you lesse,
 Have made you to grow great against your will: 62

Great *Pompeys* pompe is past, his glory gone, 63
 And rigorous *Cato* by himselfe lyes kill'd;
 Then daftard *Cicero* more your honours none, 65
 Thus all your foes are with confusion fill'd.
 The Senatours who could not be affrag'd.
 Long to your prejudice their pow'r abus'd,
 Till at their great ingratitude enrag'd,
 I swore our swords would grant what they refus'd. 70
 When having scap'd, endanger'd, and despis'd,
 Brave *Curio* and I did to your Camp resort,
 In old bare gownes (like some base slaves) disguis'd,
 All figh'd to see us wrong'd in such a sort.
Cæs. The higheft in the heaven who knows all hearts, 75
 Do know my thoughts as pure as are their Starres,
 And that (constrain'd) I came from forraigne parts
 To seeme uncivill in the civill warres.
 I mov'd that warre which all the world bemoanes,
 Whil't urg'd by force to free my selfe from feares; 80
 Still when my hand gave wounds, my heart gave groanes;
 No *Romans* blood was shed, but I shed teares:
 But how could any elevated spright,
 Who had for honour hazarded his blood,
 Yeeld willingly (by foes outrageous spight) 85
 To be defrauded of th' expected good:
 When as a multitude of battels wonne,
 Had made *Romes* Empire, and my glory great;
 And that the *Gauls* (oft vanquish'd) had begun
 To beare the yoke which they disdain'd of late. 90
 Then glorious *Pompey*, my proud sonne-in-law,
 And *Cato* (who still cross'd what I design'd)
 From favouring me the people did with-draw,
 And had a succellour for spight assign'd;
 Not that he should succeed in dangerous broils; 95
 But (even through envy) as they had ordain'd,
 That he might triumph so of all my toils,
 And rob the glory which I dearly gain'd;
 With such indignity who could comport,
 When prizing honour dearer then the light? 100
 No (whil't my soule rests soveraigne of this fort)
 None shall have pow'r to rob me of my right:
 And yet by *Iove* who all the world commands,
 To use such violence I did mislike:
 And would have oft abandon'd all my bands, 105
 If that mine enemies would have done the like;
 But yet the multitude, which floting still
 (As waves with windes) are carried with conceits,
 With nought but my disgrace would bound their will,
 And I committed all unto the fates: 110
 Yet when at *Rubicon* I stood perplex'd,
 And weigh'd the horror of my high attempt, 112

My stormy foule a thoufand fancies vex'd,	113
Which refolution buried in contempt.	
<i>Ant.</i> "Nought in a Captaine more confounds his foes,	115
"Then of a ventrous courfe, the swift effects,	
"Since (fo quite cruſh'd) ere they their thoughts diſpoſe,	
"All good advice a care confuſ'd neglects.	
Though when you march'd to <i>Rome</i> , your pow'r was ſmall,	
The ſudden news ſo thundred in each eare,	120
That (as if heaven had falne upon them all)	
It bred amazement, and th' amazement feare.	
"Some ſecret deſtiny (as when was ſcene)	
"Doth guide mens actions, and their judgement bounds:	
"Thoſe who by hoſts could not have frighted beenc,	125
"A ſhadow, or a rumour oft confounds:	
"All haſtie dangers ſo ſurpriſe the minde,	
"That feare prevents the reſolutions power,	
"Or elſe the fates make curious Reaſon blinde,	
"When heavens determin'd have a fatall houre.	130
Great <i>Pompey</i> (loc) who was grown ag'd in armes,	
And had triumph'd o're all the worlds three parts,	
Whil'ſt (quite diſcourag'd, by imagin'd harmes)	
Fled <i>Rome</i> , though without reach of th' enemies darts.	
As to a torrent all gave place to you,	135
And whom they call'd a rebell made their Lord;	
Your ſuccceſſour <i>Domitius</i> (forc'd to bow)	
Did truſt your favour, more then feare your ſword.	
When in th' <i>Iberian</i> bounds you did arrive,	
There, Adverſaries (who did vainly vaunt)	140
Had all th' advantage that the ground could give,	
Of victuals plenty, which with us were ſcant.	
Yet the celerity that you had us'd,	
Did ſo diſcourage their diſordred band,	
That (as <i>Iove</i> in their breſts had ſcare infuſ'd)	145
They had no ſtrength againſt our ſtrokes to ſtand.	
And when <i>Romes</i> Generall with brave legions ſtor'd,	
Seem'd to poſſeſſe all that his foule requir'd,	
Whil'ſt us to daunt, both famine and the ſword,	
The Sea, the Land, and all in one conſpir'd;	150
Then, for your offices they did contend,	
As thoſe who of the victory were fure,	
And (where they might th' affaires of ſtate attend)	
In <i>Rome</i> for lodgings fondly did procure.	
Yet memorable now that day remains,	155
When all the world was in two Armies rang'd,	
Whil'ſt <i>Mars</i> went raging through th' <i>Æmathian</i> plaines,	
And to deſpaires high expectations chang'd;	
When <i>Pompeys</i> partie had the battell loſt;	
(As Lyons do their prey) you did purſue	160
The ſcattred remnant of that ruin'd hoſt,	
On which new heads ſtill (like a <i>Hydra</i>) grew.	162

Though victory in *Africke* fatall seem'd 163
 To any Army that a *Scipio* led,
 Yet, you shew'd there (for worth in warre esteem'd) 165
 That *Rome* a better then a *Scipio* bred;
 And all our Enemies were confounded thus,
 Who us in number ever did surmount;
 But *Cæsar* and his fortune were with us,
 Which we did more then many thousands count. 170

Cæf. The sweetest comfort which my conquests gave,
 Was that I so might do to many good:
 For, every day some *Romans* life I save,
 Who in the field to fight against me stood,
 Thus, may my minde be judg'd by the event, 175
 Who (even when by my greatest foes assail'd)
 To winne the battell never was more bent,
 Then prompt to pardon when I had prevail'd.
 Not covetous of blood, of spoils, nor harmes,
 I (even when victor) did insult o're none, 180
 But layd aside all hatred with my Armes,
 A foe in fight, a friend when it was gone:
 "Of clemency I like the praise, more then
 "Of force, which mortals with affliction lodes;
 "Strength oft may prove the worst thing that's in men, 185
 "And pity is the best thing in the Gods.
Sterne Cato (still affecting to be free)
 Who either death or life (if given) disdain'd,
 Thy death I envy, who didst envy me,
 The glory that I (saving thee) had gain'd. 190
 Yet I to Rents and dignities restore,
 Even those who long my ruine had design'd.
 And O! it doth delight my minde farre more,
 By benefit, then by constraint to binde.

Ant. I would have all my foes brought to their ends, 195

Cæf. I rather have my foes all made my friends.

Ant. Their blood whom I suspect'd should quench all strife.

Cæf. So might one do who lik'd of nought but life.

Ant. Still life would be redeem'd from dangers forth.

Cæf. Not with a ranfome then it selfe more worth. 200

Ant. Then life to man, what thing more deare succeeds?

Cæf. The great contentment that true glory breeds.

Ant. Men by all meanes this blast of breath prolong.

Cæf. Men should strive to live well, not to live long.

And I would spend this momentary breath 205
 To live by fame for ever after death:

For, I aspire in spite of fates to live.

Ant. I feare that some too soone your death contrive.

Cæf. Who dare but lodge such thoughts within their mindes?

Ant. Those whom the shadow of your Greatnesse blindes. 210

Cæf. The best are bound to me by gifts in store.

Ant. But to their Countrey they are bound farre more. 212

- Cæf.* Then loath they me as th' Enemy of the state? 213
- Ant.* Who freedome love, you (as usurper) hate.
- Cæf.* I by great battels have enlarg'd their bounds. 215
- Ant.* By that they thinke your pow'r too much abounds.
- Cæf.* From doing wrong, yet I refraine my will.
- Ant.* They feare your pow'r, because it may do ill.
- Cæf.* The present state still discontentment brings
- To factious mindes affecting matters strange, 220
- Which (burdens to themselves) do loath all things,
- And so they change, regard not what they change.
- In populous Townes where many do repaire,
- (Who at their meeting what they please do touch)
- They further then their bounds extend their care: 225
- "The idle who do nothing, must thinke much.
- Loe, *Rome* (though wasted all with raging warres)
- Whil't private grudge pretended publike good,
- Equality (still rude) engendring jarres,
- Did prove too prodigall of *Roman* blood. 230
- Though yet now at the last attaining rest,
- Whil't all (obeying one) may banish teares:
- It (if constrain'd) even scorns (as bad) the best,
- This word necessity so wounds the cares.
- The insolent with vile seditious words, 235
- (Who trembled whil't they heard the Trumpets sound)
- Stirre now their tongues, as we did then our swords,
- And what *Mars* spar'd, make *Mercury* confound.
- "The people thus in time of peace agree
- "To curbe the great men still, even in that forme, 240
- "As in calme dayes they do disbranch the Tree,
- "Which shrowded them of late against a storme.
- But now I look'd (brave deeds appeasing spight)
- That bursted Envy should for anguish dye,
- Darke shadows (as asham'd) do vanish quite, 245
- When at his height bright *Phæbus* clears the skie.
- And though their hatred deeply, they disguise,
- Yet can they not so hide enflam'd desires,
- But that their spight rests sparkling through their eyes,
- And boasts to burst out straight in open fires. 250
- Ant.* Since first (great *Cæsar*) I discern'd thy worth,
- On all thy actions I did still attend;
- And what some whisper must speake freely forth:
- "Franke admonitions do become a friend.
- The men who do suspect that you aspire 255
- Of government the present forme to change,
- All in their foules your ruine do conspire,
- And their affections farre from you estrange.
- Since chast *Lucretia* (by proud *Tarquin* stain'd)
- Wash'd with her blood the violated bed, 260
- Whil't by his pow'r *Rome* basely was constrain'd,
- All to obey which his curst braine had bred. 262

This government which some tyrannicke call, 263
 Doth sound so odious in the peoples eares,
 That they as Tyrants vile, detest thee all, 265
 Whose greatnesse gives them any cause of feares.

Cæs. I not affect the title of a King
 For love of glory, or desire of gaine,
 Nor for respect of any private thing,
 But that the State may by my travels gaine. 270
 You know *Sibylla's* books which never faile,
 In many mindes have an opinion bred,
 That o're the *Parthians Rome* cannot prevaile,
 Till by a Prince her valourous Bands be led:
 "For, as confusion is the fruit (we finde) 275
 "Of those affaires which divers thoughts dispose,
 "So Sovereignty match'd with a gallant minde,
 "Breeds reverence in ones owne, feare to his foes.
 And O! it grieves me, that these steps of ours
 Have trod so oft on many a millions necks, 280
 Whil'st yet the *Parthian* vilipends our pow'rs,
 And all our victories (not vanquish'd) checks;
 Ah! should a Generall of the *Roman* race
 Be by Barbarians kill'd? and not reveng'd?
 And should his Ensignes, signes of our disgrace, 285
 Rest in the ranke of conquer'd reliëts rang'd?
 No, no, (wretch'd *Craſſus*) now thy selfe content,
 Ile pacifie thy Ghost with *Parthians* spoiles,
 My boyling fancies have beene alwayes bent
 To match the matchlesse, daunt th' undaunted foiles. 290

Ant. With victories quite cloi'd, will you not then
 Your safety once, more then new warres respect?

Cæs. No, though I have surmounted other men,
 My fancies yet do greater things affect:
 In emulation of my selfe at last, 295
 I even with envy look on my owne deeds;
 And (bent to make the new surpass things past)
 Now to my minde stale praise no pleasure breeds.

Ant. The world hath scene thee (great man) for *Romes* good,
 In danger oft of many a dangerous selfe, 300
 Whil'st for her glory thou engag'd thy blood,
 Of others carefull, carelesse of thy selfe.

* *Cæs.* Though whil'st in th' Aprill of my blooming age,
 I from the vulgar rate redeem'd my name,
 Some with my deeds did burden youths hot rage, 305
 And an ambitious appetite of Fame,
 Yet since the coldnesse of declining yeares,
 Boasts to congeale the blood which boil'd of late,
 Whil'st loe, my life the Sunne of glory cleares,
 Who now of all the world am knowne most great; 310
 I cannot covet that thing which I have,

I have all honour that can be requir'd:	312
And now (as that which wants) would onely crave	
To taste the pleasures of a life retyr'd:	
But (fave to serve the State) for nought I strive,	315
For, O! (neglecting th' echoes of renowne)	
I could content my selfe unknowne to live	
A private man, with a <i>Plebeian</i> gowne:	
Since (<i>Anthonie</i>) thus for the state I care,	
And all delights which Nature loves disdain,	320
Go, and in time the peoples mindes prepare,	
That, as the rest, I may the title gaine;	
Yet indirectly at the first assay	
To what their doubtfull mindes do most incline,	
But as without my knowledge, that they may	325
All marke your minde, and yet not thinke of mine.	
<i>Exeunt.</i>	327

Act 2. Scene 2.

Cicero, Decius, Brutus.

Did I survive th' impetuous <i>Scilla's</i> rage,	
And in a torrent of destruction stood,	
Whil't Tyrants did make <i>Rome</i> a tragicke stage	5
Through a voluptuous appetite of blood?	
Scap'd I confusion in a time so bad,	
Of liberty and honour once to taste,	
That bondage now might make my soule more sad	
By the remembrance of my fortunes past?	10
What though I once (when first by Fame made knowne)	
From <i>Catilines</i> strange treason did preserve	
This Towne (when free from foes) thrall'd by her owne,	
Since now the world from equity doth swerve?	
A sparke of that conspiracy I spie	15
As yet not quench'd to have our state imbroil'd,	
Which <i>Rome</i> to burne makes many flames to flie:	
Thus one was spar'd, that we might all be spoil'd.	
O worthy <i>Cato</i> , in whose matchlesse minde	
Three (rarely match'd) things Nature did reveale,	20
Wit, Honesty, and Courage, which designed	
A Citizen for <i>Plato's</i> common-weale:	
Whil't courteous <i>Pompey</i> did things as a friend,	
Thou as a wife-man spoke, and still fore-told	
To what all <i>Cæsars</i> deeds would turne in th' end,	25
If that his pride were not in time controld.	
And had we him (as wisely thou advis'd)	
Given to the <i>Germans</i> whom he had injur'd,	
We had not now beene thus like slaves despis'd,	
To see <i>Rome's</i> glory, and our owne obscur'd:	30
But yet I may (disbending former cares)	

A space comport with that proud Tyrants pow'rs, 32
 Age gives assurance by my hoarey haire,
 Ere he *Romes* freedome, death will me devour.
 But all whose youth and sprite might have attain'd 35
 Those dignities which *Cæsar* hath undone:
 O! ye have lost as much as he hath gain'd,
 Whose rising hopes must be retrench'd so soone.

Dec. Though innovations at the first seeme strange,
 Yet oft experience approbation brings, 40
 And if with upright thoughts we weigh this change,
 From thence the safety of our City springs;
 As doth a ship, when toss'd by severall windes,
 More danger runne whil't Pylots do contest,
 So was our City vex'd by differing mindes, 45
 Who did interpret laws as pleas'd them best;
 Whil't for one sicknesse divers drugges are us'd,
 Whose pow'rs (repugnant) in digestion jarre,
 Th' impatient patients perish, when abus'd,
 So did we long whil't cross'd by civill warre; 50
 But now great *Cæsar* from tempestuous windes,
Romes scattered ruines recollect of late:
 A Pilot meet to calme tumultuous mindes,
 A fit Physitian for an aguish State.

Cic. The State from stormes secure by drowning proves, 55
 Now whil't despair doth doubtfull feares appease;
 He (with the life) the sicknesse quite removes:
 Thus is the Physick worse then the Disease.
 This Common-weale (as all the world did spie)
 Was by proud spirits in civill warres involv'd, 60
 Yet like black Clouds which would obscure the skie,
 These tumid humours suddenly dissolv'd;
 And no disgrace unto the state redounds,
 But to th' Ambitious men that it abus'd,
 Who (had their pow'r like *Cæsars* wanted bounds) 65
 Would (whil't they rul'd) have greater rigour us'd.
 All parts (we see) bred people of all kindes,
 And as advanc'd some bad men did abide,
 In pow'r their equals, and of better mindes,
 Some alwayes vertuous were to curbe their pride; 70
 But since that sacred liberty was lost,
 The publike pow'r to private ends one turnes:
 And (as his lawlesse wayes did alwayes boast)
 The Common-weale by violence o're-turnes.

Dec. Though what you burden *Cæsar* with were true, 75
 Necessity hath purg'd his part from crime,
 Who was (does force to shunne) forc'd to pursue,
 And urg'd by danger to attempt in time.
 To th' enemies envy more oblig'd he rests,
 Then to his wit which no such courses scan'd: 80
 For when quite barr'd from using of requests,

Th' occasion then invited to command.	82
His thoughts when calme, to storm fond foes did tempt:	
"True worth disdaines to suffer open wrong:	
"A gallant courage kindled by contempt	85
"Burns with revenge, whil'ft fury makes one strong.	
<i>Cic.</i> O <i>Decius</i> , now a wrong account you cast,	
The purpose, not th' event, declares the minde:	
Tread backe the steps of all his actions past,	
And what he compass'd had beene long design'd.	90
As by some sprite inspir'd, proud <i>Scilla</i> said,	
That there in <i>Cæsar</i> many <i>Marians</i> were,	
And <i>Rome</i> in time was warn'd to be afraid	
Of that evill-girded youth, with smooth-comb'd haire;	
Then when (as still to quietnesse a foe)	95
The memory of <i>Marius</i> he renew'd,	
By re-erecting Tyrants statues so,	
His thoughts all bent to tyranny were view'd.	
That people-pleaser might have beene perceiv'd,	
By courteous complements below his rank,	100
Who (lavishing forth gifts) the world deceiv'd,	
And to gaine more then his, of his prov'd franke.	
Though nought at all indulgent to his wife,	
By prostrated pudicity disgrac'd;	
Yet did he save th' adultrous <i>Clodius</i> life,	105
To sooth the multitude, whose steps he trac'd.	
<i>Dec.</i> "Thefe be the meanes by which Ambition mounts,	
"Without most humble, when within most high,	
"As if it fled from that thing which it hunts,	
"Still waisting most, when it for most doth plie.	110
<i>Cic.</i> Then he (still tyranny bent to embrace)	
Was thought conjoyn'd with <i>Catiline</i> to be,	
And, had wife <i>Cato's</i> counsell taken place,	
Might with the rest have suffered death by me.	
Yet having deeply div'd in some mens foules,	115
With factious followers being pined oft,	
He got the Consul-ship which nought controuls,	
And matching pride with pow'r, did look aloft;	
To flatter them who now must flatter him,	
His pow'r to make unlawfull laws prevail'd,	120
And those to crosse who scorn'd he so should clime,	
He furnish't was with force, where reason fail'd:	
But yet because he could not be assur'd	
To rule alone according to his will,	
To governe <i>France</i> , he craftily procur'd,	125
So to be strengthened with an Army still.	
As <i>Rome</i> first warr'd at home, till being strong,	
She thought her power might forraine Realmes o're-come:	
So <i>Cæsar</i> warr'd against strange Nations long,	
Till that he thought his Might might conquer <i>Rome</i> .	130
Then having all that force or fate assigns,	

Of discontentment he did cause pretend,
So to dissemble fore-conceiv'd designs: 132

"One soone may finde a fault that would offend:
But when he first in a prodigious dreame,
His mother seem'd incestuously to use, 135
It might have shewn to his eternall shame,
How of his birth the bounds he did abuse.

Dec. And yet I thinke (avoyding threatned harmes)
He by constraint imbarck'd in civill broyles;
Did he not covenant to quite his Arme , 140
As not desirous of his Countries spoiles?

Cic. Durst he with those who had his charge confin'd,
Stand to capitulate, as if their mate,
Where (as his Sovereigne) to obey their minde, 145
It was his duty, and their due of late.

What? what? durst he whom (bound to keep the law)
The people in authority did put
The sword which they had given, against them draw;
When it was sharpen'd first their throat to cut? 150

That had not come which all our anguish breeds,
If he unforc'd when as his charge expir'd;
Till that the Senate censur'd had his deeds,
Had from his Province peaceably retir'd.

No, he hath but betray'd his native Towne, 155
Those bands, by which she did him first preferre,
T' enlarge her borders, and his owne renowne,
Those hath he us'd to tyrannize o're her.

My passions (ah! transported as you see
With an excessive love to my deare foile) 160
Of my hearts store have made my tongue too free,
By flaming forth what in my brest doth boile.

Dec. That *Cæsars* part might justly be excus'd,
Loe, with the cause alledg'd, his course accords,
Of which that mildenesse which he since hath us'd, 165
A testimony to the world affords.

Though forc'd to fight, he alwaies had great care
To save our Citizens as each man knowes,
And will'd his Captaines Romans still to spare;
Barbarians bodies objects were for blowes, 170

Of th' adversaries after bloody strife,
When oft he might have made some Captives smart,
Not onely was he liberall of their life,
But pardon'd them, even to take *Pompeys* part;

At that infortunate *Pharfalian* field, 175
When he securely might have us'd the sword,
He both did spare all th' enemies that would yeeld,
And them to rents and dignities restor'd:

Then when th' Egyptians (so to get reliefe)
Brought to his sight pale *Pompeys* bloud-lesse head, 180
He testifi'd with teares his inward grieve,

And grac'd his Statues after he was dead.	182
Those his proceedings plainly may approve,	
That he againſt his will did make this warre;	
And to his Country beares a tender love,	185
Who could comport to reyne his rage ſo farre.	
<i>Cic.</i> Thoſe favours fain'd, by him beſtow'd, or due,	
(As is ones cuſtome whoſe high heart aſpires,)	
Were ſpent on many that who them did view	
Might love his courſe, ſo kindling their deſires:	190
But where he thus pleas'd ſome, he ſpoil'd whole hoſts,	
And the Barbarians all to <i>Rome</i> not wrought	
Such harme as he, who, of his goodneſſe boaſts,	
Yet her beſt men hath to confuſion brought;	
That great man, whom earſt fortune ne're did fayle,	195
Who ſtill prevail'd, though warring without right,	
Now in a good cauſe, for the common-weale	
With <i>Cæſar</i> did unfortunately fight.	
Whiſt fled from <i>Lesbos</i> with his wretched wife,	
Three baſe-borne Groomes (can fortune change ſo ſoone?)	200
Stood to conſult upon great <i>Pompeys</i> life,	
And did what thouſands durſt not once have done;	
Then he whoſe knees had oft been kiſ'd by Kings,	
(Moſt highly happy, had he dy'd in time)	
By one of his owne ſlaves, with abjeſt things	205
His funerals had perform'd; what monſtrous crime	
<i>Romes</i> greateſt Captaine to entombe alone?	
The Roman who arriv'd with reaſon ſaid:	
The fatall glory was too great for one,	
And to have part of that laſt honour ſlaid;	210
The teares beſtow'd by <i>Cæſar</i> on his head,	
Forth from a guilty minde, remorse had throwne:	
Or elſe he wept to ſee his enemy dead	
By any others hands then by his owne.	
That conſtant <i>Cato</i> , who even death did ſcorne,	215
And for a coward once had <i>Cæſar</i> brav'd,	
(Who liv'd as if to grace all mortals borne)	
Would rather periſh then by him be fav'd.	
He juſtly whiſt more juſt, himſelfe more ſtrong	
Then <i>Cæſar</i> thought, who for no juſtice car'd;	220
And ſince diſcovering what he cloak'd ſo long,	
Said, that the other, and not he was ſnar'd.	
Thus <i>Cæſar</i> conquer'd all but <i>Cato's</i> minde,	
Who to a tyrant would not owe his breath:	
But in ſuch fort his famous courſe confin'd,	225
Then <i>Cæſars</i> life, more glorious was his death:	
Thoſe great men thus brought to diſaſtrous ends,	
The author of their death make me deſpiſe,	
Who to uſurpe all pow'r while as he tends,	
By treading good men downe, doth ſtrive to riſe.	230
Now made moſt great by leſſening all the great,	
He proudly doth triumph in <i>Rome</i> , o're <i>Rome</i> :	232

And we must seeme to like the present state, 233
Whose doubtfull breath depends upon his doome.

Yet had I not enlarg'd my griefes so long, 235

To you whom *Cæsar* doth pretend to love;
Save that (I know) touch'd with the common wrong:

"A just disdaine all generous mindes must move.

Dec. Had *Cæsar* willingly resign'd his Armes,
And rendred *Rome* her liberty at last, 240

When as from foes he fear'd no further harmes,

But had repair'd his just displeasures past,

More then for all that could be done for me,

He should have had an Altar in my breast,

As worthy (for his vertuous deeds) to be 245

Fear'd by the bad, and honour'd by the best:

But since (though conqu'ring all the world by might)

He (to himselfe a slave) would make *Rome* thrall,

His benefits are loathsome in my sight,

And I am griev'd that he deserves to fall; 250

My fancies move not in so low a sphere,

But I disdaine that one *Romes* Crowne requires;

Yet it is best that with the time we beare,

And with our pow'r proportion our desires.

Though first dissembling, so your minde to try, 255

I told what fame to *Cæsars* praise relates;

Yet was I pleas'd, that moe were griev'd then I:

"All discontented men are glad of Mates.

Cic. Since tyranny all liberty exiles,
We must our selves (no more our selves) disguise; 260

Then, learne to maske a mourning minde with smiles,

And seeme to like that which we most despise.

Yet all our deeds not *Cæsars* humour please,

Who (since mistrusting once) esteemes us still,

When dumb disdainefull, flatterers when we praise, 265

If plaine, presumptuous, and in all things ill:

Yea, we, whose freedome *Cæsar* now restraines,

As his attenders all his steps must trace;

And know, yet not acknowledge his disdaines,
But still pretend an interest in his grace: 270

Though all my thoughts detest him as a foe,

To honour him, a thousand meanes I move,

Yet but to save my selfe, and plague him so:

"No hate more harmes then it that lookes like love.

His pride is by prepos't'rous state growne such, 275

That by the better fort, he is abhorr'd;

The gods are jealous, and men envy much

To see a mortall man so much ador'd.

Dec. Well, *Cicero* let all meanes be entertain'd,
That may embarke us in his bosomes deepes, 280

Till either willingly, or then constrain'd,

He justly quite what he unjustly keeps.

Exeunt. 282

Chorus.

"This life of ours is like a Rose,
"Which whilst rare beauties it array,
"Doth then enjoy the least repose;
"When Virgin-like made blush (we see) 5
"Of every hand it is the prey,
"And by each winde is blowne away;
"Yea, though from violence scap'd free,
"(Thus time triumphs, and leades all thrals)
"Yet doth it languish and decay: 10
"O! whilst the courage hottest boiles,
"And that our life seemes best to be,
"It is with dangers compass'd still;
"Whilst it each little change appalles,
"The body, force, without oft foiles, 15
"It th' owne disempraturc oft spoiles,
"And even, though none it chance to kill,
"As nature failes, the body falles,
"Of which save death, nought bounds the toyles;
"What is this moving Tow'r in which we trust? 20
"A little winde clos'd in a cloud of dust.
And yet some sprites though being pent
In this fraile prisons narrow bounds,
(Whilst what might serve, doth not content,)
Doe alwaies bend their thoughts too high, 25
And ayme at all the peopled grounds;
Then whilst their brests Ambition wounds,
They feed as fearing straight to dye,
Yet build as if they still might live,
Whilst famish'd for fumes empty sounds: 30
Of such no end the travell ends,
But a beginning gives, whereby
They may be vex'd worse then before;
For, whilst they still new hopes contrive,
"The hoped good more anguish sends, 35
"Then the possess'd contentment lends;
As beasts not taste, but doe devoure,
They swallow much, and for more strive,
Whilst still their hope some change attends:
"And how can such but still themselves annoy, 40
"Who can acquire, but know not how t' enjoy?
Since as a ship amidst the deepes,
Or as an Eagle through the ayre,
Of which no way th' impressiion keepes,
Most swift when seeming least to move: 45
This breath of which we take such care,
Doth toss the body every where, 47

That it may hence with haste remove: 48
 "Life slips and sleepes awayes away,
 "Then hence, and as it came, goes bare, 50
 Whose sleepes behinde no trace doe leave;
 Why should heaven-banish'd soules thus love
 The cause, and bounds of their exile,
 As restlesse strangers where they stray?
 And with such paine why should they reave 55
 That which they have no right to have,
 Which with them in a little while,
 As summers beauties must decay,
 And can give nought except the grave?
 "Though all things doe to harme him what they can, 60
 "No greater enemy then himselfe to man;
 Whilst oft environ'd with his foes,
 Which threatned death on every side,
 Great Cæsar parted from repose,
 (As Atlas holding up the Starres,) 65
 Did of a world the weight abide;
 But since a prey to foolish pride,
 More then by all the former warres,
 He now by it doth harm'd remaine,
 And of his fortune doth diffide: 70
 Made rich by many Nations wreake,
 He (breaking through the liquid barres)
 In Neptunes armes his Minion forc'd;
 Yet still pursu'd new hopes in vaine:
 "Would the ambitious looking backe 75
 "Of their inferiours knowledge take,
 "They from huge cares might be divorc'd,
 "Whilst viewing few, more pow'r attaine,
 "And many more then they to lacke:
 "The onely plague from men that rest doth reave, 80
 "Is that they weigh their wants, not what they have.
 Since thus the great themselves involve
 In such a labyrinth of cares,
 Whence none to scape can well resolve,
 But by degrees are forward led, 85
 Through waves of hopes, rockes of despaires:
 Let us avoyd ambitions snares,
 And farre from stormes by envy bred,
 Still seeke (though low) a quiet rest,
 With mindes where no proud thought repaires, 90
 That in vaine shadowes doth delight;
 Thus may our fancies still be fed
 With that which Nature freely gives;
 Let us iniquity detest,
 And hold but what we owe of right; 95
 Th' eyes treasure is th' all-circling light,
 Not that vaine pompe for which pride strives, 97

Whose glory (but a poysonous pest) 98
To plague the soule, delights the sight:
"Ease comes with ease, where all by paine buy paine, 100
"Rest we in peace, by warre let others raigne.

Act 3. Scene 1.

Caius Cajsius, Marcus Brutus.

Now (*Brutus*) now we need no more to doubt,
 Nor with blinde hopes our judgement to suspend,
 That flatt'ers credit (loe) is quite worne out; 5
 We must in time attempt, and not attend:
 That race of victors which did Realmes appall,
 Ah (vanquish'd by their victories at last)
 Are by their too much liberty made thrall,
 Since all their strength but down themselves doth cast; 10
 And we who by our birth aym'd at great things,
 Of the worlds mistresse mighty minions once,
 Who might have labour'd to give lawes to Kings,
 Lawes from a King, must looke for now with grones:
 For, such of *Casfar* is the monstrous pride, 15
 That though he domineers even at this houre,
 And to his Clients kingdomes doth divide
 With an unlimited tyrannicke pow'r;
 Yet of Dictator he disdaines the name,
 And seekes a tyrants title with the place, 20
 Not for his honour, no, but for our shame,
 As onely bent to bragge of our disgrace.

Marc. Brut. I thought to see that man (as others are)
 Walke re-apparell'd with a private gowne,
 As one who had unwillingly made warre, 25
 To stand himsele, not to cast others downe:
 So *Silla* (though more inhumane then he)
 Whilst having all to what his heart aspir'd,
 The Sovereignty resign'd, and set *Rome* free,
 When expectations date was quite expir'd. 30
 By *Casars* worth we must thinke that he too
 Will render freedome to this captiv'd state,
 When first the world hath view'd what he might doe,
 His thoughts are generous, as his minde is great.
 Though infolencies oft from courage flow, 35
 His dying fury sparkles but a space:
 "High thoughts which *Mars* inspires, nought can bring low,
 "Till one have us'd the purity of peace.
 "Those who by violence to all things tend,
 "Scarce can themselves to quietnesse conforme; 40
 "Their stately carriage, and franke words, offend,
 "Whil't peace cannot comport with warres rude forme, 42

I hope that *Cæsar* settling civill broyles,
 When worne by custome from intestine rare,
 Will strive to mitigate his Countie's toyles,
 And all those flames which burn'd his brest, affwage.

Ca. Cæsius. Thus, of his course you by your owne conceiv'd,
 As if like thoughts of both did bound the will:
 "Ah, honest mindes are with least paine deceiv'd,
 "Those who themselves are good, dreame not of ill.

"To found of some the still unsound device,
 "Their inclination must your judgement sway:
 "The square of vertue cannot measure vice,
 "Nor yet a line when straight, a crooked way.

So *Cæsar* rising may usurpe the State,
 He cares not by what force, nor by what sleight:
 "O! one may foone deceive men, and grow great,
 "Who leaves religion, honesty and right.

When as the Senators (no more their owne)
 Came to that Tyrant whom ambition blindes,
 And by high honours shew'd how they had showne
 To gratifie his greatnesse, gratefull mindes;

He (in a Chayre imperiously plac'd,)
 Not daign'd to rife, nor bow in any fort,
 As both of them had but their due embrac'd,
 When he a haughty, they a humble port.

But if he thus, ere we be throughly thrall'd,
 Dare so disdainfully such great men use,
 When in a regal Throne by us enstall'd,
 Then will he breake that which he now doth bruise.

Was he not first who ever yet began
 To violate the sacred Tribunes place,
 And punish'd them for punishing a man
 Who had transgress'd the lawes in time of peace?

The lawes which doe of death all guilty hold,
 Whose actions seeme to tyranny inclin'd,
 So earnest were our Ancestors of old,
 To quench a tyrants light before it shin'd:

And shall our Nephewes (heires of bondage) blame
 Vs dastard parents who their hopes deceiv'd,
 Who saw, who suff'red, who surviv'd such shame,
 Not leaving dead, what we when borne receiv'd?

By *Cæsars* friends, to an assembly brought,
 The Senators intend to call him King.
Brut. I'll not be there. *Cæff.* But what if we be fought
 To ayde (as Pretors) such a publike thing?

Brut. I will resist that violent decree;
 None of *Romes* Crowne shall long securely boast:
 For, ere that I live thrall'd, I'll first dye free,
 "What can be kept when liberty is lost?

Cæff. O! with what joy I swallow up those words,
 Words worthy of thy worth, and of thy name:

But (<i>Brutus</i>) doe not feare, this cause affords	93
In danger many, but few mates in fame;	
When <i>Anthony</i> proud <i>Cæsars</i> image crown'd,	95
By silent sorrow all the people told	
In what a depth of woes their thoughts were drown'd,	
That bondage-bragging Comet to behold.	
What doe those scroules throwne in thy chaire import:	
Which, what thou art, to brave thy courage, brings?	100
Be those the fancies of the vulgar fort?	
No, none but noble mindes dreame of great things;	
Of other Pretors people looke for shoves,	
And distributions whose remembrance dyes,	
Whilst bloody Fencers fall with mutuall blowes,	105
And Africkes monsters doe amaze their eyes;	
But from thy hands they liberty attend,	
(By birth-right due) the glory of thy race,	
And bent for thee, their blood will frankly spend,	
So thou succeed in thy great Parents place.	110
He (<i>Rome</i> redeeming) <i>Tarquin</i> did o'rethrow,	
Though from his birth obey'd, and without strife;	
A rising tyrant then bring boldly low,	
To what extinguish'd was, who would give life.	
<i>Brut.</i> I weigh thy words with an afflicted heart,	115
Which for compassion of my Country bleeds:	
And would to God that I might onely smart,	
So that all others scape'd what mischief breeds;	
Then, never man himselfe from death did free,	
With a more quiet and contented minde,	120
Then I would perish, if I both could be	
To <i>Cæsar</i> thankfull, to my Country kinde:	
But though that great mans grace to me enlarg'd,	
May challenge right in my affections store,	
Yet must the greatest debt be first discharg'd,	125
I owe him much, but to my Country more.	
This in my brest hath great dissension bred:	
I <i>Cæsar</i> love, but yet <i>Romes</i> enemy hate,	
And as <i>Iove</i> lives, I could be mov'd to shed	
My blood for <i>Cæsar</i> , <i>Cæsars</i> for the State.	130
I for my fathers death loath'd <i>Pompey</i> long,	
Whilst just disdain'd did boyle within my brest:	
Yet when he warr'd to venge the common wrong,	
I joyn'd with him, because his cause was best.	
A minde to raigne if <i>Cæsar</i> now reveale,	135
I will in time precipitate his end:	
Thus (never arm'd but for the Common-weale)	
I help'd a foe, and now must hurt a friend.	
<i>Cæs.</i> Left of his favour thou the poyson prove,	
From swallowing of such baits in time now spare,	140
"No tyrant (trust me) can intirely love,	
"Nor none who for himselfe doth onely care: "	142

He by this courſe doth cunningly intend 143
 (Thy vertue ſlack'd) to undermine thy minde:
 Thy well-knowne courage purpoſ'd to diſbend, 145
 Thus (though with ſilken bonds) he would thee binde;
 This of each tyrant is the common tread,
 To wreake all thoſe in whom moſt worth he findes;
 Or (whilſt that terrours toſſe his jealous head)
 By ſubtilty to ſnare the greateſt mindes: 150
 As, for the Pretor-ſhip when we did ſtrive,
 Then both were held in hope, that ſo deceiv'd,
 Each th' others harmes might ſtudy to contrive
 Through emulation and diſdaine conceiv'd.
 Thus ſubtile *Cæſar* by ſuch ſleights hath toild 155
 To ſow diſſenſion, that we both might pauſe
 Of private wrongs, and (by ſuch meanes imbroil'd)
 Still courting him, neglect the common cauſe.
 But nought muſt make us th' one t' another ſtrange,
 Who ſhould in time the tyrants courſe reſtraine: 160
 Let other men lament, we muſt revenge,
 I ſcorne to beare a ſword, and to complaine.
Brut. Though *Cæſar* (now) I muſt conſpire thy fall,
 My heart to thee yet never harbour'd hate;
 But (pardon me) who ever make it thrall, 165
 From bondage *Brutus* muſt redeeme the ſtate.
 Of this my courſe what ever others judge,
 Here, I proteſt it is for good deſign'd;
 My thoughts are guilty of no private grudge,
 For, reaſon and not fury moves my minde; 170
 Nor doth ambition now enflame my breaſt,
 With a prodigious appetite to raigne,
 That when I have made *Cæſar* *Pluto's* gueſt,
 I in his roome a Monarch may remaine:
 No, if that glory did my fancies charme, 175
 To which (blind-folded) tyrants doe aſpire,
 I needed not to doe, nor ſuffer harme,
 But with leſſe paine might compaſſe my deſire:
 For, if I would but temporize a ſpace,
 Till time or death diminifh *Cæſars* might, 180
 He thinks that I deſerve to have his place,
 And I could make my day ſucceed his night;
 Yet doe I not for glory feeke ſo much
 As to attaine it by my Countries ſhame:
 But, O! I would (my zeale to it is ſuch) 185
 That it may ſcape, incurre a kinde of blame.
 Yea, ſo that I may free with honour'd wounds
 My foile that's dearer then my foule to me,
 I could my ſelfe live baniſh'd from that bounds,
 Which at ſo deare a rate I would ſet free. 190
Cæſ. What man doth breath of *Mars* his martiall race,
 But will with *Brutus* ſacrifize his bloud, 192

And (charg'd with Armes) ere tyranny take place,	193
Dare venture all things for his Countries good,	
Can any judgement be deceiv'd so farre,	195
But it already clearly may behold,	
How that this change <i>Romes</i> greatnesse soon will marre,	
And raze the Trophees which she rear'd of old.	
Of old in <i>Rome</i> , all those who once had worne	
The peace-importing gowne, or war-like shield,	200
(Of dignities as capable all borne,)	
Durst ayme at ought that liberty could yeeld;	
Those in affaires to deale, who would set forth,	
Were not discourag'd by their birth, though base;	
And poverty could not hold backe true worth,	205
From having honour both by warre and peace:	
Then emulation violently driv'd	
All gallant mindes to tempt great actions still;	
In vertues love, who friendly rivals liv'd,	
Whilst in their bosomes Glory balme did still:	210
<i>Fabricius</i> first was from the Plow advanc'd,	
The Rudder of the Common-weale to hold,	
Yet by no meanes his private wealth enhanc'd,	
As rich in vertue still, as poore in gold.	
Rude <i>Marius</i> too, to match red <i>Mars</i> in fame,	215
Forth from the vulgar drosse his race remov'd,	
And loe, of <i>Cicero</i> the ridiculous name,	
As famous as the Fabians now hath prov'd.	
Each abject minde disdain'd to be obscure,	
When still preferment follow'd lofty cares,	220
And that one might by dangers past, procure	
Fame for himselfe, and honour to his heires:	
But since that state by <i>Cæsar</i> is o're-turn'd,	
Whilst all our lives upon ones lippes depend,	
Of brefts which once with love of glory burn'd,	225
The soaring thoughts this wholly doth disband;	
Advancement now doth not attend desert,	
But flows from fancies of a flatt' red minde;	
Which to base hirelings, honour doth impart,	
Whilst envy'd worth no safe retreat can finde.	230
"All proud usurpers most addicted prove,	
"To them whom without cause they raise too high,	
"As thinking those who stand but by their love,	
"To entertaine the same, all meanes must try.	
"Where they, whose vertue reapes a due reward,	235
"Not building onely on the givers grace,	
"Doe by deserts not gaine so great regard,	
"Whilst they maintaine, as they obtaine their place.	
"And if a worthy man to worke great things,	
"Vving'd with a tyrants favour, raise his flight,	240
"The highest course to him most harme still brings,	
"VWho till he fall, cannot have leave to light.	242

- "Thofe who by force would have th' affection mov'd, 243
 "When willingly men hold fuch gallants deare,
 "Doe rage that any fhould be freely lov'd, 245
 "Whofe vertue makes their vice more vile appeare.
 The man who now to be preferr'd aspires,
 Muft by bafe flattery in a fervile forme,
 So foothing *Cæfar*, feale all his defires,
 And in fome fhadow lurke to fcape a fhorme. 250
 A number now of that proud Rebels foes,
 Who grieve to fee the ground whence grows their grieve,
 Would in obfcurity entombe their woes.
 So waiting, and not working for reliefe.
 But we whofe lofty mindes difdaine to lowre, 255
 Like them who feeke but their owne fafety thus;
 When fhall we ufe high indignations pow'r,
 Which (as brave Romans) worthy is of us?
Brut. Since no indignity you will endure,
 I fee our mindes doe fymphathize in this; 260
 Should we by fuff'ring, feek to live fecure,
 Whofe action muft amend what is amiffe?
 No, no fuch abject thought mu't ftaine our brest,
 Whofe active thoughts reach further than difcourfe,
 Whilft but like beafts, affecting food and reft, 265
 Where men by reafon fhould direct their courfe;
 Like thofe of other parts, not rais'd by ftife,
 If *Cæfar* had been born, or chus'd our Prince,
 Then thofe who durft attempt to take his life,
 The world of treafon juftly might convince. 270
 Let fill the States which flourish for the time,
 By fubjects be inviolable thought,
 And thofe (no doubt) commit a monftrous crime,
 Who lawfull Sovereignty prophane in ought:
 And we mu't thinke (though now thus brought to bow) 275
 The Senate King; a fubject *Cæfar* is;
 The Sovereignty whom violating now,
 The world muft damne, as having done amiffe.
 We will (deare *Cæfarius*) for our Countries fake,
 (Whatever follow) give, or fuffer death, 280
 And let us now advife what courfe to take,
 Whilft nought but th' ayre can beare away our breath.
Cæf. I thinke this matter needs not many words,
 Since but one deed can bound the common fhame;
 In *Cæfars* body we mu't fheath our fwords, 285
 And by his death our liberty reclaime;
 But fince his fortune did confound them all,
 Who in the fields to match him did begin;
 VVhilft he by thoufands made their hands to fall,
 VVith hoary legions alwayes us'd to winne: 290
 As *Pompeys*, *Scipio's*, and *Petreius* ghofts,
 In lightlefle fhades can by experience tell, 292

Who after fatall proofes of num'rous hoasts,	293
All famous (though unfortunately, fell:)	
And since (provided for the Parthian warre)	295
His Armie arm'd attends on his decree,	
Where we (sequestred from such forces farre)	
Would (if suspected) soone prevented be:	
With some few friends whom all things to assay,	
A love to us, or to their Country binds,	300
We to his wreake must walke another way,	
Whilst, ere our tongues, our hands doe tell our mindes:	
Now when most high, and therefore hated most,	
The gathered Senate seeks to make him King,	
We must goe give the blow before we boast,	305
And him to death, <i>Rome</i> out of bondage bring.	
<i>Brut.</i> In all this course I onely one thing blame,	
That we should steale, what we may justly take,	
By cloathing honour with a cloake of shame,	
Which may our cause (though good) more odious make.	310
O! I could wish with honourable wounds	
To match <i>Romes</i> enemy in the battels dust:	
No sweeter Musicke then the Trumpets sounds,	
When right and valour keepe a consort just:	
Then, free if quicke, else dead, no harme more fear'd,	315
I alwayes so contentment might attaine;	
What tombe to men more glorious can be rear'd,	
Then mountaines made of foes whom they have slaine?	
But how are my transported thoughts growne such,	
That they disdaine a measure to admit?	320
Whilst (bent not what to doe, but to doe much)	
On <i>Glories</i> Throne, Ambition strives to sit.	
No, to the State me from my selfe I give,	
Free from particulars, as who expose	
Fame, life, and all for it, and whilst I live,	325
So <i>Rome</i> may gaine, I care not what I lose.	
I'll never rest till he for ever rest,	
Who gives my Country such a cause of griefe:	
And that to doe no forme I will detest,	
Nor for my fame endanger <i>Romes</i> reliefe:	330
But (worthy <i>Cassius</i>) ere we further doe,	
Let our friends mindes first well be understood,	
Of which I hope to have assistance too,	
Who will not venture for his Countries good?	
<i>Caf.</i> Now whilst my soule rests ravish'd in a trance,	335
I thinke I see great <i>Rome</i> her courage raise,	
Then beat the ayre with fongs, th' earth with a dance,	
And crowne thy vertues with deserved praise.	338

Act 3. Scene 2.

Marcus Brutus, 'ortia.

My dearest halfe, my comfort, my delight,
 Of whom one fmyle may sweeten all my fow'rs:
 Thou in my bosome us'd to powre thy spright, 5
 And where I was didst spare afflictions pow'rs.
 When broils domesticke did disturbe thy rest,
 Then still (till finding) faining some reliefe;
 Thou with calme words disguis'd a stormy brest,
 Ioyes frankly sharing, and engrossing griefe; 10
 Still tend'ring me with a respectiue care,
 What might offend, was by no meanes made knowne:
 But (with loves colours all things painted faire)
 What might haue made me glad, was gladly showne.
 How com'st thou then thy courage thus to lose, 15
 That thou canst look so sad, and in my fight?
 Lend me (dear Love) a portion of thy woes;
 "A burden (when diuided) doth grow light;
 I see the Roses fading in thy face,
 The Lilies languish, Violets take their place. 20

Port. Thou hast (deare Lord) prevented my designe,
 Which was to aske of thee, what makes me pale;
 If *Phæbus* had no light, could *Phæbe* shine?
 No, with the cause of force th' effects must faile.
 The mirrour but gives backe as it receiues, 25
 By just resemblance the objected forme,
 And what impression the engraver leaves,
 The waxe retains, still to the stamp conforme.
 I am the mirrour which reflects thy minde,
 As forc'd from thoughts, or flowing from thine eyes; 30
 I take the state in which thy state I finde;
 Such is my colour as thy count'nance dyes.
 Then how can I rejoyce, whilst thou art sad,
 Whose breast of all thy crosses is the scroule?
 I am still as thou art, if griev'd, or glad, 35
 Thy bodies shadow, th' essence of thy foule:
 On that great Planet which diuides the yeares,
 Of fields inferiour as the fruit depends,
 And as it vanish doth, or pleas'd appeares,
 In th' earths cold bosome, life begins, or ends; 40
 Sunne of my foule, so I subsist by thee,
 Whose shining vertue leades me as a thrall:
 From care-bred clouds if that thy face be free,
 I rise in joyes, but if thou faint, I fall.

Brut. With all my course this count'nance best accords, 45
 Who as you know, yet never from my birth,

Light gestures us'd, nor did delight in words,	47
Whose pleasant strains were only turn'd to mirth.	
My melancholy Nature feeds on cares,	
Whil'st mothred sorrow by a habite smokes:	50
"A thought-full breast (when burden'd with affairs)	
"Doth make a silent mouth, and speaking looks;	
As for my paleness, it imports but good:	
"The bodies humbling doth exalt the mind,	
Where fatness (come from food) but serves for food:	55
In fattest bodies, leanest spirits we find.	
Ah! since I saw th' abhor'd <i>Theffalia's</i> bounds,	
All drench'd with blood of Senators and Kings,	
(As if my soul yet smarted in their wounds)	
A secret sorrow often-times me stings:	60
But since thy Father (braving pain with blows)	
In the most hideous form affronted death,	
To him my mind a sad remembrance owes,	
Which sorrow shall exact whil'st I have breath.	
Yet grieve I that I gave thee cause of grief,	65
Who thoughtst some new mishap did me dismay;	
To such old foes one worst can give relief;	
But Time in end may wear my woes away.	
<i>Por.</i> Why should'st thou so from me thy thoughts conceal?	
From thine own soul between whose breasts thou sleep'st,	70
To whom (though shown) thou dost them not reveal,	
But in thy self more inwardly them keep'st?	
And thou canst hardly hide thy self from me,	
Who soon in thee each alteration spies,	
I can comment on all that comes from thee:	75
"True love still looks with a suspicious eye.	
Within our bosoms rests not every thought,	
Tun'd by a sympathy of mutual love?	
Thou marr'st the Musicke if thou change in ought,	
Which (when distemper'd) I do quickly prove.	80
Soul of my soul, unfold what is amiss,	
Some great disaster all my thoughts divine,	
Whose curiousest may be excus'd in this,	
Since it concerns thy State, and therefore mine.	
<i>Brut.</i> I wonder that thou dost thy frailty show!	85
"By Nature women have been curious still,	
And yet till now thou never crav'd to know	
More than I pleas'd to speak of my free will.	
"Nought save the wife a man within the walls,	
"Nor ought save him without she should embrace:	90
"And it not comely is, but th' one enthralls,	
"When any sex usurps another's place.	
Deare, to their wonted course thy cares inure,	
I may have matters which import the State,	
Whose opening up might my disgrace procure,	95
Whose weight for small thoughts would be too great.	

Port. I was not (*Brutus*) match'd with thee, to be 97
 A partner onely of thy boord, and bed:
 Each servile whore in those might equal me,
 Who but for pleasure, or for wealth did wed. 100
 No, *Portia* spouf'd thee minding to remaine
 Thy Fortunes partner, whether good or ill:
 "By loves strict bonds whil't mutuall duties chaine,
 "Two breasts must hold one heart, two souls one will;
 "Thote whom just *Hymen* voluntar'ly binds, 105
 "Betwixt them should communicate all things,
 "But chiefly that which most doth move the mindes,
 "Whence either pleasure, or displeasure springs.
 If thus thou seek thy sorrows to conceale
 Through a disdaine, or a mistrust of me, 110
 Then to the world what way can I reveale,
 How great a matter I would do for thee?
 And though our sexe too talkative be deem'd,
 As those whose tongues import our greatest pow'rs,
 For secrets still bad Treasurers esteem'd, 115
 Of others greedy, prodigall of ours;
 "Good education may reforme defects,
 And this may leade me to a vertuous life,
 (Whil't such rare patterns generous worth respects)
 I *Cato's* daughter am, and *Brutus* wife. 120
 Yet would I not repose my trust in ought,
 Still thinking that thy crosse was great to beare,
 Till I my courage to a tryall brought,
 Which suffering for thy cause can nothing feare:
 For first to try how that I could comport 125
 With sterne afflictions sprit-enfeebling blows,
 Ere I would seek to vex thee in this sort,
 To whom my soule a dutious reverence owes.
 Loe, here a wound which makes me not to smart,
 No, I rejoyce that thus my strength is knowne: 130
 Since thy distresse strikes deeper in my heart,
 Thy grieve (lifes joy) makes me neglect mine owne.
Brut. Thou must (deare love) that which thou fought'st receive,
 Thy heart so high a faile in stormes still beares,
 That thy great courage doth deserve to have 135
 Our enterprife entrusted to thine eares;
 This magnanimitie prevailes so farre,
 That it my resolution must controule,
 And of my bosome doth the depths unbarre,
 To lodge thee in the centre of my soule. 140
 Thou seest in what estate the State now stands,
 Of whose strong pillars *Cæsar* spoyl'd the best,
 Whil't by his owne, preventing others hands,
 Our famous Father fell amongst the rest.
 That proud usurper fondly doth presume 145
 To re-erect detested *Tarquins* throne,

- Thus the worlds Mistresse all-commanding *Rome*, 147
 Must entertaine no Minion now but one.
 All those brave mindes who mark where he doth rend,
 Swell with difdaine, their Countries scorne to fee; 150
 And I am one of those who soone intend
 (His death or mine procur'd) to be made free.
Port. And without me, canst thou resolve so soone,
 To try the danger of a doubtfull strife?
 As if despair'd, and alwayes but undone, 155
 Of me growne weary, weary of thy life.
 Yet since thou thus thy rash designe hast showne,
 Leave *Portia's* portion, venter not her part,
 Endanger nought but that which is thine owne,
 Go where thou lik'st, I will hold still thy heart. 160
 But left by holding of thy best part back,
 The other perish't, aggravate my grones:
 Who would be so thought guilty of thy wrack,
 Take all thy Treasure to the Seas at once.
 Like *Asia's* Monarchs wife, who with short haire,
 (Sad signes of bondage) past still where he past, 165
 To weare away, or beare away thy cares,
 I'll follow thee, and of thy fortune taste.
 These hands which were with mine own blood imbru'd,
 To strike another, may more strength afford, 170
 At least when thou by th' enemies art pursu'd,
 I'll fet my selfe betwixt thee and each Sword;
 But if too great a priviledge I claime,
 Whose actions all should be dispos'd by thee,
 Ah! pardon (*Brutus*) and but onely blame 175
 This streame of passions that transported me.
Brut. Thou ask'st what thou shouldst give, forgive deare Mate,
 This ventrous course of mine, which must have place,
 Though it make Fortune Tyrant of our State,
 Whose fickle foot-steps Vertue grieves to trace. 180
 And wonder not though thus to thee I prove,
 Since private duties now all pow'r have lost;
 I weigh not glory, profit, pleasure, love,
 Nor what respect may now import me most:
 So to the land of which I hold my life, 185
 I may performe that worke which I intend,
 Let me be call'd unkinde unto my wife:
 Yea, worst of all, ingrate unto my friend.
 "As an instinct by Nature makes us know,
 "There are degrees of duty to be past, 190
 "Of which the first unto the Gods we owe,
 "The next t' our Countrey, to our friends the last.
 From *Rome* of old proud Tyrants bent to drive,
 Did th' author of my race with ardent zeale,
 Make those to dye, whom he had made to live, 195
 And spoild himselfe to raise the Common-weale?

To fettle that which Cæsar now o're-throws, 197
 (Though vertues nurserie, stately whil't it stood)
 He with the Tyrant inter-changing blows,
 On Glories Altar offered Fame his blood. 200
 And did that man to crosse the common foe,
 Then damne his Sonnes to death? and with dry eyes,
 And is his speciall heire degene'd so,
 In abject bondage that he basely lyes?
 No, his posterity his name not stains, 205
 But even to tread his steps doth fast draw neare;
 Yet, of his spirit in us some spark remaines,
 Who more then life, our liberty hold deare.

Port. Then prosecute thy course, for I protest,
 Though with some griefe, my foule the same approves; 210
 This resolution doth become thy brist,
 In honours spheare where heavenly Vertue moves:
 And do this enterprife no more deferre,
 What thee contents, to me contentment brings,
 I to my life thy safety do preferre, 215
 But hold thy honour deare above all things.
 It would but let the world my weaknesse see,
 If I fought my delights, not thy desires,
 Though griefe it give, and threaten death to me,
 Go follow forth that which thy Fame requires. 220
 Though Nature, sexe, and education breed,
 No power in me, with such a purpose even,
 I must lend help to this intended deed,
 If vows and pray'rs may penetrate the heaven:
 But difficulties huge my fancie findes, 225
 Nought, save the successe, can defray my feare:
 "Ah! Fortune alwayes frownes on worthy mindes,
 "As hating all who trust in ought save her.
 Yet I despaire not but thou may'st prevaile,
 And by this course to ease my present grones, 230
 I this advantage have which cannot faile:
 Ile be a free-mans wife, or else be nones:
 For, if all prosper not as we pretend,
 And that the Heavens *Romes* bondage do decree,
 Straight with thy liberty my life shall end, 235
 Who have no comfort but what comes from thee;
 My Father hath me taught what way to dye,
 By which if hindred from encountring death,
 Some other meanes, I (though more strange) must try:
 For, after *Brutus* none shall see me breathe. 240

Brut. Thou for my cause all others earst didst leave,
 But now forsak'st thy selfe to joyne with me,
 "Ore generous love no pow'r weake passions have,
 Against thy minde thou dost with mine agree.
 Ile (since by thee approv'd) securely go, 245
 And wilpend the dangers of this life:

Heavens make my enterprife to prosper fo,	247
That I may once prove worthy fuch a wife:	
But ah! of all thy words thofe grieve me moft,	
Which bragge me with the dating of thy dayes;	250
What? though I in fo good a caufe were loft,	
"None flies the fate which ftablifh'd for him ftayes.	
Do not defraud the world of thy rare worth,	
But of thy <i>Brutus</i> the remembrance love;	
From this faire prifon ftrive not to breake forth,	255
Till firft the fates have forc'd thee to remove.	
<i>Port.</i> The heavens (I feare) have our confufion fworn,	
Since this ill Age can with no good accord,	
Thou and my Father (ah!) fhould have beene borne,	
When Vertue was advanc'd, and Vice abhorr'd.	260
Then, ere the light of Vertue was declin'd,	
Your worth had reverenc'd beene, not throwne away,	
Where now ye both have but in darkneffe fhin'd,	
As Starres by night, that had beene Sunnes by day.	
<i>Brut.</i> My treafure, ftrive to pacifie thy brest,	265
Left forrows but finiftrofly prefage	
That which thou would'ft not wifh, and hope the beft,	
Though Vertue now muft act on Fortunes Stage.	
<i>Exeunt.</i>	269

Chorus.

<i>Then liberty, of earthly things</i>	
<i>What more delights a generous brest?</i>	
<i>Which doth receive,</i>	
<i>And can conceive</i>	5
<i>The matchleffe treafure that it brings;</i>	
<i>It making men securely reft,</i>	
<i>As all perceive,</i>	
<i>Doth none deceive,</i>	
<i>Whil'ft from the fame true courage fprings,</i>	10
<i>But fear'd for nought, doth what feemes beft:</i>	
<i>"Then men are men, when they are all their owne,</i>	
<i>"Not, but by others badges when made knownc:</i>	
<i>Yet fhould we not mifpending houres,</i>	
<i>A freedome feeke, as oft it falls,</i>	15
<i>With an intent</i>	
<i>But to content</i>	
<i>Thefe vaine delights, and appetites of ours;</i>	
<i>For, then but made farre greater thralls,</i>	
<i>We might repent</i>	20
<i>As not ftill pent</i>	
<i>In ftricter bounds by others pow'rs,</i>	
<i>Whil'ft feare licentious thoughts appalls:</i>	
<i>"Of all the Tyrants that the world affords,</i>	
<i>"Ones owne affections are the fierceft Lords:</i>	25

As Libertines those onely live, 26
Who (from the bands of vice jet free)
Vile thoughts cancel,
And would excell
In all that doth true glor; give, 30
From which when as no Tyrants be
Them to repell,
And to compell
Their deeds against their thoughts to strive,
They blest are in a high degree: 35
"For, such of fame the scrouls can hardly fill,
"Whose wit is bound'd by anothers will.
Our Ancestors of old such prov'd,
(Who Rome from Tarquines yoke redeem'd)
They first obtain'd, 40
And then maintain'd
Their liberty so dearly lov'd;
They from all things which odious seem'd
(Though not constrain'd)
Themselves restrain'd, 45
And willingly, all good approv'd,
Bent to be much, yet well esteem'd;
"And how could such but ayme at some great end,
"Whom liberty did leade, Glory attend?
They leading valorous legions forth, 50
(Though wanting Kings) triumph'd o're Kings,
And still aspir'd,
By Mars inspir'd,
To conquer all from South to North;
Then lending fame their Eagles wings, 55
They all acquir'd
That was requir'd,
To make them rare for rarest things,
The world made witnesse of their worth:
Thus those great mindes who domineer'd o're all. 60
Did make themselves first free, then others thrall,
But we who hold nought but their name,
From that to which they in times gone
Did high ascend,
Must low descend, 65
And bound their glory with our shame,
Whil'st on an abject Tyrants Throne,
We (base) attend,
And do intend
Vs for our fortune still to frame, 70
Not it for us, and all for one:
"As liberty a courage doth impart,
"So bondage doth disbend, else breake the heart,
Yet, O! who knows but Rome to grace
Another Brutus may arise? 75

<i>Who may effect</i>	76
<i>What we affect,</i>	
<i>And Tarquines steps make Cæsar trace;</i>	
<i>Though seeming dangers to despise</i>	
<i>He doth suspect</i>	80
<i>What we expect</i>	
<i>Which from his breast hath banish'd peace,</i>	
<i>Though fairely he his feares disguise:</i>	
<i>"Of Tyrants even the wrong, revenge affords,</i>	
<i>"All feare but theirs, and they feare all mens swords.</i>	85

Act 4. Scene 1.

*Decius Brutus Albinus, Marcus
Brutus, Caius Cæsius.*

Deare Cofin, <i>Cæsius</i> did acquaint mine cares	
With a designe which toff'd my minde a space;	5
"For, when strange news, a strangers breath first beares,	
"One should not straight to rash reports give place.	
I would not then discover what I thought,	
Lest he to trap my tongue, a snare had fram'd,	
Till first with thee I to conferre was brought,	10
Whom he for Patron of his purpose nam'd.	
"One should look well to whom his minde he leaves,	
"In dangerous times when tales by walls are told,	
"Men make themselves unneecessar'ly slaves,	
"Of those to whom their secrets they unfold.	15
<i>Mar. Brut.</i> As <i>Cæsius</i> told thee, griev'd for <i>Romes</i> distresse,	
Which to our shame in bondage doth remaine,	
We straight intend what ever we profess,	
With <i>Cæsars</i> blood to wash away this staine.	
Though for this end a few sufficient are,	20
To whom their vertue courage doth impart,	
Yet were we loth to wrong thy worth so farre,	
As of such glory to give thee no part.	
Since both this cause, yea, and thy name thee binde,	
In this adventrous band to be compris'd,	25
There needs no Rhetoricke to raise thy minde,	
To do the thing which thou shouldst have devis'd.	
<i>Dec. Brut.</i> I thought no creature should my purpose know,	
But he whose int'rest promis'd mutuall cares:	
"Of those to whom one would his secret show,	30
"No greater pledge of trust then to know theirs;	
As when two meet whilst mask'd (though most deare friends)	
With them (as strangers) no respect takes place,	
But straight when friend-ship one of them pretends,	
The other likewise doth un-cloud the face.	35

So as thou first, I'll now at last be bold: 36
 My breast with the same birth long bigger hath gone,
 But I to others durst it not unfold,
 Nor yet attempt to compass it alone;
 But since this course, at which I long did pause, 40
 On such great pillars now so strongly stands.
 Whose count'nance may give credit to a cause,
 It hath my heart, and it shall have my hands.

Ca. Caff. To our designs propitious signs are sent,
 So that the Gods would give us courage thus: 45
 For, all who ever heard of our intent,
 Would willingly engage themselves with us:
 Let other men discourse of virtuous rites,
 Ours but by action only should be shewn:
 "Bare speculation is but for such spirits 50
 "As want of power, or courage keeps unknowne.
 "In those who virtue view, when crown'd with deeds,
 "Through Glories glass, whose beauties long have shin'd,
 "To be embrac'd an high desire she breeds,
 "As load-stones iron, so ravishing the mind: 55
 What though a number now in darkness lyes,
 Who are too weak for matters of such weight?
 We who are eminent in all mens eyes,
 Let us still hold the height of honour straight.

Mar. Brut. Earst (that our faction might be strengthened thus) 60
 I labour'd much to purchase all their powers,
 Whom hate to *Cæsar*, love to *Rome*, or us,
 Might make imbarke in those great hopes of ours;
 By sickness then imprison'd in his bed,
 Whilst I *Ligarius* spy'd whom paines did prick, 65
 When I had said with words that anguish bred:
 In what a time *Ligarius* art thou sick?
 He answer'd straight as I had Physicke brought,
 Or that he had imagin'd my designe,
 If worthy of thy selfe thou would'st do ought, 70
 Then *Brutus* I am whole, and wholly thine:
 Since he by *Cæsar* was accus'd of late
 For taking *Pompey's* part, yet at this hour
 He (though absolv'd) doth still the Tyrant hate,
 Since once endanger'd by his lawlesse power: 75
 Thus (of great spirits exasperating spites)
 Heaven of our course the progress doth direct,
 One inspiration all our foules incites,
 Who have advis'dly sworn for one effect.

Dec. Brut. So I with *Cicero* did conferre at length, 80
 Who (I perceive) the present state detests,
 And though old Age diminish'd hath his strength,
 In him a will to free his Country rests.

Mar. Bru. That man whose love still to his country shin'd,
 Would willingly the common-wealth restore: 85

- Then he (I know) though he conceals his minde, 86
 None *Cæsar* more dislikes, nor likes us more:
 Yet to his custody I'll not commit
 The secrets of our enterprize so soone:
 "Men may themselves be often-times not fit 90
 "To do the things which they would wish were done.
 He still was timorous, and, by age growne worse,
 Might chance to lay our honour in the dust;
 "All Cowards must inconstant be of force,
 "With bold designs none fearfull breasts should trust. 95
 Then, some of ours would hold their hands still pure,
 Who (ere they be suspected) for a space,
 Amidst the tumult may remaine secure,
 And with the people mediate our peace:
 But who then *Tullius* fitter for that turne, 100
 Whose eloquence is us'd to charme their cares?
 His banishment they in black Gownes did mourne,
 Whom all do honour for his worth and yeares.
Cai. Caff. Those studious wits which have through dangers gone,
 "Would still be out, ere that they enter in: 105
 "Who muse of many things, resolve of none,
 "And (thinking of the end) cannot begin.
 "The minde which looks no further then the eye,
 "And more to Nature trusts, then unto Art,
 "Such doubtfull fortunes fittest is to try: 110
 "A furious actor for a desp'rat part.
 We have enow, and of the best degree,
 Whose hands unto their hearts, hearts to us are true,
 And if that we seek more, I feare we be
 To hide, too many, if disclos'd, too few; 115
 Let us advise with an industrious care
 (Now ere the Tyrant intercept our mindes)
 The time, the place, the manner, when, and where
 We should entrust our Treasure to the windes;
 And since our states this doth in danger bring, 120
 Let every point be circumspectly weigh'd,
 "A circumstance, or an indifferent thing,
 "Doth oft marre all, when not with care convey'd.
Mar. Brut. As for the time, none could be wish'd more fit,
 Then is the present to performe our vow, 125
 Since all the people must allow of it,
 By recent anguish mov'd extreemely now.
 When represented in his triumph past,
 Great *Cato's* mangled intrails made them weep,
 And desp'rat *Scipio* whilst he leap't at last 130
 To seek a Sanctuary amidst the deep.
 Then all those great men whom in severall parts,
 Bent for *Rome's* freedom, *Cæsar* did o're-throw,
 Did by their pictures pierce the peoples hearts,
 And made a pitious (though a pompous) show; 135

How could they but conceive a just difdaine 136
 To be upbraided in fo strange a fort,
 Whil'ft he who onely by their losse did gaine,
 Of their calamitie did make a sport?
 But yet his purpofe grieves them moft of all, 140
 Since that he ftrives to be proclaim'd a King:
 And not contents himfelfe to make us thrall,
 But would ever all our heires to bondage bring.
 Thus whil'ft the people are with him difpleas'd,
 We beft may do what to our part belongs: 145
 For, after this they may be beft appeas'd,
 If, whil'ft their wrath doth laft, we venge their wrongs;
 And (fince we nought intend but what is right,
 Whil'ft from our Countrey we remove difgrace)
 Let all be aſted in the Senates fight, 150
 A common cauſe, and in a common place.
 Let thoſe whoſe guilty thoughts do damne their deeds,
 In corners like *Minerva's* birds abide,
 That which our Countrey good, us glory breeds,
 May by the lights of heaven and earth be try'd. 155
 The Senatours by our example mov'd,
 Pleas'd with this action which imports them too,
 To have the yoke of tyranny remov'd,
 May at the leaſt confirme that which we do;
 So all the Senatours were ſaid of old, 160
 King *Romulus* in peeces to have torne,
 Who then to tyrannize was growne too bold,
 And ere turn'd God humanitie did ſcorne.
Dec. Brut. Yea, what though *Cæſar* were immortall made,
 As *Romulus*, whoſe deitie him revives? 165
 I rather as a God adore him dead,
 Then as a King obey him whil'ft he lives.
Cai. Caff. That place indeed, moſt for our glory makes;
 A Theater worthy of fo great an aſt,
 Where in their fight from whom moſt pow'r he takes, 170
 We of the Tyrant vengeance may exact.
 But I muſt recommend unto your minde,
 A courſe (though ſtrict) of which we muſt allow,
 Left it o're-throw all that we have deſign'd,
 Since paſt recovery, if neglected now. 175
 There is *Antonius*, *Cæſars* greateſt friend,
 A man whoſe Nature tyranny affects,
 Whom all the Souldiers daily do attend,
 As one who nought but to command reſpects.
 I feare that he when we have *Cæſar* ſlaine, 180
 The griev'd faction furniſh with a head:
 So when we end, we muſt begin againe
 With one who lives worſe then the other dead.
 And in my judgement I would thinke it beſt,
 VVhen ſacrific'd the proud uſurper lyes, 185

That this feditious enemy of rest	186
Should fall with him, with whom he first did rife:	
Thus, of our liberty we now may lay	
A solid ground, which can be shak't by none:	
"Those of their purpose who a part delay,	190
"Two labours have, who might have had but one.	
<i>Mar. Brut.</i> I cannot (<i>Cassius</i>) condescend to kill	
(Thus from the path of justice to decline)	
One faultlesse yet, left after he prove ill,	
So to prevent his guiltinesse by mine;	195
No, no, that neither honest were, nor just,	
Which rigorous forme would but the world affright,	
Men by this meane, our meaning might mistrust,	
And for a little wrong damne all that's right:	
If we do onely kill the common foe,	200
Our Countries zeale must then acquire due praise,	
But if (like Tyrants) fiercely raging so,	
We will be thought that which we raze to raise;	
And where we but intend to aide the State,	
Though by endangering what we hold most deare,	205
If slaying him (as arm'd by private hate)	
We to the world all partiall will appeare,	
Ah, ah! we must but too much murder see,	
Who without doing ill cannot do good:	
And, would the Gods, that <i>Rome</i> could be made free	210
Without the shedding of one drop of blood!	
Then, there is hope that <i>Antonie</i> in end,	
Whil't first our vertue doth direct the way,	
Will (leagu'd with us) the liberty defend,	
And (when brought back) will blush, as once astray.	215
<i>Ca. Caff.</i> Well <i>Brutus</i> , I protest against my will,	
From this black cloud, what ever tempest fall,	
That mercy but most cruelly doth kill,	
Which thus faves one, who once may plague us all.	
<i>Dec. Brut.</i> When <i>Cæsar</i> with the Senatours sits downe,	220
In this your judgements generally accord,	
That for affecting wrongfully the Crowne,	
He lawfully may perish by the Sword:	
No greater harme can for our course be wrought,	
Then by protracting the appointed time,	225
Left that, which acted would be vertue thought,	
Be (if prevented) constru'd as a crime;	
Can one thing long in many mindes be pent?	
"No, purposes would never be delayd,	
"Which judg'd by th' issues Fortune doth comment,	230
"If prosp'ring, reason, treason if betrai'd.	
There may amongst our selves some man remaine,	
Whom (if afraid) his pardon to procure,	
Or (if too greedy) for the hope of gaine,	
Time to disclose his comforts may allure.	235

Then for our recompence we ruine reape, 236
 If ought our course thus made abortive marre,
 For, if discovered once, we cannot scape:

"As tyrants eares heare much, their hands reach farre.

Ca. Cæsius. The brest in which so deep a secret dwels, 240
 Would not be long charg'd with so weighty cares:
 For, I conjecture, as their count'nance tels.

That many know our mindes, though we not theirs:

Even but of late one, *Cæsa* came to see
 Who curious was to have our purpose knowne, 245

And said to him, that which thou hau'st from me,

To me by *Brutus* hath at length been shown.

Then *Læna* once came to us in like sort,
 And wish'd that our designe might prosper well;

But yet to haste did earnestly exhort, 250
 Since others told what we refus'd to tell.

Whilst strangers rest familiar with our minde,

And ere we them, doe all our purpose spy,

Make forward fast, or we will come behinde:

"Fame (wing'd with breath) doth violently flye. 255

Mar. Brut. Their words but burst from tales uncertaine forth,

For, whilst considering of their bondage thus,

Of *Cæsar's* tyranny and of our worth,

They thinke this should be done, and done by us.

Such conjurations to confirme of old, 260

Some drinking others blouds, swore on their swords,

And cursing those who did their course unfold,

Vs'd imprecations, execrable words;

And yet, then this, though voluntar'ly vow'd,

Free from all bonds, save that which vertue binds, 265

More constantly no course was ere allow'd,

Till that the end must manifest our mindes.

And since so many frankly keep their faith,

What first intended to accomplish bent,

No doubt in spight of fickle fortunes wrath, 270

A happy successe shall our foules content.

Might some few Thebans from the Spartans pride,

By divers tyrants deaths redeem their Towne?

And one Athenian who his vertue try'd,

By thirty tyrants ruine, get renowne? 275

And to the Greekes are we inferiours growne,

That where they have so many tyrants spoil'd,

There cannot one be by us all o'rethrowne,

Whose state yet staggering may be soon imbroil'd?

I am resolv'd, and with my thoughts decree, 280

What ever chance to come, or sweet, or fowre,

I shall my foile from tyranny set free,

Or then my selfe free from the tyrants pow'r.

Dec. Brut. By *Lepidus* invited this last night,

Whilst *Cæsar* went to suppe, and I with him, 285

Of all deaths shapcs to talke, we tooke delight, 286
 So at the table to beguile the time:
 And whilst our judgements all about were try'd,
 Straight *Cæsar*, (as tranfported) to the rest,
 With a moft fudden exclamation cry'd: 290
 O! of all deaths, unlook'd for death is beft:
 It from our felves doth fteale our felves fo faft,
 That even the minde no fearefull forme can fee,
 Then is the paine ere apprehended paff;
 "Sowre things ere tafted, would firft fwallowed be. 295
 The threatned destiny thus he divin'd:
 (It would appeare) divinely then inspir'd;
 For, now I hope that he fhall fhortly finde
 That forme of death which he himfelfe defir'd.
Cai. Caf. Whilst of our band the fury flames moft hot, 300
 And that their will to end this worke is fuch,
 Left *Cæfars* abfence difappoint the plot,
 Which would of fome abate the courage much;
 It (*Decius*) were exceedingly well done,
 That to his lodging you adreff your way, 305
 Him by all meanes to further forward foone,
 Left him fome fudden chance may move to ftay.
Dec. Brut. There, where the Senate minds this day to fit,
 Stand all prepar'd, not fearing danger more,
 And for the Sacrifice when all is fit, 310
 I'll bring an offering hallowed of before. *Exeunt.*

Act 4. Scene 2.

Cæfar, Calphurnia, Decius Brutus.

Long-look-for Time that fhould the glory yeeld,
 Which I through *Neptunes* truffleffe raign have fought;
 And through the duft of many a bloody field, 5
 As by all dangers worthy to be bought.
 Thy comming now thofe lowring shadowes cleares,
 My hopes horizon which did long o're-caft;
 This day defrayes the toyles of many yeares,
 And brings the harveft of my labours paff. 10
 The Senators a Meffenger have fent
 Moft earnestly entreating me to come
 And heare my felfe difcern'd by their confent
 To weare a Crowne o're all, excepting *Rome*;
 Thus, they devife conditions at this houre 15
 For him, of whom *Mars* hath made them the prey,
 As Subjects limit could their Soveraignes pow'r,
 Who muft have minde of nought but to obey;
 But having pacifi'd thofe prefent things,
 I minde to leade my valorous legions forth 20

To th' orientall Realmes (adoring Kings) 21
 Who can afford all that is due to worth.
 Then swimme my thoughts in th' ocean of de'tight,
 Whilst on the pillow of soft praise repose't;
 Those eyes to gaze upon my glories light, 25
 Which Envy open'd, Admiration clos'd.

Cal. Ah, though your fancies great contentment finde,
 Whilst thus the world your vertue doth advance;
 Yet a prepost'rous terrour flings my minde,
 And brags me with I know no what mischance, 30
 My wavering hopes o're-ballanc'd are with feares,
 Which to my soule sinistrous signes impart;
 And om'nous rumours so assault mine cares,
 That they almost make breaches in my heart.

Cal. What? do foil'd *Pompeys* sloting followers strive 35
 To recollect their ruines from the dust?
 Dare they who onely by my tollerance live,
 More to their strength, then to my favour trust?
 Or do'st thou feare his sonnes dejected state,
 Who steales infamous slyng through those clouds, 40
 Which his great father, Admirall of late,
 Did plant with ships, till all their waves seem'd woods;
 Or makes his brothers death his hopes grow more,
 Since (by them straited in a bloody strife)
 I who in all the battels given before, 45
 Did fight for victory, then, fought for life;
 Or, whilst to march to *Parthia* I prepare,
 Doth a suspition thus afflict thy sprite:
 By *Craffus* fortune mov'd, who perish'd there,
 The scorned prey of the Barbarians spight? 50
 To those with *Cassius* who from thence retir'd,
 Amongst my bands a place I will allow,
 Whose foes shall finde (bad fate at last expir'd,)
 Though the same sheep, another sheep-heard now;
 Doe not imagine matters to be more, 55
 For, whilst there stands a world, can *Cæsar* fall?
 Though thousand thousands were conjur'd in one,
 I, and my fortune might confound them all.

Cal. No, none of those my minde doth discontent,
 Who undisguis'd still like themselves remaine: 60
 Vnlook't-for harmes are hardest to prevent:
 There is no guard against conceal'd disdain;
 But, in whom further can your trust repose,
 Whom danger now o're all by all attends?
 "Where private men but onely feare their foes, 65
 "Oft Kings have greatest cause to feare their friends;
 "For, since most trusted, fittest to betray,
 "Those unto whom ones favour force affords,
 "Most dangerous ambushes with ease may lay,
 "Whilst falsest hearts are hid with fairest words. 70

- And some report (though privately) yet plaine, 71
 That *Dolabella* and *Antonius* now,
 By your destruction doe intend to gaine
 That which you keep by making all men bow.
- Cæs.* No corpulent fanguinians make me feare, 75
 Who with more paine their beards then th' en'mies strike,
 And doe themselves like th' Epicurians beare
 To *Bacchus*, *Mars*, and *Venus* borne alike;
 Their hearts doe alwaies in their mouthes remaine,
 As streames whose murmuring shoves their course not deep, 80
 Then still they love to sport, though grosse, and plaine,
 And never dreame of ought but when they sleep:
 But those high sprites who hold their bodies downe,
 Whose visage leane their restlesse thoughts records:
 Whilst they their cares depth in their bosomes drown, 85
 I feare their silence more then th' others words.
 Thus *Cassius* now and *Brutus* seeme to hold
 Some great thing in their minde, whose fire oft fmoaks;
 What *Brutus* would, he vehemently would;
 Thinke what they list, I like not their pale lookes: 90
 Yet with their worth this cannot well agree,
 In whom bright vertue seemes so much to shine:
 Can those who have receiv'd their lives from me,
 Prove so ingrate, that they doe thirst for mine?
 Dare *Cassius* (match'd with me) new hopes conceive, 95
 At th' *Hellepont*, who fortune durst not try,
 And (like a dastard) did his Gallies leave,
 In all (save courage) though more strong then I?
 Shall I suspect that *Brutus* seekes my blood,
 Whose safety still I tendred with such care, 100
 Who when the heavens from mortals me seclude,
 Is onely worthy to be *Cæsars* heire?
- Cal.* "The corners of the heart are hard to know;
 Though of those two the world the best doth deeme,
 Yet doe not trust too much to th' outward show, 105
 For, men may differ much from what they seeme.
 "None oft more fierce then those who look most milde,
 "Impiety sometime appeares devout,
 And (that the world the more may be beguil'd)
 "Even vice can cloath it selfe with vertues cote. 110
 Though it would seem (all hatred now laid downe)
 They on your favour onely should depend,
 Yet no respect can counterpoise a Crowne:
 "Ambition hath no bounds, nor Greed no end.
 Mov'd by vindictive hate, or emulous pride, 115
 Since some your person, some your place pursue;
 All threatned dangers to prevent, provide,
 And use for safety, what to State is due.
- Cæs.* No armour is tht can hold treason out.
Cal. To fright your foes with bands be back'd about. 120

- Cæs.* So daftard tyrants strive themselves to beare. 121
Cal. It better is to give, then to take feare.
Cæs. No guard more strong then is the peccoles love.
Cal. But nought in th' earth doth more inconstant prove.
Cæs. Guards (shewing feare) to charge me men might tempt 125
Cal. Guards would put them from hope, you from contempt.
Cæs. My brest from terrour hath been alwaies cleare.
Cal. When one least feares, oft danger lurks most neare.
Cæs. I rather dyc then feare: at last life goes.
Cal. Yet, death must grieve, when forc'd by vaunting foes. 130
Cæs. I will not crosse my present pleasures fo,
 By apprehending what may chance to come,
 This world affords but too much cause for woe;
 And sorrowes still must harbour'd be by some.
 By joyes in time we must embrace reliefe, 135
 That when they end, we in some measure may
 By their remembrance mitigate the grieve
 Which still attends all those on th' earth that stay.
 I thinke the Senate is assembled now,
 And for my coming doth begin to gaze, 140
 Let me condignely once adorne my brow,
 And feast mine cares by drinking in due praise.
Cal. Stay, stay (deare Lord) retire thy steps againe,
 And spare a space to prorogue whole yeares;
 Let not this ominous day begin thy raigne, 145
 Which fatall and unfortunate appeares.
 An Astrologian through the world renown'd,
 Thy horoscopes just calculation layes,
 And doth affirme (as he by signes hath found)
 That Marches Ides doe bragge to bound thy dayes; 150
 Walke not abroad where harmes may be receiv'd
 (By great necessity since no way forc'd)
 For, (though his judgement may be farre deceiv'd)
 "In things that touch thy life, suspect the worst.
Cæs. Whilst I reform'd the Calendar by fits, 155
 Which did confound the order of the yeare;
 I waded through the depths of all their wits,
 Who of the starres the mysteries would cleare.
 Those pregnant sprites who walke betwixt the Poles,
 And lodge at all the Zodiackes severall signes, 160
 Doe reade strange wonders wrapt in th' azure scroules,
 Of which our deeds are words, our lives are lines.
 By speculation of superior pow'rs,
 Some Natures secrets curious are to know,
 As how celestiallyl bodies rule o're ours, 165
 And what their influence doth worke below.
 Yea, they sometime may brave conjectures make
 Of those whose parts they by their birth doe prove,
 Since naturally all inclination take
 From Planets then predominant above; 170

- And yet no certainty can so be had, 171
 Some virtuously against their Starres have striv'd,
 As *Socrates*, who grew (though borne but bad)
 The most accomplish'd man that ever liv'd.
 But of the houre ordain'd to close our lights, 175
 No earth-clog'd soule can to the knowledge come,
 For, O! the destinies farre from our fights,
 In clouds of darknesse have involv'd our doome!
 And some but onely guesse at great mens falls,
 By bearded Comets, and prodigious Starres, 180
 Whose sight-distracting shape the world appalls,
 As still denouncing terrour, death, or warres.
 The time uncertaine is of certaine death,
 And that fantasticke man farre past his bounds:
 "With doubt and reverence they should manage breath, 185
 "Who will divine upon conjectured grounds.
- Cal.* But this all day hath prey'd upon my heart,
 And from the same of cares a tribute claim'd;
 Doe not despise that which I must impart,
 Though but a dreame, and by a woman dream'd. 190
 I thought (alas) the thought yet wounds my breast,
 Then whilst we both (as those whom *Morpheus* weds)
 Lay softly buried (with a pleasant rest)
 I in thy bosome, thou within the beds:
 Then from my soul strange terrors did with-draw 195
 Th' expected peace by apprehended harmes;
 For, I imagin'd, no, no doubt I saw,
 And did embrace thee bloody in mine armes.
 Thus whilst my soule by sorrowes was furcharg'd,
 Of which huge weight it yet some burden beares, 200
 I big with griefe, two Elements enlarg'd,
 Th' ayre with my sighes, the water with my teares.
- Cæs.* That which I heard, with thy report accords,
 Whilst thou all seem'd dissolv'd in griefe at once,
 A heavy murmuring made with mangled words, 205
 Was interrupted oft by tragicke groanes.
 The memory, but not the judgement frames
 Those raving fancies which disturbe the braine,
 Whilst night dissolves all dayes designs in dreames,
 "The senses sleeping, soules would stirre in vaine. 210
 From superstitious feares this care proceeds,
 Which still would watch o're that which thou dost love,
 And in thy minde thus melancholy breeds,
 Which doth those strange imaginations move.
- Cal.* Ah, in so light account leave off to hold 215
 Those fatall warnings, which our mindes should leade
 To search darke matters, till we may unfold
 What dangers huge doe hang above thy head.
 With sacred Garlands he who things divines,
 By th' intrails of the consecrated beast, 220

Doth in the offering see finiftrous fignes,
And I entreat thee doe not hence make hafte. 221

Cæf. When I in *Spaine* againe yong *Pompey* went
Thus, the diviner threatned me before,
Yet did I profecute my firft intent,
Which with new lawrels did my browe decore. 225

Cal. And yet you hardly there (as I doe heere)
From danger (farre engag'd) redeem'd your life;
But tokens now more monftrous doe appeare,
And I fufpect farre worfe then open ftrife. 230

Cæf. Left I too much fceeme wedded to my will,
(As others counfels fcorning to allow)
With jealous eyes I'll fearch about me ftill,
And even miftruff my felfe to truff thee now;
Yet if I ftay, the Senators deceiv'd,
May my beginning ftraight begin to hate;
So might I perifh, feeking to be fav'd:
"By flying it, fome fall upon their fate. 235

But here one comes who can refolve me much,
With whom I ufe to weigh affaires of weight;
Whence com'ft thou *Decius*, that 'hy hafte is fuch?
Is ough. occurr'd that craves our knowledge ftraight? 240

Dec. I come to tell you how the Senate ftayes,
Till that your prefence bleffe their longing fight,
And to conclude what is propos'd, delays,
Since your applaufe can onely make it right:
They your contentment to procure intend,
And all their thoughts fceeme at one object bent,
Save that amongst themfelves they doe contend,
Who you to pleafe, fhall rareft wayes invent. 250

Cæf. Then that, no treafure to my foule more deare,
Which to enjoy from hence I long to part,
But yet I know not what arrefts me here,
And makes my feet rebellious to my heart;
From thee (deare friend) I never doe conceale
The weightieft fecrets that concerne me moft;
And at this time I likewise muft reveale,
How heavens by fignes me with destruction boaft:
To fuperftition though not earli inclin'd,
My wife by dreames doth now prefage my fall,
It a footh-fayer likewise hath divin'd:
The Sacrifice prodigious fceemes to all,
So that till this difaftrous day be gone,
All company I purpofe to difufe,
And to the Senators will fend fome one,
To paint my abfence with a faire excufe. 265

Dec. Brut. Doe not repofe on fuperftitious fignes,
You to fufpect the people thus to bring,
Whilst Sovereigne-like you limit their defignes,
Seeme not a tyrant, feeking to be King: 270

How can we satisfie the worlds conceit, 271
 Whose tongue still in all eares your praise proclaimes?
 Or shall we bid them leave to deale in state,
 Till that *Calphurnia* first have better dreames?
 If that this day you private would remaine, 275
 The Senate to dissolve your selfe must goe,
 And then incontinent come backe againe,
 When you have showne to it some reverence fo.
Cæs. With thy advise (as pow'rfull) I agree,
 The Senatours shall have no cause to grudge: 280
 A little space, all part a space from me,
 And I'll be shortly ready to dislodge.

Cæsar alone.

VVhence comes this huge and admirable change,
 That in my brest hath uncouth thoughts infus'd 285
 Doth th' earth then earst yeeld terrors now more strange,
 Or but my minde lesse courage then it us'd?
 What spightfull fate against my state contends,
 That I must now to fancied plagues give place,
 By foes not mov'd, afraid amongst my friends, 290
 By warre secure, endanger'd but by peace?
 When strongest troopes to fight with me did come,
 Then did my heart the highest hopes conceive,
 I warr'd with many, many to o're-come;
 The greatest battels, greatest glory gave. 295
 As th' enemies numbers, still my courage grew;
 Through depths of dangers oft times have I past,
 Yet never did those boundlesse labours rue,
 To have none greater first, none equall last:
 When bragging Gauls mov'd by their neighbours fals, 300
 Had from the fields, no, from my fury fled;
 And hid themselves with Armes, their Armes with walles,
 Whilst I my troupes before *Alexia* led;
 Then, though there swarm'd forth from the bounds about,
 Huge hosts to compasse me inflam'd with wrath,
 That the besiegers (all besieg'd about,) 305
 Seem'd drawne by danger in the nets of death.
 No way I who could with the pride comport,
 That those Barbarians by vaine vaunts bewray'd,
 Did re-affault th' affaulters in such fort, 310
 That words by wounds, wounds were by death repaid.
 Of those within the towne (to ease their toyles)
 Till quite o're-com'd, their comming was not knowne,
 Who straight (upbraided by the barb'rous spoiles)
 Did yeeld themselves, as if with them o're-throwne, 315
 By liquid legions whilst with tumid boasts
 The Trident-bearer striv'd my spoiles to beare; 317

Though threatned thrife amid't his humid hofls, 318
 Still courage fcorn'd to thinke of abject feare.
 I us'd thofe Pyrats who had me deceiv'd, 320
 Still as my fervants (thundring threats forth)
 And gave them money more then they had crav'd,
 Whofe ignorance too meanelly priz'd my worth:
 Yet gathering fhips, I ftay'd not long a fhore,
 But trac'd their fteps, though they not pay'd the way, 325
 And taking them (as I had vow'd before)
 By nought but death their ranfome would defray;
 Then when (without th' advice of others mindes)
 Through hoary waves I paff alone by night,
 Whilft in a little Barke againft great windes, 330
 That even the Pilot look't not for the light;
 The waves themfelves afunder feem'd to teare,
 That in their gravell I might chufe a grave,
 And cryftall arches did above me reare,
 That I a Tombe fit for my ftate might have,
 Whilft dangers feem'd to merit *Cæſar's* death, 335
 As *Neptune* rais'd his head, I rais'd my heart;
 And fhewing what I was with conſtant breath,
 To weake *Amiclas* courage did impart.
 Was I not once amid't large *Nilus* flote, 340
 Whilft me to wound, a wood of darts did flye,
 Yet swim'd fo careleffe of my enemies ſhot,
 That in my hand I held ſome papers dry?
 With open dangers thus in every place,
 I (whilft oft compaſs'd both by Sea and Land,) 345
 Did undifmay'd looke horreur in the face,
 As borne for nought, but onely to command.
 But ſince a world of victories have fill'd
 With Trophées Temples, Theaters with my praife,
 That bath'd with balme which glories bayes had ſtill'd, 350
 With friends in peace, I look'd to ſpend my dayes,
 The chambers muſicke now afrights me more,
 Then Trumpets ſounds when marching in the field,
 And Gowns (though ſignes of peace) worſe then before
 The pompous ſplendour of a flaming ſhield. 355
 Thoſe thoughts of late which had diſdain'd to doubt,
 Though I alone had march'd amongſt my foes,
 Loe, whilft amongſt my friends well back'd about,
 They, then the eyes more danger now diſcloſe.
 If any chance, to meet a number brings, 360
 I infurrections feare from common wrath,
 Yea, if two talke a part of private things,
 Straight I ſuſpect that they confpire my death;
 When ſudden rumours riſe from vulgar ſmoake;
 (Whilft th' inward motions roule my reſtleſſe eyes,) 365
 I at each corner for an ambuſh looke,
 And ſtart aſtoniſh'd, leſt ſome tumult riſe. 367

When light (first lightning) doth encourage toyles,	368
I still despaire to re-enjoy the night,	
And when mine eyes th' umbragious darkeness spoils,	370
I never looke to grace them with the light;	
For, when the light with shadowes makes a change,	
To flatter mortals with a dreame of rest,	
What ugly Gorgons, what Chimera's strange	
Doe bragge the little world within my brest?	375
The time which should appease impetuous cares,	
Doth double mine, who view most when quite blinde;	
I apprehend huge horrors and despaire,	
Whilst th' outward objects not distract my minde:	
Now of my conquests what delight remains?	380
Where is the peace pursu'd by many a strife?	
Have I but taken paine to purchase paines?	
And fought by dangers for a dangerous life?	
Is this the period of aspiring pow'rs,	
In promis'd calmes to be most plagu'd by stormes?	385
Lurke poyf'nous Serpents under fairest flow'rs,	
And hellish furies under heavenly formes?	
It will not grieve my ghost below to goe,	
If circumvented in the warres I end,	
As bold <i>Marcellus</i> by <i>Romes</i> greatest foe,	390
Who gave his ashes honour as a friend;	
Or like t' <i>Epaminondus</i> in his death,	
O! would the Gods I had amidst alarms,	
When charg'd with recent spoiles, been spoil'd of breath,	
Whilst I to <i>Pluto</i> might have march'd in armes;	395
Yet, life to end, which nought but toyles affords,	
I'll pay to death the tribute that it owes;	
Straight with my blood, let some come dye their swords,	
Whose naked brest encounter shall their blowes:	
But ah! how have the furies seiz'd my brest,	400
And poyson'd thus my sprite with desp'rate rage?	
By horrid Serpents whilst quite barr'd from rest,	
No kinde of comfort can my cares assuage;	
No, <i>Atropos</i> , yet spare my threed a space,	
That to the Stygian streames ere walking downe,	405
I may of honour have the highest place,	
And if I fall, yet fall beneath a Crowne.	
Whilst eares are bended to applauding shouts,	
My thoughts divided are within my brest,	
And my tofs'd soule doth flote between two doubts,	410
Yet knowes not on what ground to build her rest.	
The Senators, they have this day design'd,	
To shew the world how they esteeme my worth;	
Yet doe portentuous signes perturb my minde,	
By which the heavens would put my danger forth:	415
The Gods from me with indignation gone,	
In every thing charact'ed have my death:	417

And must both heaven and earth conspire in one, 418
 To quench a little sparke of smoaking breath?
 My safetie would that I should stay within 420
 Till this disastrous day give darkene'd place,
 But daring honour would have me begin
 To reape the glory of my painefull race,
 And I'll advance in spite of threatned broyles,
 For, though the fates accomplish what we dreame, 425
 When onely death hath triumph'd of my spoiles,
 I then (though breathlesse) still shall breathe with fame. *Exit.*

Chorus.

*What fury thus doth fill the brest
 With a prodigious rash desire,
 Which banishing their soules from rest,
 Doth make them live who high aspire,* 5
*(Whilst it within their bosome boyles)
 As Salamanders in the fire;
 Or like to Serpents changing spoiles,
 Their wither'd beauties to renew?
 Like Vipers with unnaturall toyles,* 10
*Of such the thoughts themselves pursue,
 Who for all lines their lives doe square,
 Whilst like Camelions changing hue,
 They onely feed on empty ayre:
 "To passe ambition greatest matters brings,* 15
*"And (I sweare contentment) can attaine all things.
 This active passion doth disdain
 To match with any vulgar minde,
 As in base breasts where terrours raigne,
 Too great a guest to be confin'd;* 20
*It doth but lofty thoughts frequent,
 Where it a spacious field may finde,
 It selfe with honour to content,
 Where reverenc'd fame doth lowdest sound;
 Those for great things by courage bent,* 25
*(Farre lifted from this lumpish round)
 Would in the sphere of Glory move,
 Whilst lofty thoughts which nought can binde,
 All rivals live in vertues love;
 "On abject preyes as th' Eagles never light,* 30
*"Ambition poysons but the greatest sprite,
 And of this restless Vultures brood,
 (If not become too great a flame)
 A little sparke doth sometime good,
 Which makes great mindes (affecting fame)* 35
*To suffer still all kinde of paine:
 Their fortune at the bloody game,* 37

<i>Who hazard would for hope of gaine,</i>	38
<i>Vnlesse first burn'd by thirst of praise?</i>	
<i>The learned to a higher straine,</i>	40
<i>Their wits by emulation raise,</i>	
<i>As those who hold applauses deare;</i>	
<i>And what great minde at which men gaze,</i>	
<i>It selfe can of ambition cleare,</i>	
<i>Which is when valu'd at the highest price,</i>	45
<i>A generous error, an heroicke vice?</i>	
<i>But when this frenzie flaming bright,</i>	
<i>Doth so the soules of some surprize,</i>	
<i>That they can taste of no delight,</i>	
<i>But what from Sovereignty doth rise,</i>	50
<i>Then, huge affliction it affords;</i>	
<i>Such must (themselves so to disguise)</i>	
<i>Prove prodigall of courteous words,</i>	
<i>Give much to some, and promise all,</i>	
<i>Then humble seeme to be made Lords,</i>	55
<i>Yea, being thus to many thrall,</i>	
<i>Must words impart, if not support;</i>	
<i>To those who crush'd by fortune fall;</i>	
<i>And grieve themselves to please each sort:</i>	
<i>"Are not those wretch'd, who o're a dangerous snare,</i>	60
<i>"Do hang by hopes, whilst ballanc'd in the ayre;</i>	
<i>Then when they have the Port attain'd,</i>	
<i>Which was through Seas of dangers sought,</i>	
<i>They (loe) at last but losse have gain'd,</i>	
<i>And by great trouble, trouble bought:</i>	65
<i>Their mindes are married still with feares,</i>	
<i>To bring forth many a jealous thought;</i>	
<i>With searching eyes, and watching cares,</i>	
<i>To learne that which it grieves to know,</i>	
<i>The brest that such a burden beares,</i>	70
<i>What huge afflictions doe o'rethrow?</i>	
<i>Thus, each Prince is (as all percieve)</i>	
<i>No more exalted then brought low,</i>	
<i>"Of many, Lord, of many, slave;</i>	
<i>"That idoll greatnesse which th' earth doth adore,</i>	75
<i>"Is gotten with great paine, and kept with more:</i>	
<i>He who to this imagin'd good,</i>	
<i>Did through his countries bowels tend,</i>	
<i>Neglecting friendship, duty, bloud,</i>	
<i>And all on which trust can depend,</i>	80
<i>Or by which love could be conceiv'd,</i>	
<i>Doth finde of what he did attend,</i>	
<i>His expectations farre deceiv'd;</i>	
<i>For, since suspecting secret snares,</i>	
<i>His soule hath still of rest beene reav'd,</i>	85
<i>Whilst squadrons of tumultuous cares,</i>	
<i>Forth from his brest extort deep grones.</i>	87

Thus Cæsar now of life despair'es, 88
 Whose lot his hope exceeded once;
 And who can long well keep an ill wonne State? 90
 "Thofe perill muſt by ſome whom all men hate.

Act 5. Scene 1.

*Marcus Brutus, Chorus, Antonius, Caius
 Cæſius, Marcus Tullius Cicero.*

Are generous *Romans* ſo degener'd now,
 That they from honour have eſtrang'd their hands? 5
 And, us'd with burdens, do not bluſh to bow,
 Yea (even though broken) ſhake not off their bands;
 This glorious worke was worthy of your paine,
 Which now ye may by others dangers have;
 But what enchaunts you thus, that ye abſtaine 10
 That which ye ſhould have taken, to receive?
 Where be thoſe inundations of delight,
 Which ſhould burſt out from thoughts o're-flow'd with joy.
 Whil'ſt emulous Vertue may your mindes incite,
 That which we give you bravely to enjoy; 15
 Or quite conſorm'd unto your former ſtate,
 Do ſtill your mindes of ſervitude allow,
 As broken by adverſitie of late,
 Not capable of better fortune now?
 Loe, we who by the Tyrants favour flood, 20
 And griev'd but at the yoke which you out-rag'd,
 Have our advancement, riches, reſt, and bloud,
 All liberally for liberty engag'd.

Chor. Thou like thy great Progenitour in this,
 Haſt glory to thy ſelfe, t' us freedome brought; 25
 "Then liberty what greater treaſure is?
 "Ought with it much, without it much ſeemes nought:
 But pardon us (heroicke man) though we
 To high perfection hardly can aſpire,
 Though every man cannot a *Brutus* be, 30
 "What none can imitate, all muſt admire.
 At this ſtrange courſe (with too much light made blinde)
 We our opinions muſt ſuſpend a ſpace,
 "When ſudden chances do diſmay the minde,
 "The Iudgement to the Paſſion firſt gives place. 35

Ant. What wonder now though this moſt barbarous deed
 Have with amazement cloſ'd your judgement in,
 Which O (I feare) ſhall great confuſion breed?
 When *Cæſars* toyls did end, *Romes* did begin:
 The moſt ſuſpicious mindes had not beleev'd, 40
 That *Romans* reverenc'd for their worth by us,

- Would have prefum'd to kill, or to have griev'd 42
 An hallow'd body inhumanely thus;
 Who would have once but dream'd of fuch despight?
 What strange hostility! in time of peace 45
 To kill, though not accus'd, against all right,
 A sacred man, and in a sacred place?
Cai. Caff. If *Cæsar* as a Citizen had liv'd,
 And had by Law decided every strife,
 Then I would grant those treason had contriv'd, 50
 Who went without a Law to take his life;
 But to pervert the Laws, subvert the State,
 If all his travels did directly tend,
 Then I must say, we did no wrong of late:
 "Why should not Tyrants make a Tragick end? 55
Cho. Since destinies did *Cæsars* soule enlarge,
 What course can we for his recovery take?
 Ah! th' unrelenting *Charons* restless Barge
 Stands to transport all o're, but brings none back:
 "Of lifes fraile glasse (when broken) with vaine grones, 60
 "What earthly power the ruines can reaire;
 "Or who can gather up, when scattred once,
 "Ones blood from th' earth, or yet his breath from th' ayre?
 Let us of those who passe oblivions shroud
 Oblivious be, since hope of help is gone, 65
 And spend our cares where cares may do most good,
 Lest *Rome* waile many, where she wailes but one.
Ant. Still concord for the Common-weale were best,
 To reconcile divided thoughts againe:
 "Then discord to great Townes, no greater pest, 70
 Whose violence no reverence can restrain.
 Yet often-times those warie wits have err'd,
 Who would buy wealth and ease at any cost:
 "Let honesty to profit be preferr'd,
 "And to vile peace warre when it wounds us most; 75
 But seeking peace, what surety can we finde?
 Can faithlesse men give faith, just feares to stay?
 "No sacred band Impiety can binde,
 Which sweares for trust, seeks trust but to betray;
 "What help'd it *Cæsar*, that we all had sworne 80
 His body still from dangers to redeeme?
 "Those who are once perjur'd, hold oaths in scorn:
 "All are most franke of what they least esteeme.
Mar. Brut. None needs in States which are from Tyrants free,
 Loath'd execrations to confirme his will, 85
 Where willingly men would with good agree,
 And without danger might despise all ill;
 All odious oaths by those are onely crav'd,
 Whose suit from Reason doth a warrant want,
 Whil'st who deceive (affraid to be deceiv'd) 90
 Seek of men thrall'd, what none whil'st free would grant.

When *Cæsar* had prevail'd in *France* and *Spain* , 92
 His Fortune building on his Countries wracke,
 (Of liberty a shadow to retaine)
 We gave him all that he was bent to take. 95
 The Senate had reserv'd nought but a show,
 Whose course to it by *Cæsar* was impos'd,
 Who lifted up, by bringing others low,
 Of Offices, and Provinces dispos'd:
 Then that our faded hopes might never spring, 100
 When bent to try the *Parthians* wooden showre,
 He for five yeares dispos'd of every thing,
 Even in his absence leaving us no power,
 O how some aggravate our deed with hate!
 Who durst his body wound, or with blood stain;
 Though consecrated by constraint of late, 105
 Yea, but reputed holy, yet prophaine,
 And did forget how he (a wondrous case)
 The Tribuneship did violate with scorn,
 Which our fore-fathers (free) in time of peace
 Advic'dly had inviolable sworn. 110
 Did he not once appropriate (swolne with wrath)
 The publike treasure to his private use?
 And to the Tribune boldly threatned death,
 Who did resist, griev'd at that great abuse. 115
 Twixt *Romans* and a Tyrant what avails
 A Covenant whil'st Right rests trod on thus?
 "Who can build further when the ground once fails?
 Could we save him who fought to ruine us?
Cic. So absolutely good no man remains, 120
 Whose naturall weaknesse may not him o're-come;
 "Even Vertues dye from Vice may take some stains,
 "And worthy minds may of grosse faults have some:
 "As in fine fruits, or weeds, fat earth abounds,
 "Even as the Labourers spend, or spare their paine, 125
 "The greatest spirits (disdaining vulgar bounds)
 "Of what they see: the highest height must gaine;
 "They (that bright glory may be so enjoy'd)
 "As onely borne to be in action still,
 "Had rather be (then idle) ill employ'd: 130
 "Great spirits must do great good, or then great ill;
 The worlds chiefe treasure which bright Rayes do arme,
 Huge evill procur'd (though onely fram'd for good)
 Till that fond youth whom his owne wish did harme,
 Was kill'd by fire, and buried in a flood. 135
 By rules of Reason whil'st he rightly liv'd,
 When lawfully elected by the State,
 What glorious deeds by *Cæsar* were achiev'd,
 Which all the world as wonders must relate?
 But when of right he buried all respects, 140
 (As blinde Ambition had bewitch'd his minde)

- What harme enfu'd, by pitifull effects, 142
 We at the first, he at the last did finde;
 Whil't like *Narcissus* with himselfe in love,
 He with our bondage banqueted his fight, 145
 And for a while (uncertaine joyes to prove)
 VVith all our woes would sweeten his delight;
 How could brave men (with vertuous mindes) as those
 VVho of their Countries weale are jealous still,
 But stoutly to all stormes their States expose, 150
 The States destroyer resolute to kill?
 But since our freedome flows from *Cæsars* blood,
 Let us embrace that which too long we lack:
 "Peace gives to iustice pow'r, it, to all good,
 "VVhere warre breeds wrong, and wrong all kinde of wracke. 155
 This Citie hath experienc'd with great paine,
 VVhat guilty troubles rise from civill strife,
 VVhich by her ruines registred remaine,
 Since first the *Gracchi* gave contention life.
 VVhen *Scilla* once, and *Marius* (mad through pride) 160
 Did strive who should the most tyrannicke prove,
 VVhat memorable miseries were try'd,
 From *Romans* mindes no time can c're remove?
 Then last by *Cæsar*, and his Sonne in law,
 VVhat thousands Ghosts to *Pluto* were dispatch'd? 165
 Ah! that the world those hostis divided saw,
 Which, joyn'd in one, no world of worlds had match'd:
 Yet with this wit which we have dearly bought,
 Let us abhorre all that may breed such broils,
 Left when we have our selves to ruine brought, 170
 In end *Barbarians* beare away our spoils.
Cho. *Rome* to those great men hardly can afford
 A recompence, according to their worth,
 Who (by a Tyrants o're-throw) have restor'd
 The light of liberty which was put forth; 175
 Yet (by due praifes with their merits even)
 Let us acknowledge their illustrious mindes;
 And to their charge let Provinces be given:
 "Still vertue grows, when it preferment findes.
Ant. Those barbarous Realms by whose respectiue will, 180
 Of *Cæsars* Conquests monuments are showne:
 As if they held them highly honour'd still,
 Who warr'd with *Cæsar* though they were o'rethrown,
 Can this disgrace by their proud mindes be borne,
 Whil't we dishonour, whom they honour thus? 185
 And shall we not (whil't as a Tyrant torne)
 Give him a tombe, who gave the world to us?
 Must his Decrees be all reduc'd againe,
 And those degraded whom he grac'd of late,
 As worthy men unworthily did gaine 190

Their roomes of reputation in the State? 191
 As if a Tyrant we him damne so soone,
 And for his murd'ers do rewards devise,
 Then what he did, must likewise be undone,
 For which I feare, a foule-confusion rife. 195

Cho. Ah! (brave *Antonius*) how not seeds of warre,
 And if thou alwayes do'st delight in armes,
 The haughty *Parthians* yet undaunted are,
 Which may give thee great praise, and us no harmes.
 Detest in time th' abominable broils, 200
 For which no Conquerour to triumph hath com'd,
 Whil'st this wretch'd Towne (which still some party spoils)
 Must loath the Victor. and lament th' o're-com'd:
 And shall we still contend against all good,
 To make the yoke where we should bound abide? 205
 Must still the Commons sacrifice their blood,
 As onely borne to serve the great mens pride?

Ant. Whil'st I the depths of my affection found,
 And reade but th' obligations which I owe,
 I finde my selfe by oaths, and duty bound, 210
 All *Cæsars* foes, or then my selfe t' ore-throw.
 But when I weigh what to the State belongs,
 The which to plague no passion shall get place,
 Then I with grieve digesting private wrongs,
 Warre with my selfe to give my Countrey peace. 215
 Yet whil'st my thoughts of this last purpose muse,
 I altogether dis-assent from this,
 That *Cæsars* fame, or body we abuse,
 To deale with Tyrants as the custome is.
 Left guilty of ingratitude we seeme, 220
 (If guerdoning our benefactors thus)
 Great *Cæsars* body from disgrace redeeme.
 And let his acts be ratifi'd by us.
 Then for the publike-weale which makes us pause,
 Towards those that have him kill'd t' extend regard, 225
 Let them be pardon'd for their kinsmens cause:
 "Remission given for evil is a reward.

Ca. Caff. We stand not vex'd like Malefactors here,
 With a dejected and remorsefull minde,
 So in your prefence supplicants t' appeare, 230
 As who themselves of death do guilty finde;
 But looking boldly with a loftie brow,
 Through a delight of our designe conceiv'd,
 We come to challenge gratefulnessse of you,
 That have of us so great a good receiv'd. 235
 But if you will suspend your thoughts a space,
 Though not the givers, entertaine the gift;
 Do us reject, yet liberty embrace:
 To have you free (lo) that was all our drift.
 So *Rome* her ancient liberties enjoy. 240

- Let *Brutus* and let *Cassius* banish't live; 241
 Thus banishment would breed us greater joy,
 Then what at home a Tyrants wealth could give.
 Though some misconstrue may this course of ours,
 By ignorance, or then by hate deceiv'd; 245
 "The truth depends not on opinions pow'rs,
 "But is it selfe, how ever misconceiv'd.
 Though to acknowledge us, not one would daigne,
 Our merit of it selfe is a reward,
 "Of doing good none should repent their paine, 250
 "Though they get no reward, nor yet regard.
 I'll venture yet my fortune in the field,
 With every one that *Rome* to bondage draws;
 And as for me, how ever others yeeld,
 I'll nought obey, but Reason, and the Laws. 255
- Cic.* What fools are those who further travell take,
 For that which they even past recovery know?
 Who can revive the dead, or bring time back?
 That can no creature who doth live below.
 Great *Pompey* (now) for whom the world still weeps, 260
 Lyes low, neglected on a barbarous shore;
 Selfe-slaughtered *Scipio* flotes amidst the deeps,
 Whom, it may be, Sea-monsters do devour.
 Of *Libyan* Wolves grave *Cato* feasts the wombes,
 Whose death, of worth the world defrauded leaves; 265
 Thus some that did deserve *Mausolean* tombes,
 Have not a title grav'd upon their graves.
 And yet may *Cæsar* who procur'd their death,
 By brave men slaine be buried with his race;
 All civill warre quite banish'd with his breath, 270
 Let him now dead, and us alive have peace.
 "We should desist our thoughts on things to set,
 "Which may harme some, and can give help to none,
 "Learne to forget that which we cannot get,
 "And let our cares be gone of all things gone. 275
 "Those who would strive all crosses to o're-come,
 "To present times must still conforme their course,
 "And making way for that which is to come,
 "Not medle with things past, but by discourse.
 "Let none seek that which doth no good when found; 280
 Since *Cæsar* now is dead, how ever dead;
 Let all our grieve go with him to the ground,
 For, sorrow best becomes a lightlesse shade;
 It were the best, that joyn'd in mutuall love,
 We phyicke for this wounded State prepare: 285
 "Neglecting those who from the world remove,
 "All men on earth for earthly things must care.
- Cho.* O how those great men friendship can pretend,
 By soothing others thus with painted windes;
 And seeme to trust, where treason they attend, 290

Whilst love their mouth, and malice fills their minds;
 Those but to them poore simple soules appeare, 291
 Whose count'nance doth discover what they thinke,
 Who make their words, as is their meaning, cleare,
 And from themselves can never seeme to shrinke. 295
 Loe, how *Antonius* faines to quench all jarres,
 And whom he hates with kindenesse doth embrace,
 But as he further'd first the former warres,
 Some feare he still will prove a foe to peace.
 Now where *Calphurnia* stayes our steps addresse, 300
 Since by this sudden chance her losse was chiefe.
 "All visite should their neighbours in distresse,
 "To give some comfort, or to share in griefe. 303

Act 5. Scene 2.

*Calphurnia, Nuntius.**Chorus.*

When darkenesse last imprison'd had myne eyes,
 Such monstrous visions did my heart affright, 5
 That (quite dejected) it as stupid dies
 Through terrours then contracted in the night;
 A melancholy cloud so dimmes my brest,
 That it my mind fit for misfortune makes,
 A lodging well dispos'd for such a Guest, 10
 Where nought of sorrow but th' impression lackes;
 And I imagine every man I see
 (My senses so corrupted are by feares)
 A Herald to denounce mishaps to me,
 Who should infuse confusion in my cares. 15
 O! there he comes to violate my peace,
 In whom the object of my thoughts I see;
 Thy message is charactred in thy face,
 And by thy lookes directed is to me:
 Thy troubled eyes rest rowling for reliefe, 20
 As lately frighted by some ugly fight;
 Thy breath doth pant as if growne big with griefe,
 And straight to bring some monstrous birth to light.
Nun. The man of whom the world in doubt remain'd,
 If that his minde or fortune was more great, 25
 Whose valour conquer'd, clemencie retain'd
 All Nations Subject to the Romane State;
 Fraud harm'd him more then force, friends more then foes;
 Ah! must this sad discourse by me be made?
Cal. Stay, ere thou further goe defray my woes, 30
 How doth my love? where is my life? *Nun.* dead. *Cal.* dead?
Cho. Though apprehending horrors in her minde,
 Now since she hath a certaintie receiv'd, 33

She by experience greater grieve doth finde: "Till borne, the passions cannot be conceav'd.	35
When as a high difaster force affords, O how that Tyrant whom affliction bears, Barres th' eares from comfort, and the mouth from words, And when obdur'd scornes to dissolve in teares!	
<i>Cal.</i> Ah! since the lights of that great light are set, Why doth not darknesse spread it selfe o're all? At least what further comfort can I get, Whose pleasures had no period but his fall? O would the Gods I always might confine Flames in my brest, and floods within my eyes To entertaine so great a grieve as mine, That thence there might sit furniture arise; Yet I disdaine (though by distresse o'rethrowne) By such externall meanes to seeke reliefe: "The greatest sorrowes are by silence showne, "Whilst all the Senses are shut up with grieve: But miserie doth so tyrannick grow That it of sighes and teares a tribute claimes; "Ah! when the cup is full, it must o'reflow, "And fires which burne must offer up some flames; Yet though what thou hast sayd my death shall be, (Since funke so deeply in a melted heart) Of my lives death report each point to mee, For every circumstance that I may smart.	40
<i>Nun.</i> What fatall warnings did foregoe his end, Which by his stay to frustrate some did try? But he who scorn'd excuses to pretend, Was by the destinies drawne forth to die. Whilst by the way he chanc'd to meet with one, Who had his deaths-day nam'd, he to him said: The Ides of March be come; but yet not gone. The other answer'd, and still constant stay'd: Another brought a letter with great speed, Which the conspiracie at length did touch, And gave it <i>Cæsar</i> in his hand to reade, Protesting that it did import him much. Yet did he lay it up where still it rests, As doe the great whom blest the world reposes, Who (griev'd to be importun'd by requests) Of simple supplicants neglect the suites: Or he of it the reading did deferre, Still troubled by attendants at the gate, Whilst some to show their credit would conferre, To flatter some, some something to entreate. Not onely did the Gods by divers signes Give <i>Cæsar</i> warning of his threatned harmes; But did of foes disturbe the rash designs, And to their troubled thoughts gave strange alarmes;	50
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- A Senator who by some words we find,
 To the conspirators (though none of theirs) 85
 Had showne himselfe familiar with their minde,
 Then chanc'd to deale with *Cæsar* in affaires.
 That fight their foules did with confusion all,
 For, thinking that he told their purpos'd deeds,
 They straight themselves, or *Cæsar* thought to kill: 90
 "A guiltie conscience no accuser needs;
 But marking that he us'd (when taking leave)
 A futers gesture when affording thank,
 They of their course did greater hopes conceive.
 And rang'd them seven according to their ranks. 95
 Then *Cæsar* march'd forth to the fatal place;
 Neere *Pompeys* Theater where the Senate was,
 Where (when he had remain'd a litle space)
 All the confederats flock'd about. *Calph.* Alas.
- Nun.* First for the forme, *Metellus Cimber* crav'd 100
 To have his Brother from exile restor'd,
 Yet with the rest a rude repulse receiv'd,
 Whilst it they all too earnestly implor'd:
 Bold *Cimber* who in strife with him did stand,
 Did strive to cover with his Gowne his head: 105
 Then was the first blow given by *Casca's* hand,
 Which on his necke a litle wound but made.
 And *Cæsar* (start'g whilst the stroke he sp'ed)
 By strength from further striking *Casca* stay'd,
 Whilst both the two burst out at once, and cry'd: 110
 He Traitour *Casca*, and he, Brother aide;
 Then all the rest against him did arise
 Like despr'at men, whose furie force affords,
 That *Cæsar* on no side could set his eyes,
 But every looke encountred with some Swords;
 Yet, as a Lyon (when by nets surpriz'd) 115
 Stands strugling still so long as he hath strength,
 So *Cæsar* (as he had their pow'r despis'd)
 Did with great rage resist, till at the length
 He thus cri'd out (when spying *Brutus* come) 120
 And thou my Sonne! then grieve did back rebound:
 "Nought but unkindnesse *Cæsar* could o'recome,
 "That, of all things, doth give the deepest wound.
- Cho.* "Ah! when unkindnesse is, where love was thought,
 "A tender passion breakes the strongest heart: 125
 "For, of all those who give offence in ought,
 "Men, others hate, but for unkinde men, smart.
- Nun.* Ah! taking then no more delight in light,
 As who disdainefullie the world disclaim'd,
 Or if from *Brutus* blow to hold his fight, 130
 As of so great ingratitude asham'd,
 He with his Gowne when cover'd first o're all,
 As one who neither fought, nor wish'd reliefe, 133

- Not wronging majestie, in state did fall,
 No sigh consenting to betray his grieve. 135
 Yet (if by chance or force I cannot tell)
 Even at the place, where *Pompey's* statue stood,
 (As if to crave him pardon,) *Cæsar* fell,
 That in revenge it might exhaust his blood;
 But when his corpes abandon'd quite by breath, 140
 Did fortunes frailties monument remaine,
 That all might have like int'rest in his death,
 And by the same, looke for like praise or paine:
 Then *Cassius*, *Brutus*, and the rest began
 With that great Emperours blood to die their hands;
 "What beast in th' earth more cruell is then man, 145
 "When o're his reason passion once commands?
Cal. Whilst brutish *Brutus*, and proud *Cassius* thus
 Romes greatest Captaine under trust deceiv'd,
 Where was *Antonius* (since a friend to us) 150
 That he not lost himselfe, or *Cæsar* sav'd?
Nun. The whole conspiratours remain'd in doubt,
 Had he and *Cæsar* joyn'd, to be undone,
 And so caus'd one to talke with him without,
 Who fain'd a conference till the fact was done. 155
 Then knowing well in such tumultuous broiles,
 That the first danger alwayes is the worst,
 He fled in hast, disguis'd with borrow'd spoiles,
 For rage and for disdain even like to burst.
Cal. The Senatours which were assembled there, 160
 When they beheld that great man brought to end,
 What was their part? to what inclin'd their care?
 I fear affliction could not finde a friend.
Nun. Of those who in the Senate-house did sit
 (So sad an object forrie to behold, 165
 Or fearing what bould hands might more commit)
 Each to his house a severall way did hold;
 This act with horreur did confound their sight,
 And unawares their judgement did surprise:
 "When any hastie harmes un-lookt-for light, 170
 "The resolution hath not time to rise:
 That man on whom the world did once rely,
 By all long reverenc'd, and ador'd by some,
 None to attend him had but two and I.
Cho. "To what an ebbe may fortunes flowing come? 175
 Why should men following on the smoake of pride,
 Leave certaine ease to seeke a dream'd delight,
 Which when they have by many dangers tri'd,
 They neither can with safety keepe nor quite?
 "The people who by force subdu'd remaine, 180
 "May pittie those by whom oppress'd they rest;
 "They but one Tyrant have, whereas there raigne
 A Thousand Tyrants in one Tyrants brest; 183

- What though great *Cæsar* once commanded Kings,
 Whose only name whole Nations did appall? 185
 Yet now (let no man trust in worldly things)
 A little earth holds him who held it all;
Cal. Ah! had he but believ'd my faithfull cares,
 His State to stablish who have alwayes striv'd,
 Then (scaping this conspiracie of theirs) 190
 He, honour'd still, and I had happy liv'd.
 Did I not spend of supplications store,
 That he within his house, this day wor'd waite,
 As I by dreames advertis'd was before,
 Which shew'd what was to come, and now is past; 195
 Whil't the Sooth-sayers sacrific'd did finde
 A beast without a heart, their Altars staine,
 By that presage my foule might have divin'd,
 That I without my heart would soone remaine,
 But all those terrours could no terrour give 200
 To that great minde, whose thoughts too high still aym'd;
 He by his fortune confident did live,
 As, if the heavens, for him had all things fram'd;
 Yet though he ended have his full race,
 To bragge for this, let not his Murderers strive: 205
 For, O! I hope to see within short space,
 Him dead ador'd, and them abhorr'd alive.
 Though now his name the multitude respects,
 Since murdering one who him had held so deare,
 Whil't inward thoughts each outward thing reflects, 210
 Some monstrous shape to *Brutus* must appeare.
 Just *Nemesis* must plague proud *Cassius* soone,
 And make him kill himselfe, from hopes estrang'd;
 Once all the wrongs by foes to *Cæsar* done,
 May by themselves be on themselves reveng'd. 215
Cho. "Some, Sovereigne of the earth, would fortune prove,
 "As if, confus'dly, Gods did men advance;
 "Nought comes to men below, but from above,
 "By providence, not by a staggering chance:
 "Though to the cause that last forgoes the end, 220
 "Some attribute the course of every thing,
 "That cause, on other causes doth depend,
 "Which chain'd 'twixt heaven and earth due ends forth bring;
 "Of those decrees the heavens for us appoint,
 "(Who ever them approves, or doth disprove) 225
 "No mortall man can disappoint a point,
 "But as they please here moves, or doth remove;
 "We, when once come the worlds vaine pompe to try.
 "(Led by the fates) to end our journey haste:
 "For, when first borne, we straight begin to dye, 230
 "Lifes first day is a step unto the last.
 "And is there ought more swift then dayes, and yeares,
 "Which weare away this breath of ours so soone, 233

- "Whil't *Lachesis* to no request gives cares,
 "But spinnes the threds of life till they be done? 235
 "Yet foolish worldlings following that which flies,
 "As if they had assurance of their breath,
 "To fraile preferement fondly strive to rise,
 "Which (but a burden) weighs them downe to death.
Nun. There's none of us but must remember still, 240
 How that the Gods by many a wondrous signe,
 Did shew (it seem'd) how that against their will,
 The destinies would *Cæsars* dayes confine.
 A monstrous starre amidst the heaven hath beene,
 Still since they first against him did conspire; 245
 The solitary birds at noone were seene,
 And men to walke environ'd all with fire:
 What wonder though the heavens at such a time,
 Do brave the earth with apparitions strange,
 Then whil't intending such a monstrous crime, 250
 "Unnaturall men make Natures course to change?
Cho. Though all such things seeme wonderfull to some,
 They may by Reason comprehended be,
 For, what, beyond what usuall is, doth come,
 The Ignorant with wondring eyes do see. 255
 Those bastard Starres, not heritours of th' ayre,
 Are first conceiv'd below, then borne above,
 And when fore-knowing things, spirits take most care,
 And by illusion, superstition move.
 Yet this, no doubt, a great regard should breed, 260
 When Nature hath brought forth a monstrous birth,
 In secret Characters where men may reade
 The wrath of heaven, and wickednesse of th' earth.
 The Naturallists, and th' Astrologians skill
 May oft, encountering, manifest like care: 265
 Since th' one looks back, the other forward still,
 One may tell what, the other why things are.
Nun. Shall sorrow through the waves of woes to faile,
 Have still your teares for Seas, your sighs for winds;
 To miserie what do base complaints availle? 270
 A course more high becomes heroicke mindes.
 "None are o're-come, save onely those who yeeld,
 From froward Fortune though some blows be borne,
 Let Vertue serve Adversity for shield:
 "No greater griefe to griefe then th' enemies scorn;
 This makes your foes but laugh to see you weep, 275
 At least these teares but for your selfe bestow,
 And not for that great spirit, whose spoyle heavens keep;
 For, he no doubt, rests deified ere now.
Cal. I onely waile my life, and not his death; 280
 Who now amongst th' immortals doth repose,
 And shall so long as I have blood or breath, 282

To furnish forth the elements of woes.	283
I care not who rejoyce, so I lament,	
Who do to darkneffe dedicate my dayes,	285
And since the light of my delight is 'pent,	
Shall have in horreur all <i>Apollo's</i> rayes.	
(I will retyre my selfe to waile alone,	
As trustie Turtles mourning for their Mates)	
And (my misfortune alwayes best to mone)	290
Will spurne at pleasures as empyson'd baits;	
No second guest shall presse great <i>Cæsars</i> bed,	
Warm'd by the flames to which he first gave life,	
I thinke there may be greater honour had,	
When <i>Cæsars</i> widow, then anothers wife.	295
This had afforded comfort for my harmes,	
If I (ere chanc'd abandon'd thus to be)	
Had had a little <i>Cæsar</i> in mine armes,	
The living picture of his Syre to me.	
Yet doth that Idoll which my thoughts adore,	300
With me of late most strictly match'd remaine,	
For, where my armes him sometimes held before,	
Now in my heart I shall him still retaine.	
That (though I may no pretious things impart)	
Thy deitie may by me be honour'd oft,	305
Still offering up my thoughts upon my heart,	
My sacred flame shall alwayes mount aloft.	
<i>Exeunt.</i>	308

Chorus.

<i>What fools are those who do repose their trust</i>	
<i>On what this masse of misery affords?</i>	
<i>And (bragging but of th' excrements of dust)</i>	
<i>Of life-lesse Treasures labour to be Lords:</i>	5
<i>Which like the Sirens songs, or Circes charmes,</i>	
<i>With shadows of delight hide certaine harmes.</i>	
<i>Ah! whil'st they sport on pleasures ycie grounds,</i>	
<i>Oft poyson'd by Prosperitie with Pride,</i>	
<i>A sudden storme their sloting joyes confounds,</i>	10
<i>Whose course is ordred by the cyc-lesse guide,</i>	
<i>Who so inconstantly her selfe doth beare</i>	
<i>Th' unhappie men may hope, the happy feare.</i>	
<i>The fortunate who bathe in fouds of joyes,</i>	
<i>To perishe oft amidst their pleasures chance,</i>	15
<i>And mirthlesse wretches wallowing in annoyes,</i>	
<i>Oft by adversitie themselves advance;</i>	
<i>Whil'st Fortune bent to mock vaine worldlings cares,</i>	
<i>Doth change despaire in hopes, hopes in despaire.</i>	
<i>That gallant Grecian whose great wit so soone,</i>	20
<i>Whom others could not number, did o're-come,</i>	

Had he not beene undone, had beene undone, 22
And if not banish'd, had not had a home;
To him feare courage gave (what wondrous change!)
And many doubts are solution strange. 25
He who told one who then was Fortunes child,
As if with horreur to congeale his bloud:
That Caius Marius farre from Rome exil'd,
Wretch'd on the ruines of great Carthage flood;
Though long both plagu'd by griefe, and by disgrace, 30
The Consul-ship regain'd, and dy'd in peace.
And that great Pompey (all the worlds delight)
Whom of his Theater then th' applauses pleas'd,
Whil'st praise-transported eyes endear'd his sight,
Who by youths toyles should have his age then eas'd, 35
He by one blow of Fortune lost farre more
Then many battels gayned had before.
Such sudden changes so disturbe the soule,
That still the judgement ballanc'd is by doubt;
But, on a Round, what wonder though things roule? 40
And since within a Circle, turne about?
Whil'st heaven on earth strange alterations brings,
To scorne our confidence in worldly things.
And chanc'd there ever accidents more strange,
Then in these stormy bounds where we remaine? 45
One did a sheep-hooke to a Scepter change,
The nurceling of a Wolfe o're men did raigne;
A little Village grew a mighty Towne,
Which whil'st it had no King, held many a Crowne.
Then by how many sundry sorts of men, 50
Hath this great State beene rul'd? though now by none,
Which first obey'd but one, then two. then ten,
Then by degrees return'd to two, and one;
Of which three States, their ruine did abide,
Two by Two's lusts, and one by Two mens pride. 55
What revolutions huge have hapned thus,
By secret fates all violently led,
Though seeming but by accident to us,
Yet in the depths of heavenly breasts first bred,
As arguments demonstrative to prove 60
That weaknesse dwels below, and pow'r above.
Loe, prosperous Cæsar charged for a space,
Both with strange Nations, and his Countreys spoyle,
Even when he seem'd by warre to purchase peace,
And roses of sweet rest, from thornes of toils; 65
Then whil'st his minde and fortune swell'd most high,
Hath beene constrain'd the last distresse to trie.
What warnings large were in a time so short,
Of that darke course which by his death now shines?
It, speechlesse wonders plainly did report, 70
It, men reveal'd by words, and gods by signes,

<i>Yet by the chaynes of destinies w'il'st bound,</i>	72
<i>He saw the sword, but could not scape the wound.</i>	
<i>What curtaine o're our knowledge error brings,</i>	
<i>Now drawn, now open'd, by the heavenly host,</i>	75
<i>Which makes us sometime sharpe to see small things,</i>	
<i>And yet quite unlike when as we should see most,</i>	
<i>That curious braines may rejoyce amaz'd at it,</i>	
<i>Whose ignorance makes us presume of wit;</i>	
<i>Then let us live, since all things change below,</i>	80
<i>When rais'd most high, as those who once may fall,</i>	
<i>And hold when by disasters brought more low,</i>	
<i>The minde still free, what ever else be thrall:</i>	
<i>"Those (Lords of Fortune) sweeten every State,</i>	
<i>"Who can command themselves, though not their fate.</i>	85

F I N I S .

CHARACTER OF CÆSAR

Plutarch, *Life of Cæsar*, § 16 (ed. Skeat, p. 57), gives the following account of Cæsar's appearance and habits: 'Concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft-skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwise to the falling sickness (the which took him the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain): but yet therefore he yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withal, but contrarily, took the pains of war as a medicine to cure his sick body, fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something: and in the day time he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles, and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in the coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a soldier behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight days he came to the river of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and as Oppius writeth more than two at a time. As it is reported, that Cæsar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing cyphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account Cæsar made of his diet, this example doth prove it. Cæsar supping one night in Milan with his friend Valerius Leo, there was served sperage [asparagus] to his board, and oil of perfume put into it instead of sallet-oil. He simply eat it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manners that found fault with his friend. Another time, as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him: "Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the sickest persons." And thereupon he called Oppius that was sick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without, under the easing [leaves] of the house.'

Suetonius (ch. xlv, trans. Holland): Of stature he [Cæsar] is reported to have been tall; of complexion white and clear; with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eyes black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and swonne sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midst of his martiall affaires, he was surprized with the falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was over-curious: so as he would not onely be notted and shaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some cast it in his teeth, and twitted him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of backbiters and slaundersers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore he both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, he neither

received nor used any more willingly, than the privilege to wear continually the triumphant Laurel garland. Men say also, that in his apparel he was noted for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senators purple studded robe, trimmed with jagge or fringed at the sleeve hand. and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: whereupon arose (for certaine) that saying of Silla, who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, To beware of the boy that went girded so dissolutely.—[ed. Whibley. p. 48.]

LLOYD (ap. Singer, viii, p. 504): 'The leading characteristic ascribed to Cæsar [by Shakespeare] is a somewhat overcharged tendency to Thrasonical arrogance, which, however, is saved from the ridiculous by a manifest sincerity that lies below,—by a true magnanimity that subsists with professions of high pitched dignity of sentiments that are not base counterfeits, but simply exaggerations. It is by comparison with this rather strained expression of devotion to an ideal principle of worthy self-respect that we are prepared to accept the more attempered form of the like characteristic in Brutus, without an uneasy suspicion of vapouring or vain parade. . . . It is not only on public occasions that Cæsar in the play falls into this tone of turgid ostentation, it is quite as marked in his private intercourse with his wife Calpurnia; yet throughout the picture we trace the originally simpler lineaments of character that are thus clouded and overlaid, and the change that has been wrought by change of position is indicated by the frank anecdote of the challenge he once gave on the banks of the Tiber, and the defeat he owned so freely; placed as it is in such immediate contrast with the angry ill-humour and suspicion, as he comes sad away from the unsuccessful stratagem of the offered crown at the Lupercal. In the play itself allusion is made to the change in Cæsar's character, in respect to an entertainment of once contemned superstitions, which is one of the incidents that beset the self-satisfied and successful, no less than the as distinctly declared accessibility to flattery, and the self-condemning littleness of spirit that hankers after a title. . . . Julius Cæsar enters but three times, and the action of the piece is extended more than as much again after his assassination. Still the piece is rightly called by his name; it is his fate and fortune that give commencement to the action, and the influence and predominance of his character are observable to the end. Antony, over his bleeding body, predicts the agency of his unplaced spirit in the civil conflicts to ensue; it is ever present to the imagination of Brutus, and actually decides at last, by visible intervention, the fated battle-field of Philippi, and walks abroad, believed to turn, and therefore really turning, the swords of his slayers into their proper entrails. Otherwise it is Brutus on whom the interest and sympathy of the play converge and become continuous throughout its course, making him thus, in a certain sense, its hero.

LINDNER has taken this spiritual dominance of Cæsar as the subject for an article in the *Jahrbuch* for 1866 (vol. ii, pp. 90-95) in order to demonstrate the dramatic unity in Shakespeare's tragedy, and that it is properly called *Julius Cæsar*, since he and his influence on the lives of the others are the main themes. In this connection Lindner contrasts the *Ajax* of Sophocles, wherein as long as Ajax was alive he is a giant in body, a child in spirit; after his death, a non-entity, merely a cause for the contention of others. As long as Cæsar lives, he is a weakling, a phantom with many infirmities; after his death, a spiritual power, more fearful than even in life. 'We may thus see,' continues Lindner, 'that the tragic difficulty and artistic treatment of Shakespeare's tragedy is not to be measured by that of

Ajax. Contrasted to Cæsar, the thought which represents the dead Ajax does not merit as much space as two acts, and, to say the least, the whole rôle of Menalaus is superfluous. But in Cæsar the last half of the Tragedy has a basis much firmer than the first part.' Lindner thus concludes: 'To sum up: I am convinced that it was the design of the poet to make known the vital force of Cæsar as continued by Octavius; the more expressed design, that the actor of Octavius should recall to the audience, up to a certain point, the bodily appearance of Cæsar. Shakespeare has given many hints which point to this. Cassius in the present play calls him "a peevish schoolboy worthless of such honour"; in *Ant. & Cleo.* he is a weak drunkard, who cannot endure anything, and Cleopatra teases Antony with the orders of the beardless Emperor.'

MÉZIERÈS (p. 360): Shakespeare presents us with a conventional Cæsar, very different from that of Plutarch—a proud and arrogant Cæsar, whose dictatorial language forms a marked contrast to the simplicity of the *Commentaries* so well preserved by the Greek historian. He does not tell us of those lofty thoughts which engaged the mind of the master of the world up to the very hour when the swords of the conspirators struck him down. Above all, he does not give sufficient prominence to his generosity, his clemency, and that high-minded liberality which, justly estimating its enemies, takes no precautions against them. It is but a weak justification of Shakespeare's conception to urge, as have several critics, that, having taken the life of Brutus as his main subject, he had the right to show only the weak side of Cæsar, his vanity, his ambition to reign, and his insolence, in order to furnish a motive for the conspiracy. The decision to tell but a part of the truth does not excuse him who makes the decision. The poet was under no obligation to follow the plan which he has adopted, and we do not render his work immune from blame in appealing to a choice which depended upon him alone to make. At all events, it must be observable that here, contrary to his usual custom, he is lacking in impartiality. I am quite aware that he shows himself impartial in the admirable oration of Antony. To be just, it is not sufficient to praise Cæsar dead; it is not sufficient even to give his name to the piece in order to attest his greatness. This might have appeared of equal advantage in the rôle of Cæsar living.

GERVINUS (p. 710): The poet, if he intended to make the attempt of the republicans his main theme, could not have ventured to create too great an interest in Cæsar; it was necessary that he be kept in the background, and to present that view of him which gave a reason for the conspiracy. According even to Plutarch, whose biography of Cæsar is acknowledged to be very imperfect, Cæsar's character altered much for the worse shortly before his death, and Shakespeare has represented him according to this suggestion. With what reverence Shakespeare viewed his character as a whole we learn from several passages of his works, and even in this play from the way in which he allows his memory to be respected as soon as he is dead. In the descriptions of Cassius we look back upon the time when the great man was simple, natural, undissembling, popular, and on an equal footing with others. Now he is spoiled by victory, success, power, and by the republican courtiers who surround him. . . . All around him treat him as a master; his wife, as a prince; the Senate allow themselves to be called *his* Senate; he assumes the appearance of a king even in his house; even with his wife he uses the language of a man who knows himself secure of power, and he maintains everywhere the proud, strict bearing of a soldier, which is represented even in his statues. If one of the

changes at which Plutarch hints lay in this pride, this haughtiness, another lay in his superstition. In the suspicion and apprehension before the final step he was seized, contrary to his usual nature and habit, with misgivings and superstitious fears. . . . These conflicting feelings divide him, . . . his pride, his defiance of danger struggle against them, and restore his former confidence which was natural to him, and which causes his ruin, just as a like confidence, springing from another source, ruined Brutus. The actor must make his high-sounding language appear as the result of this discord of feeling. Sometimes they are only incidental words intended to characterise the hero in the shortest way. Generally they appear in the cases where Cæsar has to combat with his superstition, where he uses effort to take a higher stand in his words than at the moment he actually feels. He speaks so much of having no fear that, by this very thing, he betrays his fear. Even in the places where his words sound most boastful, where he compares himself to the north-star, there is more arrogance and ill-concealed pride at work than real boastfulness. It is intended there with a few words to show him at the point when his behaviour could most excite those free spirits against him. It was fully intended that he should take but a small part in the action. . . . The poet has handled this historical piece like his English historical plays. He had in his eye the whole context of the Roman civil wars for this single drama, not as yet thinking of its continuation in *Ant. & Cleo.* He casts a glance back upon the fall of Pompey, and makes it evident that Cæsar falls for the same reason as that for which he had made Pompey fall. In the triumph over him men's minds rise up at first against Cæsar, the conspirators assemble in Pompey's porch, and Cæsar is slain in front of his statue. As his death arose out of the civil war, so civil war recommences at his death, just as Antony predicts. In this symbolic sense Cæsar, after his death, has a share in the action of the play which does not bear his name without a reason.

HUDSON (ii, 224): As here represented, Cæsar is, indeed, little better than a grand, strutting piece of puff-paste; and when he speaks, it is very much in the style of a glorious vapourer and braggart, full of lofty airs and mock-thunder, than which nothing could be further from the truth of the man, whose character, even in his fault, was as compact and solid as adamant, and at the same time as limber and ductile as the finest gold. Certain critics have seized and worked upon this as proving that Shakespeare must have been very green in classical study, or else very careless in the use of his authorities. To my thinking it proves neither the one nor the other, though I am not quite clear as to what it does prove.

It is true, Cæsar's ambition was, indeed, gigantic, but none too much so, I suspect, for the mind it dwelt in. And no man ever framed his ambition more in sympathy with the great force of Nature or built it upon a deeper foundation of political wisdom and insight. Now this 'last infirmity of noble minds' is the only part of him that the play really sets before us; and even this we do not see as it was, because it is here severed from the constitutional peerage of his gifts and virtues; all those transcendent qualities which placed him at the summit of Roman intellect and manhood being either withheld from the scene or thrown so far into the background that the proper effect of them is mainly lost. Yet we have ample proof that Shakespeare understood Cæsar thoroughly. In fact, we need not go beyond Shakespeare to gather that Julius Cæsar's was the deepest, the most versatile, and most multitudinous head that ever figured in the political affairs of mankind. And, indeed, it is clear from this play itself that the Poet's course did not proceed at

all from ignorance or misconception of the man. For it is remarkable that, though Cæsar delivers himself so out of character, yet others, both foes and friends, deliver him much nearer the truth; so that, while we see almost nothing of him directly, we nevertheless get, upon the whole, a pretty just reflection of him. Especially in the marvellous speeches of Antony and in the later events of the drama, both his inward greatness and his right of mastership over the Roman world are fully vindicated. For, in the play as in the history, Cæsar's blood just hastens and cements the empire which the conspirators thought to prevent. They soon find that in the popular sympathies, and even in their own dumb remorse, he has 'left behind powers that will work for him.' He proves, indeed, far mightier in death than in life; as if his spirit were become at once the guardian angel of his cause and an avenging angel to his foes. And so it was in fact. For nothing did so much to set the people in love with royalty, both name and thing, as the reflection that their beloved Cæsar, the greatest of their national heroes, the crown and consummation of Roman genius and character, had been murdered for aspiring to it. Thus their hereditary aversion to kingship was all subdued by the remembrance of how and why their Cæsar fell; and they who before would have plucked out his heart rather than he should wear a crown, would now have plucked out their own, to set a crown upon his head. Such is the natural result when the intensities of admiration and compassion meet together in the human breast.

I am moved to add, though it is not strictly pertinent to my theme, that the man Julius Cæsar was in no sort a philosophic enthusiast or patriotic dreamer. With his clear, healthy, practical mind, which no ideal or sentimental infatuation could get hold of, he stood face to face with men and things as they were. It was not in his line, therefore, to bid old 'Time run back and fetch the age of gold.' He knew—he would not have been Julius Cæsar if he had not known—that it was both criminal and weak to suppose that the great wicked Rome of his day was to be crushed back into the smaller and better Rome of a bygone age. If he sought to imperialize the State, and himself at its head, it was because he knew that Rome, as she then was, must have a master, and that himself was the fittest man for that office. We all now see what he alone saw then, that the great social forces of the Roman world had long been moving and converging irresistibly to that end. He was not to be deluded with the hope of reversing or postponing the issue of such deep-working causes. The great danger of the time lay in struggling to keep up a republic in show, when they already had an empire in fact. And Cæsar's statesmanship was of that high and comprehensive reach which knows better than to outface political necessities with political theories. For it is an axiom in government, no less than in science, that Nature will not be the servant of men who are too brain-sick or too proud to perceive and respect her laws. Great Cæsar understood this matter thoroughly in reference to the political state of his time; and his ambition, if that be the right name for it, was but the instinct of a supreme administrative faculty for administrative modes and powers answerable to the exigency.

Now I feel morally certain that the Poet understood all this perfectly. I have no doubt he knew the whole height and compass of Cæsar's vast and varied capacity. And I sometimes regret that he did not render him as he evidently saw him, inasmuch as he alone perhaps of all the men who ever wrote could have given an adequate expression of that colossal man.

This seeming contradiction between Cæsar as known and Cæsar as rendered by him is what, more than anything else in the drama, perplexes me. I am something at a loss how to account for it. Shall we say that, upon the plan of making Brutus a

dramatic hero, no other course was practicable. Was it that the great sun of Rome had to be shorn of his beams, else so ineffectual a fire as Brutus could not command the eye?

I have sometimes thought that the policy of the drama may have been to represent Cæsar not as he was indeed, but as he must have appeared to the conspirators; to make us see him as they saw him, in order that they too might have fair and equal judgment at our hands. For Cæsar was literally too great to be seen by them, save as children often see bugbears by moonlight, when their inexperienced eyes are mocked with air. And the Poet may well have judged that the best way to set us right towards them was by identifying us more or less with them in mental position, and making us share somewhat in their delusion. For there is scarce anything wherein we are so apt to err as in reference to the characters of men when time has settled and cleared up the questions in 'which they lost their way'; we blame them for not having seen as we see, while, in truth, the things that are so bathed in light to us were full of darkness to them, and we should have understood them better had we been in the dark along with them. Cæsar, indeed, was not bewildered by the political questions of his time; but all the rest were, and, therefore, he seemed so to them; and, while their own heads were swimming, they naturally ascribed his seeming bewilderment to a dangerous intoxication. As for his marvellous career of success, they attributed this mainly to his good luck; such being the common refuge of inferior minds when they would escape the sense of their inferiority. Hence, as generally happens with the highest order of men, his greatness had to wait the approval of later events. He, indeed, far beyond any other man of his age, 'looked into the seeds of time'; but this was not nor could be known till time had developed those seeds into their fruits. Why, then, may not the Poet's idea have been so to order things that the full strength of the man should not appear in the play, as it did not, in fact, till after his fall? This view, I am apt to think, will both explain and justify the strange disguise—a sort of falsetto greatness—under which Cæsar exhibits himself.

DOWDEN (p. 285): In Shakespeare's rendering of the character of Cæsar, which has considerably bewildered his critics, one thought of the poet would seem to be this, that unless a man continually keeps himself in relation with facts, and with his person and character, he may become to himself legendary and mythical. The real man Cæsar disappears for himself under the greatness of the Cæsar myth. He forgets himself as he actually is, and knows only the vast legendary power named Cæsar. He is a *numen* to himself, speaking of Cæsar in the third person, as if of some power above and behind his consciousness. And at this very moment—so ironical is the time-spirit—Cassius is cruelly insisting to Brutus upon all those infirmities which prove this god no more than a pitiful mortal.

STAPPER (p. 327): It is easily seen that in carefully preserving these details [of infirmity mentioned by Plutarch and Suetonius] and in adding even further maladies, such as fever and deafness, Shakespeare's intention was to bring into prominent notice this clay, this dust, this mud on which Hamlet was one day to philosophize. . . . But I think it is possible to penetrate deeper into the poet's thought than this. Not only in body, but also in mind was Cæsar becoming enfeebled in those last days of his life; he was superstitious and frightened, he had lost all foresight and firmness of purpose, and took refuge in a grandiloquent and empty declamation; his mental collapse was everywhere evident. And yet, when the

conspirators put a violent end to this poor exhausted spirit, which was dying of itself, the Republic gained absolutely nothing: the Emperor is no more, but the empire is begun—Cæsar is dead, long live Cæsar! By this Shakespeare, with a depth of insight and observation, before which thought stands astounded and abashed, meant to show that the days of liberty in Rome were irrevocably ended, and that for the future the cause of her bondage would no longer be the commanding genius of a ruler, but the inward alteration in the public mind and disposition. . . . It is not the spirit of any one man, but the spirit of a new era about to begin—the spirit of *Cæsarism*—that fills Shakespeare's play and gives it its unity and moral significance. [See note on III, ii, 54.]

MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 176): Under the influence of some of Cæsar's speeches we find ourselves in the presence of one of the masterspirits of mankind; other scenes in which he plays a leading part breathe nothing but the feeblest vacillation and weakness. . . . It is the antithesis of the outer and inner life that explains this contradiction in Cæsar's character. Like Macbeth he is the embodiment of one side and one side only of the antithesis; he is the complete type of the practical—though in special qualities he is as unlike Macbeth as his age is unlike Macbeth's age. Accordingly, Cæsar appears before us perfect up to the point where his own personality comes in. The military and political sphere, in which he has been such a colossal figure, call forth practical powers, and do not involve introspection and meditation on foundation principles of thought. . . . The tasks of the soldier and statesman are imposed upon them by external authority and necessities, and the faculties exercised are those which shape means to ends. But at last Cæsar comes to a crisis that does involve his personality; he attempts a task imposed on him by his own ambition. He plays in a game of which the prize is the world and the stake himself, and to estimate chances in such a game tests self-knowledge and self-command to its depths. How wanting Cæsar is in the cultivation of the inner life is brought out by his contrast with Cassius. The incidents of the flood and the fever, retained by the memory of Cassius, illustrate this. The first of these was no mere swimming match; the flood in the Tiber was such as to reduce to nothing the difference between one swimmer and another. It was a trial of nerve, and as long as action was possible Cæsar was not only as brave as Cassius, but was the one attracted by the danger. Then some chance wave or cross-current renders his chance of life hopeless, and no buffeting with lusty sinews is of any avail; that is the point at which the *passive* courage born of the inner life comes in and gives strength to submit to the inevitable with calmness. This Cæsar lacks, and he calls for rescue. Cassius would have felt the water close over him and have sunk to the bottom and died rather than accept aid from his rival. In like manner, the sick bed is a region in which the highest physical and intellectual activity is helpless; the trained self-control of a Stoic may have a sphere for exercise even here; but the god Cæsar shakes and cries for drink like a sick girl. It is interesting to note how the two types of mind, when brought into personal contact, jar upon one another's self-consciousness. The intellectual man, judging the man of action by the test of mutual intercourse, sees nothing to explain the other's greatness, and wonders what people find in him that they so admire him and submit to his influence. On the other hand, the man of achievement is unasily conscious of a sort of superiority in one whose intellectual aims and habits he finds it so difficult to follow—yet superiority it is not, for what has he *done*? Shakespeare has illustrated this in the play by contriving to bring Cæsar and his suite

across the 'public place' in which Cassius is discoursing to Brutus. Cassius feels the usual irritation at being utterly unable to find in his old acquaintance any special qualities to explain his elevation. Similarly, Cæsar, as he casts a passing glance at Cassius, becomes at once uneasy. 'He thinks too much,' is the exclamation of the man of action. The practical man, accustomed to divide mankind into a few simple types, is always uncomfortable at finding a man he cannot classify. Finally, there is a climax to the jealousy that exists between the two lives: Cæsar complains that Cassius '*Looks quite 'trough the deeds of men.*' There is another circumstance to be taken into account in explaining the weakness of Cæsar. A change has come over the spirit of Roman political life itself—such seems to be Shakespeare's conception. Cæsar on his return has found Rome no longer the Rome he had known. Before he left for Gaul, Rome had been the ideal sphere for public life, the arena in which principles alone were allowed to combat, and from which the banishment of personal aims and passions was the first condition of virtue. In his absence Rome has gradually degenerated; the mob has become the ruling force, and introduced an element of uncertainty into political life; politics has passed from science into gambling. A new order of public men has arisen, of which Cassius and Antony are the types; personal aims, personal temptations, and personal risks are now inextricably interwoven with public action. This is a changed order of things, to which the mind of Cæsar, cast in a higher mould, lacks the power to adapt itself. His vacillation is the vacillation of unfamiliarity with the new political conditions. He refuses the crown 'each time gentler than the other,' showing want of decisive reading in dealing with the fickle mob; and on his return from the Capitol he is too untrained in hypocrisy to conceal the angry spot upon his face; he has tried to use the new weapons which he does not understand and has failed. It is a subtle touch of Shakespeare's to the same effect that Cæsar is represented as having himself undergone a change of *late*: 'Quite from the main opinion he held once.' To come back to the world of which you have mastered the machinery and to find that it is no longer governed by machinery at all, that causes no longer produce their effects—this, if anything, might drive a strong intellect to superstition. And herein consists the pathos of Cæsar's situation. The deepest tragedy of the play is not the assassination of Cæsar, it is rather seen in such a speech as this of Decius:

'I can o'ersway him; for he loves to hear
That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,
And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,
Lions with toils, and men with flatterers;
But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
He says he does, being then most flattered.
Let me work.'—II, i, 227.

Assassination is a less piteous thing than to see the giant intellect by its very strength unable to contend against the low cunning of a fifth-rate intriguer. Such, then, appears to be Shakespeare's conception of Julius Cæsar. He is the consummate type of the practical: emphatically the public man, complete in all the greatness that belongs to action. On the other hand, the knowledge of self produced by self-contemplation is wanting, and so, when he comes to consider the relation of his individual self to the state, he vacillates with the vacillation of a strong man moving amongst men of whose greater intellectual subtlety he is dimly conscious: no unnatural conception for a Cæsar who has been founding empires

abroad while his fellows have been sharpening their wits in the party contests of a decaying state.

BRANDES (i, 361): In dealing with the great figure of Cæsar . . . Shakespeare follows faithfully the detached, anecdotic indications of Plutarch, but he, strangely enough, seems to miss altogether the remarkable impression we receive of Cæsar's character which, for the rest, the Greek historian was not in a position fully to understand. We must not forget the fact, of which Shakespeare, of course, knew nothing, that Plutarch, who was born a century after Cæsar's death, at a time when the independence of Greece was only a memory, and the once glorious Hellas was part of a Roman province, wrote his comparative biographies to remind haughty Rome that Greece had a great man to oppose to each of her greatest sons. Plutarch was saturated with the thought that conquered Greece was Rome's lord and master in every department of the intellectual life. . . . He wrote about his great Romans as an enlightened and unprejudiced Pole might in our days write about great Russians. He, in whose eyes the old republics shone transfigured, was not especially fitted to appreciate Cæsar's greatness. Shakespeare, having so arranged his drama that Brutus should be its tragic hero, had to concentrate his art on placing him in the foreground and making him fill the scene, . . . and, therefore, Cæsar was diminished and belittled to such a degree, unfortunately, that this matchless genius in war and statesmanship has become a miserable caricature. . . . [We cannot] fall back upon the argument that Cæsar after his death becomes the chief personage of the drama, and as a corpse, as a memory, as a spirit, strikes down his murderers. How can so small a man cast so great a shadow! Shakespeare, of course, intended to portray Cæsar as triumphing after his death. He has changed Brutus's evil genius, which appears to him in the camp and at Philippi, into Cæsar's ghost; but this ghost is not sufficient to rehabilitate Cæsar in our estimation. Nor is it true that Cæsar's greatness would have impaired the unity of the piece. Its poetic value, on the contrary, suffers from his pettiness. The play might have been immeasurably richer and deeper than it is had Shakespeare been inspired by a feeling of Cæsar's greatness. Elsewhere in Shakespeare one marvels at what he has made out of poor and meagre material. Here history was so enormously rich that his poetry is become poor and meagre in comparison with it. Just as Shakespeare (if the portions of *1 Hen. VI.* which deal with La Pucelle are by him) represented Jeanne d'Arc with no sense for the lofty and simple poetry that breathed around her figure, . . . so he approached the characterisation of Cæsar with far too light a heart and with imperfect knowledge and care. As he had made Jeanne d'Arc a witch, so he makes Cæsar a braggart. Cæsar! If, like the schoolboys of later generations, he had been given Cæsar's *Gallie War* to read in his childhood, this would not have been possible to him. Is it conceivable that, in what he had heard about the *Commentaries*, he had naively seized upon and misinterpreted the fact that Cæsar always speaks of himself in the third person, and calls himself by his name? . . . What enchanted every one, even his enemies, who came in contact with Cæsar was his good-breeding, his politeness, the charm of his personality. . . . Shakespeare conveys no idea of the wealth and many-sidedness of his gifts. He makes him belaud himself with unceasing solemnity. Cæsar had nothing of the stolid pomposity and severity which Shakespeare attributes to him. He united the rapid decision of the general with the man of the world's elegance and lofty indifference to trifles. . . . Cæsar as opposed to Cato—and afterwards as opposed to Brutus—is the many-sided genius who loves life and action

and power, in contradistinction to the narrow Puritan who hates such emancipated spirits, partly on principle, partly from instinct. What a strange misunderstanding that Shakespeare—himself a lover of beauty, intent on a life of activity, enjoyment, and satisfied ambition, who always stood to Puritanism in the same hostile relation in which Cæsar stood—should of ignorance take the side of Puritanism in this case, and so disqualify himself from extracting from the rich mine of Cæsar's character all the gold contained in it. In Shakespeare's Cæsar we find nothing of the magnanimity and sincerity of the real man. He never assumed a hypocritical reverence towards the past, not even on questions of grammar. He grasped at power and seized it, but did not, as Shakespeare, pretend to reject it. Shakespeare has let him keep the pride which he, in fact, displayed, but has made it unbecomingly beautiful and eked it out with hypocrisy. . . . It was because of Shakespeare's lack of historical and classical culture that the incomparable grandeur of the figure of Cæsar left him unmoved.

J. C. ALLEN (*Poet Lore*, vol. xiii, p. 574): We must remember that Shakespeare, like every writer of his time, was a romanticist. Being such, he naturally gave to his characters a poetic consistency. The hero looked a hero, the villain looked a villain. Dwarfs, deformed persons, and those having physical defects were shown to have moral defects to match. From Plutarch Shakespeare learned that Cæsar was of delicate frame and subject to epileptic fits. From the same writer he received the impression that the emperor was self-conceited and overbearing, foolishly ambitious, vain, and unable to conceal his personal feelings. These data, of which some are insignificant, some inaccurate, and the others false, are the basis on which he constructed the title-rôle of his play. Shall we blame Shakespeare for superficiality in thus fitting a character to those external appearances which, after all, as often conceal as they reveal the man? By no means. He did not know Cæsar, and had to use what data came to his hand. He was not writing history for instruction, but a play for amusement. He chose that conception of Cæsar which was picturesque in preference to that which was misty, without knowing which was the truer view; and the scattered references to the same character in other plays show that he was not convinced the portraiture in this instance was correct. Had he really known the greatness of the man, he would have concealed his external defects. As it was, he ascribed to him a soul appropriate to the frail and mean tenement in which it was housed. We see, then, in this subject the limitations both of genius and of the dramatic art. The playwright, like the scene-painter, must use a large brush. Accuracy and subtle discrimination are not dramatic excellences, however desirable they may be in literature and delightful in plays, when we read them in an easy-chair. It is only an evidence of Shakespeare's greatness that he instinctively obeyed the rule of seeking dramatic excellence first, and then, with a delicate touch, making his plays immortal as a literary classic. We see, too, how his genius was conditioned by the spirit of the time, and probably strengthened by its harmony with that spirit. He was a romanticist because it was an age of romanticism. Living, as he did, in the Elizabethan period, he pictured Elizabethans in his plays. Always they were Elizabethan heroes, villains, or clowns. It was unfortunate that Julius Cæsar would not fit into any of these categories.

MACMILLAN (*Introd.*, p. xxv.): Though the nobler side of Cæsar's character is not entirely ignored, the general impression produced by Shakespeare's representa-

tion of him falls far below the real greatness of the founder of the Roman Empire, and we have to account for this discrepancy on historical or dramatic grounds. In the first place, it must be noticed that it did not suit Shakespeare's design to represent Cæsar in all the grandeur of his historic position and greatness of character, enhanced, as it might have been, to the highest pitch by poetic art and dramatic power. Had he done so, the figures of the conspirators would have been completely dwarfed, and their great deed would have appeared to be a brutal and entirely inexcusable murder. The poet's aim was to produce in the first part of the play an even balance in our sympathies, so that they should waver to and fro, inclining alternately to Cæsar and the conspirators. This design is clearly manifested by the skilful management of the scenes in which we are induced at one time to share the anxiety of Calpurnia for her husband, and at another to listen with agonised suspense to the rumours that the air conveys, or seems to convey, to Portia from the Capitol.

MACCALLUM (p. 226): The impression Julius Cæsar makes on the unsophisticated mind, on average audiences, and the elder school of critics is undoubtedly an heroic one. It is only minute analysis that discovers his defects, and though the defects are certainly present and should be noted, they are far from sufficing to make the general effect absurd or contemptible. It was not so that Shakespeare meant them to be taken. For he has invented for his Cæsar not only these trivial blemishes, but several conspicuous exhibitions of nobility which Plutarch nowhere suggests; and this should give pause to such as find in Shakespeare's portrait merely a wilful or wanton caricature. Thus, in regard to the interposition of Artemidorus, Shakespeare read in North: 'Cæsar tooke it [the scroll] of him, but coulde never reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the multitude of people that did salute him.' Compare this with the scene in the play:

Art. Hail, Cæsar! read this schedule.

Dec. Trebonius doth desire you to o'er-read,
At your best leisure, this his humble suit.

Art. O Cæsar, read mine first; for mine's a suit
That touches Cæsar nearer: read it, great Cæsar.

Cæs. What touches us ourself shall be last served.'—III, i, 8.

Can one say that Shakespeare has defrauded Cæsar of his magnanimity? Or, again, observe in the imaginary conclusion to the unrecorded remonstrances of Calpurnia, how loftily he refuses to avail himself of the little white untruths that, after all, pass current as quite excusable in society. They are beneath his dignity. He turns to Decius:

Cæs. And you are come in very happy time,
To bear my greeting to the senators
And tell them that I will not come to-day:
Cannot, is false, and that I dare not, falser:
I will not come to-day: tell them so, Decius.

Cal. Say he is sick.

Cæs. Shall Cæsar send a lie?
Have I in conquest stretch'd mine arm so far,
To be afraid to tell graybeards the truth?
Decius, go tell them Cæsar will not come.'—II, ii, 70.

But this last instance is not merely an example of Shakespeare's homage to Cæsar's grandeur and his eagerness to enhance it with accessories of his own contrivance. It gives us a clue to the secret of his additions both favourable and the reverse, and points the way to his conception of the man. For observe that this refusal of Cæsar's to make use of a falsehood is an afterthought. A minute before he has, also in words that Shakespeare puts in his mouth, fully consented to the proposal that he should feign illness. He pacifies Calpurnia:

'Mark Antony shall say I am not well;

And, for thy humour, I will stay at home.'

This compliance he makes to his wife, but in presence of Decius Brutus he recovers himself and adopts the stricter standard. What does this imply? Does it not mean that, in a certain sense, he is playing a part and aping the immortal to be seen of men? . . . Shakespeare has a large tolerance for the practical statesman when dowered with patriotism, insight, and resolution; and will not lightly condemn him because he must use sorry tools, and take some soil from the world, and is not unmoved by personal interests. Provided that his more selfish aims coincide with the good of the whole, and that he has veracity of intellect to understand, with steadiness of will to satisfy, the needs of the time, Shakespeare will vindicate for him his share of prosperity, honor, and desert. And this seems to be, in a glorified version, his view of Cæsar. The only serious charge he brings against him in the play, the only charge to which he recurs elsewhere, is that he was ambitious. But ambition is not wholly of sin, and brings forth good as well as evil fruit.

II. M. AYRES (p. 188): Shakespeare's Cæsar is admittedly not Plutarch's; his Calpurnia, his Portia are Plutarch's, and no more; his Antony, his Brutus, his Cassius—by reason of the contrasts of character his art sets before us—are more, but his Cæsar has ever seemed something less and different. Nowhere does one get so complete a sense of the greatness of Cæsar as in Plutarch. Lucan's Cæsar is great in his almost diabolical competence beside the helplessness of Pompey, but Lucan showers upon him a constant flood of villification and depreciation. Suetonius deals out his gossip curtly; Dion Cassius leaves a pale, second-hand impression; Appian is slow, though of historical value. But Plutarch is writing lives, not history. Plutarch sets Cæsar forth as, above everything else, astute; as a man marked to rule, thrusting his way with unerring political sagacity into popular favor; cultivated, brave, of inhuman energy, and renowned for a clemency designed to be something more than its own reward; a man of humor and of pithy utterance; toward the close of his life somewhat under the domination of his adherents, and restless in the desire for further achievements. . . . Another trait which distinguished Cæsar from the valiant knight-errant is his wily political forehandedness, which Plutarch does not allow us to forget. Like a wrestler he 'striveth for tricks to overthrow his adversary.' . . . Such, briefly, is the impression one bears away of the heroic largeness of Plutarch's Cæsar: not always the master of events, but provided always with resources to meet them; versatile, witty, competent, expeditious, sagacious, clement. Plutarch has framed an enduring literary portrait of the man. How much now of this Cæsar appears in Shakespeare? Let us examine afresh his rôle. The noise and chatter of a holiday is hushed by Cæsar's voice commanding the performance of a trivial piece of superstition, which in Cæsar's mouth is Shakespeare's invention. . . . Many of our impressions of Cæsar we gain through the eyes of his enemies: of the Tribunes, whose sympathies are with the neglected memory of Pompey; of Cassius, the sarcastic victim of personal pique,

who finds Cæsar no more than a man, no conqueror over physical fatigue and disease; of Casca, who whimsically comments on Cæsar's melodramatic demagoguery. Meanwhile a word from Cæsar himself. He distrusts, not fears—his name is not liable to fear—Cassius's meagre, reflective asceticism. Then the sudden relapse from his lofty arrogance: 'Come on my right hand, for this ear is deaf.' The indifference to fear is consistent with Plutarch, the pomposity and the human infirmity are Shakespeare's. . . . Our total impression of Shakespeare's Cæsar is not, of course, limited to his own brief part nor to the speeches of his enemies. Under the spell of Antony's eloquence he stands before us the conqueror, the true friend, and the people's lover. At Philippi he stalks mighty yet, and his spirit prevails. Shakespeare has, that is, at times, suggested the heroic qualities of the man, although the striking episodes of his career . . . fall outside the period which Shakespeare has chosen to dramatize. And he has, indeed, done Cæsar little wrong in touching here and there on his human infirmities in the interests of the design of the play as a whole. His error comes, if error there be, in the words he puts into Cæsar's mouth. We may, then, turn to a consideration of his pomposity of manner and of language. Two elements at least enter into the explanation of this: the first, a piece of traditional literary psychology; the second, possibly a specific dramatic tradition. Suetonius says: 'Cæsar left behind him in the minds of certain friends about him, a suspicion, that he was neither willing to have lived any longer, nor cared at all for life: because he stood not well to health, but was ever more crasie' (*quod valetudine minus prospera uteretur*).—Trans. Holland; § 86. . . . It is, of course, not meant to say that Cæsar toward the end of his life was mad in any other sense than that in which a world conqueror must always appear mad when judged by an average sanity. . . . It is not, however, necessary to go beyond the domain of literature for the description of this phenomenon. Classical drama makes frequent use of *ἄρη*, the infatuation, the judicial blindness laid by the gods on those whose destruction they are meditating. [As illustrative of this, Ayres quotes: Sophocles, *Ajax*, ll. 758-761; ll. 470-472; 470, 480; 127-133; *Ant. & Cleo.*, III, xiii, 111-115.] It is this judicial blindness which makes Cæsar scorn to read Artemidorus's letter just because it touches himself nearly, though he has ample reason to take every precaution for his personal safety. His action, and it is important to remember that Shakespeare seems here to be following none of his sources, springs from the same *ὑβρις*, the *desmesure*, which kept Roland till too late from sounding his horn in the pass of Roncevaux. Nor is it necessary to assume, in order to make these citations from the classics bear on Shakespeare, any intimate acquaintance on his part with Greek tragedy. The idea may be considered a literary commonplace. . . . In the Latin *Julius Cæsar* of Marc Antoine Muret, written before the middle of the sixteenth century, the episodes connected with Cæsar's death are, as might be expected, selected and presented under the influence of the plays that go under the name of Seneca. Calpurnia's dream and Brutus's mental struggles lend themselves admirably to such a method. The character of Cæsar, and this is our main point, is carefully modelled on that of Hercules. It is to the opening and the close of the *Hercules Cætaus* that Muret has chiefly resorted for the form and much of the language of the corresponding portions of his play. His borrowings cover, however, the whole range of the so-called Senecan plays. . . . What we have gained by the comparison of Muret's play with its Senecan models is briefly this: we have seen the character of Cæsar as it passes into the drama of the Renaissance, carefully modelled on the braggart Hercules of Seneca; and, along with the addition to his character of this pompous

boastfulness, his contempt of death, as it appears in Plutarch, emphasized by reason of its coincidence with the pervasive Stoicism of Seneca's dramas. . . . Further, [we see] Cæsar, who in Plutarch is a man of pitily and pregnant utterance, elaborately transformed into a Hercules-like braggart, but with his Plutarchian stoicism unimpaired. Both these characteristics are somewhat reinforced by Lucan, himself partly perhaps under the same Senecan influence. Not all these points will remain constant through succeeding treatments of the subject. As the Senecan form is modified, many will inevitably disappear. We shall find, however, preserved with considerable fidelity, down to and beyond the date of Shakespeare's play, the character of the braggart Cæsar which we have here observed in the making. . . . On turning to Grévin's [*Cæsar*, acted in 1558,] we are instantly aware that some of the superficial characteristics of the Senecan Hercules have disappeared; Cæsar no longer prays to be caught up to heaven, nor does his voice comfort Calpurnia with the news of his translation to the stars. . . . Where Muret's Cæsar could throw aside dread with a phrase, 'At enim timere Cæsaris nunquam fuit,' Grévin's needs a deal of rhetoric to calm his nerves. . . . So far as the character of Cæsar is concerned, we have little in Grévin's play, save for a rhetorical diffuseness resulting in greater emphasis on Cæsar's premonitions of impending danger which was not contained in the tragedy of his master, Muret. . . . The tradition which we saw taking shape in [the latter's] play under the influence of Seneca appears now in England in the *Julius Cæsar* of Sir William Alexander. One might surmise that the author was quite aware of the tradition he was in, for he resorts for the first act of his play to Juno's monologue at the opening of the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca, ingeniously substituting Cæsar for Hercules as the object of Junonian ire. It is not impossible that he also knew Muret's play. . . . On the whole, his conception of Cæsar's character . . . depends more directly on [that of Garnier in *Cornelie*, 1574,] and the Senecan tradition inaugurated by Muret. Let us now see what the Marlowesque tradition makes [of the character of Cæsar]. The anonymous play, *Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge*, has sometimes been very tentatively identified with the Henslowe play of 1594. Whether this identification is just or not, or whether the play belongs to a date anterior to 1606, need not immediately concern us. . . . In form and temper, at any rate, it belongs with the plays of the early 60's. Most striking is the sustained and successful imitation of Marlowe's style. . . . Between this play and Shakespeare's there seems to be no immediate connection. But it is not with questions of direct influence on Shakespeare that we have to do. Our study has aimed merely to trace from its fountain head in Seneca a stream of tradition continuing to Shakespeare's time and beyond, under the baptism of which Cæsar has become Hercules and speaks with his braggart's voice. In its developed form the character closely resembles Tamburlaine, triumphing over a world too lost in amazement at his wondrous victories to make effectual resistance; the heaven-storming conqueror whose large utterance is filled with the pomp and circumstance of his own greatness. Such, then, we may . . . more than guess to have been the Elizabethan stage Cæsar. And if such it were, we readily see how Shakespeare must of necessity endow him with a little strut, a touch of grandiosity, if his audience is to believe that Cæsar stands before them.

[The four following extracts relate to the character of the Julius Cæsar of history:]

MERIVALE (ii, 394): For the historian the survey of Cæsar's character derives

its chief interest from the manner in which it illustrates the times wherein he occupied so prominent a place. The disposition and conduct of the great man we have been contemplating correspond faithfully with the intellectual and moral development of the age of which he was the most perfect representative. He combines literature with action, humanity with sternness, free-thinking with superstition, energy with voluptuousness, a noble and liberal ambition with a fearful want of moral principle. In these striking inconsistencies, which none but himself could blend in one harmonious temperament, he represented the manifold conflicting tendencies which appeared in various proportions in the character of the Roman nobility, at a period when they had thrown off the formal restraints of their Etruscan discipline, and the specious indulgence of Hellenic cultivation lured them into vice, selfishness, and impiety.

MOMMSEN (Bk, v, ch. xi; p. 456): In his character as a man as well as his place in history, Cæsar occupies a position where the great contrasts of existence meet and balance each other. Of the mightiest creative power and yet at the same time of the most penetrating judgment; no longer a youth and not yet an old man; of the highest energy of will and the highest capacity of execution; filled with republican ideals and at the same time born to be a king; a Roman in the deepest essence of his nature, and yet called to reconcile and combine in himself as well as in the outer world the Roman and the Hellenic types of culture—Cæsar was the entire and perfect man. Accordingly, we miss in him, more than in any other historical personage, what are called characteristic features, which are, in reality, nothing more than deviations from the natural course of human development. What in Cæsar passes for such at the first superficial glance is, when more closely observed, seen to be the peculiarity not of the individual, but of the epoch of culture or of the nation; his youthful adventures, for instance, were common to him with all his more gifted contemporaries of like position, his unpoetical but strongly logical temperament was the temperament of Romans in general. . . . Cæsar was a perfect man just because he more than any other placed himself amidst the currents of his time, and because he more than any other possessed the essential peculiarity of the Roman nation—practical aptitude as a citizen—in perfection; for his Hellenism in fact was only the Hellenism which had been long intimately blended with the Italian nationality. . . . The Roman hero himself stood by the side of his youthful predecessor not merely as an equal, but as a superior; but the world had meanwhile become old and its youthful lustre had faded. The action of Cæsar was no longer, like that of Alexander, a joyous marching onward towards a goal indefinitely remote; he built on, and out of, ruins, and was content to establish himself as tolerably and as securely as possible within the ample but yet definite bounds once assigned to him. With reason, therefore, the delicate poetic tact of the nations has not troubled itself about the unpoetical Roman, and has invested the son of Philip alone with all the golden lustre of poetry, with all the rainbow hues of legend. But with equal reason the political life of nations has during thousands of years again and again reverted to the lines which Cæsar drew; and the fact that the peoples to whom the world belong still at the present day designate the highest of their monarchs by his name, conveys a warning deeply significant and, unhappily, fraught with shame.

FROUDE (p. 537): In person Cæsar was tall and slight. His features were more refined than was usual in Roman faces; the forehead was wide and high, the nose

large and thin, the lips full, the eyes dark gray like an eagle's, the neck extremely thick and sinewy. His complexion was pale. His beard and mustache were kept carefully shaved. His hair was short and naturally scanty, falling off towards the end of his life and leaving him partially bald. His voice, especially when he spoke in public, was high and shrill. . . . Of Cæsar it may be said that he came into the world at a special time and for a special object. The old religions were dead from the Pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates and the Nile, and the principles on which human society had been constructed were dead also. There remained of spiritual conviction only the common and human sense of justice and morality; and out of this sense some ordered system of government had to be constructed under which quiet men could live and labour and eat the fruit of their industry. . . . Such a kingdom was the Empire of the Cæsars—a kingdom where peaceful men could work, think, and speak as they pleased, and travel freely among provinces ruled for the most part by Gallios who protected life and property, and forbade fanatics to tear each other in pieces for their religious opinions. 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death' was the complaint of the Jewish priests to the Roman governor. Had Europe and Asia been covered with independent nations, each with a local religion represented in its ruling powers, Christianity must have been stifled in its cradle. If St Paul had escaped the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, he would have been torn to pieces by the silversmiths at Ephesus. The appeal to Cæsar's judgment-seat was the shield of his mission, and alone made possible his success. And this spirit, which confined government to its simplest duties, while it left opinion unfettered, was especially present in Julius Cæsar himself. From cant of all kinds he was totally free. He was a friend of the people, but he indulged in no enthusiasm for liberty. He never dilated on the beauties of virtue or complimented, as Cicero did, a Providence in which he did not believe. He was too sincere to stoop to unreality. He held to the facts of this life and to his own convictions; and as he found no reason for supposing that there was a life beyond the grave, he did not pretend to expect it. He respected the religion of the Roman state as an institution established by the laws. He encouraged or left unmolested the creeds and practises of the uncounted sects or tribes who were gathered under the eagle. But his own writings contain nothing to indicate that he had any religious belief at all. He saw no evidence that the gods practically interfered in human affairs. He never pretended that Jupiter was on his side. He thanked his soldiers after a victory, but he did not order *Te Deums* to be sung for it; and in the absence of these conventionalisms he perhaps showed more real reverence than he could have displayed by the freest use of the formulas of pietism. He fought his battles to establish some tolerable degree of justice in the government of this world; and he succeeded, though he was murdered for doing it. Strange and startling resemblance between the fate of the founder of the kingdom of this world and of the Founder of the kingdom not of this world, for which the first was a preparation. Each was denounced for making himself a king. Each was maligned as the friend of publicans and sinners; each was betrayed by those whom he had loved and cared for; each was put to death; and Cæsar also was believed to have arisen again and ascended into heaven and become a divine being.

FERRERO (ii, 343): Cæsar was a genius—a man whose powers have seldom or never been equalled in history. He was at once student, artist, and man of action, and in every sphere of his activity he left the imprint of greatness. His soaring yet intensely practical imagination, his wonderfully clear-cut and well-balanced intelli-

gence, his untiring energy and lightning quickness of decision, his marvellous elasticity of temper and iron-power of self-control, his indifference even at the moments of greatest strain to anything of the nature of sentiment or mysticism, would have made him at any time in the world's history one of the giants of his age. Under twentieth-century conditions he might have become a captain of industry in the United States, or a great pioneer, or mine-owner, or empire-builder in South Africa, or a scientist or man of letters in Europe with a worldwide influence over his contemporaries. In the Rome of his day both family tradition and personal inclination forced him into politics. Political life is always perilous to a man of genius. There is no sphere of activity which is so much at the mercy of unforeseen accidents or where the effort put out is so incommensurable with the result obtained. In the field of Roman politics Cæsar succeeded in becoming a great general, a great writer, a great character. He failed to become a great statesman, . . . but he was a great destroyer. In him were personified all the revolutionary forces, the magnificent but devastating forces of a mercantile age in conflict with the traditions of an old-world society. . . . There is hardly a stranger irony in history than that the rulers of Germany and Russia should have assumed the title of this prince of revolutionaries. For we fail to grasp the true significance of Cæsar's career till we discern that, like Pompey and Crassus and the other great figures of his day, his mission was primarily destructive—to complete the disorganization and dissolution of the old world, both in Italy and the provinces, and thus make way for a stabler and juster system. . . . It is in this rôle of Titanic destroyer, therefore, that we must admire him, a rôle which demanded almost superhuman qualities of conception and achievement.

CHARACTER OF BRUTUS

Plutarch (*Life of Brutus*, § 22; ed. Skeat, p. 120): Brutus for his virtue and valiantness was well-beloved of the people and his own, esteemed of noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies; because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble-minded and would never be in any rage, nor carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice; the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the goodwill that every man bare him: for they were all persuaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly believe that, if Pompey himself had overcome Cæsar, he would have resigned his authority to the law, but rather they were of the opinion that he would still keep the sovereignty and absolute government in his hands, taking only, to please the people, the title of Consul, or Dictator, or of some other more civil office. . . . It was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that he thought, that of all them that had slain Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only that was moved to do it, as thinking the act was commendable of itself: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did bear unto him.

LLOYD (ap. Singer, viii, 508): Brutus, it may be thought, is altogether too refined and scrupulous for any efficient action whatever in such a world as this; how much then, above all, for one which at every step trenches on the equivocal. . . . The deference that has been paid to his moral qualities and influence betray him as disastrously into an overestimate of his judgment and capacity; he relies

upon the force of his dry inflexible oratory with as ill result as on his generalship. . . . There remains to him the dignity of pure intention, high motives, courage untarnished, sensibility most lively and refined, preference of public to private interest, and of failure by noble means, to success degraded by any baseness other than that of the original deed of blood which was sanctified to him by ancestral example and the fundamental maxims of the state.

GERVINUS (ii, 329): Considered in himself, Brutus is of much too moral and too pure a nature to be fit for the hard and often dirty work of politics, like the gross degenerate Faulconbridge or the sharp Cassius. At the first hint, when Cassius initiates him into his ideas of a conspiracy, he feels that he is drawn into a foreign element: 'Into what dangers,' he asks,

'would you lead me, Cassius,
That you would have me seek into myself
For that which is not in me?'

His own inward voice calls him not to this deed. It is true, the necessities of the time weigh upon him and prepare for him heavy sorrows; the rising ambition of Cæsar has made him reflective, thoughtful, and sorrowful, but as ever, he has kept the emotions of his soul concealed; to combat these sufferings or the cause of them the strong sufferer is not disposed. When he assures Cassius that he would not

'repute himself a son of Rome,
Under these hard conditions as this time
Is like to lay upon us,'

he probably thinks only of voluntary banishment. But this man, in himself little created for politics, is yet placed under a constitution that allows no rest from politics, and he is brought up in principles which necessitate active life. He possesses, like Hamlet, a cultivated mind, and, according to Plutarch as well as Shakespeare, he carries books about with him even in the camp; he is a lean thinker, as Cæsar in Plutarch describes not only Cassius but Brutus also; but, according to his own testimony, which Shakespeare found in Plutarch, he could not endure the Ciceros, men whose cultivation advantaged nothing, whose finest principles were never living ones; and Shakespeare has represented him quite in this spirit. Next to his human duties, consonant with the ideas of all antiquity, stand his political duties; next to the virtue of the individual stands in equal rank the honour of the patriot. . . . To these, his political principles, Cassius now applies himself in order to draw him into a conspiracy against Cæsar. From this moment his anxiety as to the condition of the time and state rises to a great internal struggle. . . . We have seen Macbeth shaken by a similar revolution by similar phantasms and fearful dreams, and he drove them away as soon as possible; we have seen Hamlet disturbed and ruined by them; in Brutus, none but the actor can show them to us, and he only very faintly; they are repressed by a strong mental power which calmly weighs the principles of action in the disputed point, and decides with stern composure accordingly. When Brutus exclaims against the 'dangerous brow of conspiracy,' we see his whole nature opposed to it, but after he has once acknowledged it as necessary, he teaches the practice of its dangerous arts. . . . When the human relation between him and Cæsar is opposed to the relation toward his country in which he is placed by the republican spirit inherited from Junius Brutus, it is irremediable but that the restoration of public

freedom must be his first duty. The purest motives decide the inward struggle in favour of patriotism; even his bitterest foes acknowledge this. Cæsar must fall as a sacrifice to his country, its weal, and its freedom; necessity, not hatred, justice, not personal feeling, arm those hands against him which Brutus, after the deed, would chide if he could. No impure motive, such as Cicero's ambition, is to be permitted. . . .

Now in this inward struggle, and in the decision which Brutus arrived at, there lies a double error which may be viewed both from a moral and a political side. Brutus appears in Shakespeare, and even in Plutarch, united in a closer friendship with Cæsar than history proves to have been the case. His brother-in-law Cassius says to him:

‘When thou didst hate him worst, thou lovedst him better
Than ever thou lov’dst Cassius.’

His enemy, Antony, calls him ‘Cæsar’s angel.’ The poet has rather strangely put in the mouth of the falling Cæsar, at sight of Brutus, the Latin words, *Et tu, Brute?* to give greater emphasis to the painful surprise of his fatherly friend, who would never have expected to have seen Brutus among the number of his murderers. Was it really suitable to the personal relations of this feeling and noble man that he should imagine Cæsar’s death to be the only means for restoring the freedom of the state? Do not the words of Antony fall upon him with fearful weight, that

‘when the noble Cæsar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitors’ arms,
Quite vanquished him: then burst his mighty heart.’

Must he not have been struck dumb when the same Antony cast this reproach in his face, that while exclaiming ‘Hail, Cæsar!’ and flattering him to his face, they had maliciously killed him? The stain of assassination adheres to Brutus, a crime which no political duty, no opposite duty whatever, can outweigh. This stain cleaves closer to the ‘lover’ of Cæsar than to Cæsar’s personal enemy, Cassius, and to him, therefore, to Cæsar’s good angel, the spirit of the murdered man subsequently appears as his evil and revenge-announcing genius. If, from political grounds, the deed of Brutus is nobler, it is in a human respect more unnatural than that of Cassius, in whom it is represented as less noble, but more natural. Shakespeare has not allowed considerations such as these to escape from the laconic Brutus, but they are contained emphatically in the things themselves, especially in the contrast of Antony. What is this voluptuary, this man of loose morals, this Epicurean, this racer and gambler, of whom it is presumed that at the best he will ‘take thought and die for Cæsar,’ perhaps also laugh at his death if he escapes, what is he compared to Brutus? In spirit and capacity, indeed, he is much more than the unsuspecting Brutus imagines, but in a moral point of view he is only an abandoned and unprincipled man. So far as we see him act in this play, his flattery of the murderers to their faces places him on an equality with them in their flattery of Cæsar; we cannot blame the art which he yields to circumstances, compassing his worst ends with the air of the utmost honour, stirring up the people by his eloquence in spite of the order that he should say nothing against the murderers; we cannot blame the cunning with which, pretending to be a plain, blunt man, he applauds the honourable republicans, whom he at the same time stamps as traitors, while he mockingly extols the superiority of the orator Brutus, having already annihilated his speech and his deed; we cannot, we say, blame this art

and cunning any more than the hypocritical artifices of those who allured Cæsar into the net. But how low does this man sink when, contrasted with Brutus's unselfishness, patriotism, mild forbearance, and saving of blood, we see the triumvir subsequently indifferent to the fate of his political enemies, altering to the prejudice of the people that will of Cæsar's with which he had roused them to revolt, suing Lepidus as a beast of burden, and himself silently submitting to the young Octavius? And yet we must confess that even this wretch, on the score of humanity, recommends himself to us besides the corpse of Cæsar more than even the noble Brutus. Like Brutus, he was the friend of Cæsar; to him also Cæsar had been just and faithful; his death touches him truly and sincerely; he testifies to this when he is alone and when he is with the servant of Octavius; he ventures even to show his sorrow to the murderers; his heart is truly 'in the coffin there, with Cæsar,' and only to this real and undissembled sorrow the great effects of his artful speech are due. However great from a political point of view Brutus's patriotism and upright intentions may appear in spite of his murderous act, equally estimable, in a moral sense, is the sincere fidelity of Antony toward his deceased friend, who can help him no further, in spite of his faithless projects against the conspirators whom it is dangerous to oppose. The contrast which Shakespeare has instituted between Antony and Brutus is one of cutting acuteness, and there is even a double edge given to it with regard to the political error of the action itself. When Brutus, after conquering his inward reluctance, decides for Cæsar's death, he tells us the grounds of this decision in a soliloquy (Act II, sc. 1) which in its whole tone has much resemblance with the chief monologue in Hamlet. . . . He must confess that 'the quarrel will bear no colour for the thing he now is,' he will, therefore, 'fashion' it thus:

'that, what he is, augmented,
Would run to these and these extremities,'

and, therefore, as 'a serpent's egg,' he must be killed 'in the shell.' But this, indeed, for a man as upright and conscientious as Brutus, must be considered as looking too deeply into an uncommitted fault; in the great exploit to which he aspires an inherited ambition as refined, as popular as is at work as in Cæsar's aspirations after dominion; and remorse is in him just as much disjoined from power as he fears may be the case with Cæsar. No man is constituted a judge over thoughts. If it is lawful to condemn on suspicion and presumption, then the people too were right in tearing the poet Cirna to pieces on a presumption. Had Brutus waited for these 'extremities,' it is possible that fate might have touched Cæsar, that an involuntary revolution and not a planned conspiracy, not the conspiracy of a friend, might have overthrown him. Brutus might have been mistaken in Cæsar; this is, indeed, a mere possibility not to be proved; but that he erred in Antony is certain, and this certainty makes the possibility of the other error the more probable. He considers Antony as a harmless voluptuary, as 'Cæsar's arm,' which could do nothing 'when Cæsar's head were off'; he knows that they shall 'have him well to friend.' In all these opinions about Antony he is entirely deceived, although he had been thoroughly warned by Cassius; and yet he decreed Cæsar's death upon a suspicion. He solemnly promised Rome that, if the restoration of the republic were to follow, she should have her wish from Brutus's own hand. Uncertain whether this good would follow the restoration, he commits a certain crime; a necessary part of this crime, the removal of Antony, he leaves undone; and the consequence is that, through this very Antony, the intended restoration is frustrated. In silence,

before the battle of Philippi, he must hear from Antony the moral reproach of assassination; he must hear from Cassius the blame of having unseasonably spared the man whose tongue had otherwise not thus offended.

We have shown that the nature of Brutus in itself would never have compelled him to such a deed of violence; it was too gentle and magnanimous. But in these very qualities was that love of honour rooted which led him to listen to the call of patriotism that urged him on; in them was rooted the tractability, the want of obstinacy and selfishness, which rendered him accessible to counsel and reminder from without; and finally, that unsuspiciousness which induced him to leave those counsels untested. He yielded too quickly to the man who spoke from personal hatred to Cæsar; he accepted too trustingly the call of men who used him as a covering for their own moral nakedness; he read too credulously the papers they threw in his way as the voice of the Roman people. This call of his country stirred him as strongly as Lady Macbeth's taunt of manhood had stung Macbeth. The calm man, like that impassioned one, accepted his task; not that, like Macbeth, he plunged into it madly, but he made a wrong choice between the impulses of his nature within and the call of honour without. He sinks under this error without acknowledging it. As this could not be expressed in any reflection of the man who had once fallen into the error, the poet has made it evident by a parallel which indicates a wonderful depth of thought. In the episode concerning Portia, Shakespeare has closely copied Plutarch, almost without adding or omitting anything. And yet by the mere introduction of this, light is obtained in a wonderful manner, which by reflection reveals Brutus's concealed internal sensations after the deed. Portia is represented by the poet as the feminine, tender counterpart of Brutus. Altogether womanly in her care and watchfulness over her husband, as Cato's daughter and as Brutus's wife, she feels a call to share the political plans of her consort, just as he, the descendant of the ancient Brutus, thinks he must not dery himself to the cause of freedom. By a self-inflicted wound she proves her vocation, her courage, her ability to be silent and to bear, and her proof succeeds. She now presses into the counsels of her husband, takes her share in his grief and in his secret, and becomes a passive conspirator. But no sooner is this accomplished than her suppressed womanhood comes to light, as the subjugated humanity had done in Brutus when he would not have Antony slain. She overrated her woman's strength when she forced herself into the conspiracy, as he in his sphere overrated his powers when he placed himself at the head of the conspirators. On the first failure of her expectations Portia's heart breaks and she commits suicide. As quickly mastered by anxiety, Brutus flies from Rome with Cassius, after Antony's success, both of them like 'madmen'; this separation drives Portia to despair, and her death reacts upon Brutus's inward agitation, which in his usual manner he conceals to the last. The gloom, which overwhelms him from this time forth, reacts again upon the evil issue of his cause; he betrays himself first of all in the severe manner with which he reprimands Cassius. The discord between the leaders cannot be hidden from the lookers-on and cannot have an encouraging effect; to spare his broken-hearted friend, Cassius too quickly abandons his opposition to the plan of battle, and the consequences are fatal. Powerfully as Brutus commands himself in the hour that decides their fate, differently as he rules his passions and his inward agitation from Macbeth, yet is he, like him, distracted, absent, peevish, and forgetful. His evil genius appears to him, not torturing and tormenting him as Richard's did, only paralyzing his courage in the passing moment of its apparition, but returning again and announcing his last hour. Antony was right in supposing that both the

republican leaders feigned courage, but did not possess it. The mistakes which caused the loss of the battle, historical as they are, seem used by the poet to show the analogy between the crime and its punishment. Distrust of good success had too quickly driven Cassius to self-destruction. 'Mistrust, melancholy's child, showed to the apt thoughts of men, the things that are not; error, soon conceived, never comes to a happy birth, but kills the mother that engendered it.' These are words which may apply also to the mistrustful error which showed Brutus things in reference to Cæsar that were not. By joining the conspiracy the honourable man took a step for the sake of honour and patriotism which his moral principles would have forbidden; quite corresponding to this is his end. His philosophy taught him to bear the issue patiently, but when Cassius held before him the ignominy of being led in triumph by the conqueror his feeling of honour led him to turn away from his moral principles at the instigation of this same Cassius, who first stimulated his feeling of honour against Cæsar; he resorts with passive courage to self-destruction, which he had once esteemed cowardly.

HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 231): Brutus heads a plot to assassinate the man who, besides being clothed with the sanctions of the law as the highest representative of the State, has been his personal friend and benefactor; all this, not on any ground of fact, but on an assumed probability that the crown will prove a sacrament of evil and transform him into quite another man. A strange piece of casuistry indeed! but nowise unsuited to the spirit of a man who was to commit the gravest of crimes purely from a misplaced virtue. And yet the character of Brutus is full of beauty and sweetness. In all the relations of life he is upright, gentle, and pure; of a sensitiveness and delicacy of principle that cannot bosom the slightest stain; his mind enriched and fortified with the best extractions of philosophy; a man adorned with all the virtues which, in public and private, at home and in the circle of friends, win respect and charm the heart. Being such a man, of course, he could only do what he did under some sort of delusion. And so, indeed, it is. Yet this very delusion serves, apparently, to ennoble and beautify him, as it takes him and works upon him through his virtues. At heart he is a real patriot, every inch of him. But his patriotism, besides being somewhat hidebound with patrician pride, is of the speculative kind, and dwells where his whole character has been chiefly formed, in a world of poetical and philosophic ideals. He is an enthusiastic student of books. Plato is his favourite teacher, and he has studiously framed his life and tuned his thoughts to the grand and pure conceptions won from that all but divine source. . . . Brutus's great fault lies in supposing it his duty to be meddling with things that he does not understand. Conscious of high thoughts and just desires, but with little gift of practical insight, he is ill fitted to 'grind among the iron facts of life.' In truth, he does not really see where he is; the actual circumstances and tendencies amidst which he lives are as a book written in a language he cannot read. The characters of those who act with him are too far below the region of his principles and habitual thinkings for him to take the true cast of them. Himself incapable of such motives as govern them, he just projects and suspends his ideals in them, and then misreckons upon them as realizing the men of his own brain. So, also, he clings to the idea of the great and free republic of his fathers, the old Rome that has ever stood to his feelings touched with the consecrations of time, and glorified with the high virtues that have grown up under her cherishing. But, in the long reign of tearing faction and civil butchery, that which he worships has been substantially changed, the reality lost. Cæsar, already clothed with the title and the

power of Imperator for life, would change the form so as to agree with the substance, the name so as to fit the thing. But Brutus is so filled with the idea of that which has thus passed away never to return that he thinks to save or recover the whole by preventing such formal and nominal change.

And so his whole course is that of one acting on his own ideas, not on the facts that are before and around him. Indeed, he does not see them; he merely dreams his own meaning into them. He is swift to do that by which he thinks his country ought to be benefited. As the killing of Cæsar stands in his purpose, he and his associates are to be 'sacrificers, not butchers.' But, in order to [obtain] any such effect as he hopes for, his countrymen generally must regard the act in the same light as he intends it. That they will do this, is the very thing which he has, *in fact*, no reason to conclude; notwithstanding, because it is so *in his idea*, therefore he trusts that the conspirators will 'be called purgers, not murderers.' Meanwhile the plain truth is, that if his countrymen had been capable of regarding the deed as a sacrifice, they would not have made nor permitted any occasion for it. It is certain that unless so construed the act must prove fruitful of evil; all Rome is full of things proving that it cannot be so construed; but this is what Brutus has no eye to see. So, too, in his oration, 'to show the *reason* of our Cæsar's death,' he speaks, in calm and dispassionate manner, just those things which he thinks ought to set the people right, and himself right in their eyes; forgetting all the while that the deed cannot fail to make the people mad, and that popular madness is not a thing to be reasoned with. And for the same cause he insists on sparing Antony, and on permitting him to speak in Cæsar's funeral. To do otherwise would be unjust, and so would overthrow the whole nature of the enterprise as it lives in his mind. And, because in his idea it ought so to be, he trusts that Antony will make Cæsar's death the occasion of strengthening those who killed him; not perceiving the strong likelihood, which soon passes into a fact, that in cutting off Cæsar they have taken away the only check on Antony's ambition. He ought to have foreseen that Antony, instead of being drawn to their side, would rather make love to Cæsar's place at their expense.

Thus the course of Brutus serves no end but to set on foot another civil war, which naturally hastens and assures the very thing he ought to prevent. He confides in the goodness of his cause, not considering that the better the cause, the worse its chance with bad men. He thinks it safe to trust others, because he knows they can safely trust him; the singleness of his own eye causing him to believe that others will see as he sees, the purity of his own heart, that others will feel as he feels.

Here, then, we have a strong instance of a very good man doing a very bad thing; and, withal, of a wise man acting most unwisely, because his wisdom knew not its place; a right noble, just, heroic spirit bearing directly athwart the virtues he worships. On the whole, it is not wonderful that Brutus should have exclaimed, as he is said to have done, that he worshipped Virtue, and found her at last but a shade. So worshipped, she may well prove a shade indeed! Admiration of the man's character, reprobation of his proceedings—which of these is the stronger with us? And there is, I think, much the same irony in the representation of Brutus as in that of Cæsar; only the order of it is here reversed. As if one should say, 'O yes, yes! in the practical affairs of mankind your charming wisdom of the closet will doubtless put to shame the workings of mere practical insight and sagacity.'

Shakespeare's exactness in the minutest details of character is well shown in the speech already referred to; which is the utterance of a man philosophizing most

unphilosophically; as if the Academy should betake itself to the stump, and this, too, without any sense of the incongruity.

C. G. CLARKE (*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1878, p. 318). Brutus is the philosopher of patriotic duty and of abstract general good. He is a stoic philosopher, with a heart swayed by the gentlest and most benevolent emotions. He cultivates self-abnegation, self-devotion, self-immolation where the common weal demands his individual sacrifice. At the call of public benefit he is ever ready to surrender private satisfaction. His friendship for Cæsar, his affection for Portia, his wife, are merged in his love of country. . . or the sake of Rome's advantage he willingly yields his single Roman content, welfare, or even life. His sentiments are calm, sober, dispassionate, almost phlegmatic. Here are a few of them, as illustrations of the peculiar feature of his philosophy. In one place he remarks:

'That we shall die, we know; 'tis but the time
And drawing days out that men stand upon.'

His own nature, schooled to a stern impassiveness by the stoical teaching of his philosophy, is self-shown when he speaks of himself as one

'That carries anger as the flint bears fire
Who, much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again.'

He thus forcibly describes a conceived intention:

'Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council; and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.'

Elsewhere he says:

'The abuse of greatness is, when it disjoins
Remorse from power.'

Adding:

'Tis a common proof
That lowliness is young ambition's ladder;
Whereto the climber upward turns his face;
But when he once attains the topmost round,
He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend.'

It is Brutus who makes that very acute remark:

'When love begins to sicken and decay,
It useth an enforced ceremony.
There are no tricks in plain and simple faith;
But hollow men, like horses hot at hand,
Make gallant show and promise of their mettle;
But when they should endure the bloody spur,
They fall their crests, and, like deceitful jades,
Sink in the trial.'

And his is the celebrated aphorism—instinct with the very quintessence of wisdom—or philosophy in promptitude:

‘There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune:
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.’

I think no one character in all the dramas of Shakespeare delivers nobler philosophy, in the guise of axiom and rule of conduct, than the illustrious Marcus Brutus, and his prominent mental characteristic is sententiousness.

DOWDEN (p. 283): Brutus is the political Girondin. He is placed in contrast with his brother-in-law Cassius, the political Jacobin. Brutus is an idealist; he lives among books; he nourishes himself with philosophies; he is secluded from the impression of facts. Moral ideas and principles are more to him than concrete realities; he is studious of self-perfection, jealous of the purity of his own character, unwilling that so clear a character should receive even the apparent stain of misconception or misrepresentation. He is, therefore, as such men are, too much given to the explanation of his conduct. Had he lived he would have written an apology for his life, educing evidence with a calm superiority to prove that each act of his life proceeded from an honorable motive. Cassius, on the contrary, is by no means studious of moral perfection. He is frankly envious, and hates Cæsar. Yet he is not ignoble. Brutus loves him, and the love of Brutus is a patent which establishes a man’s nobility:

‘The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!
It is impossible that ever Rome
Should breed thy fellow.’

And Cassius has one who will die for him. Titinius crowns the dead brow of the conspirator:

‘Brutus come apace,
And see how I regarded Caius Cassius.
By your leave, gods—this is a Roman’s part:
Come Cassius’ sword, and find Titinius’ heart.’

Cassius has a swift and clear conception of the fact. He is not, like Brutus, a theorist, but ‘a great observer,’ who ‘looks quite through the deeds of men.’ Brutus lives in the abstraction, in the idea; Cassius lives in the concrete, in the fact.

SNIDER (ii, 247): In ordinary times of civil repose we should say of Brutus: What a noble citizen! No one could be more ready to fulfill his duties to his family, to his fellow-men, and to his country. But it must be recollected that these duties were the prescribed usages, customs, and beliefs of his nation; they were given to him—transmitted from his ancestors. But, when prescription no longer points out the way, such a man must fall, for he has no intellectual basis of action. Still, the morality of mankind in general is prescriptive, and does not rest upon rational insight; they follow the footsteps of their fathers. Hence it is that most people think that Brutus is the real hero of the play, and that it is wrongly named. But this was certainly not Shakespeare’s design, for it was very easy to construct a drama

In which Brutus should appear as triumphant by having it terminate at the assassination of Cæsar, with a grand flourish of daggers, frantic proclamations of liberty, and 'sic semper tyrannis.' Shakespeare, however, takes special pains not to do any such thing, but to show the triumph of Cæsar's thought in the destruction of the conspirators. Still, Brutus remains the favorite character with the multitude, because they do not, and cannot, rise above this standpoint, and to-day he is often taken as the great prototype of all lovers of liberty.

The effect of intellectual weakness combined with strong moral impulses appears, then, to be the meaning of this character. It is amazing to observe its contradictions and utter want of steadiness or purpose; nor are they at all exaggerated by the Poet. This man, who could assassinate his best friend for the public good, cannot, when a military leader, conscientiously levy contributions for his starving soldiers, 'for,' says he, 'I can raise no money by vile means.' That is, he would sacrifice that very cause, for which he committed the greatest crime known to man, to a moral punctilio. This may be moral heroism, but it is colossal stupidity. Furthermore, in every instance in which Cassius and he differed about the course to be pursued, Brutus was in the wrong. He, out of moral scruples, saved Antony, against the advice of Cassius; this same Antony afterward destroyed their army and with it their cause. Moreover, in the battle of Philippi, the fatal termination of the conflict was fought in disregard of the judgment of Cassius. And, finally, he dies with a contradiction upon his lips, for he says that Cato was a coward for committing suicide, and then declares that he will never be taken captive to Rome alive, and shortly afterwards falls upon his own sword.

Perhaps, however, he came to the conclusion that his country needed his death, for he said in his celebrated speech: 'I have the same dagger (which slew Cæsar) for myself when it shall please my country to need my death.'

STAPFER (p. 366): Brutus had a passion for reading and for books, but there are many different ways of liking books and reading; some, for instance, delighting in them as materials for dreamy speculation, as did Hamlet and all his posterity down to Werther, René, and Obermann; others prizing them for the sake of the mental culture they afford, like Cicero and other men of letters; others, again, for the satisfaction of a craving after knowledge, like Terentius Varro and scientific men of all periods. But Brutus was influenced by none of these motives; what he asked for from books was food for moral meditation and their aid in perfecting himself in virtue. Philosophical writers were those he valued above all others, and among these his especial favourite was Plato.

⁴ He was greatly given to self-examination and self-study, contemplating and observing himself so intently that the one great preoccupation of his life might be said to be how to make himself a more noble character. To be noble, that is, to be just, upright, brave, generous, and all the rest, implies, indeed, in one word the fulfilling of the whole duty of man; still, in this very habit of making one's own personality the centre of the world, and of regarding things in general only in connection with oneself, there lurks a kind of moral egoism and the germ of a very serious failing. By dint of so entirely directing his attention inwards, Brutus became blind to outward things, and lost the sense of reality. His idealism led him, when confronted by the needs and requirements of practical life, to commit very grave oversights; he observed facts badly, and had no good sound judgment, and was of all men the one who could least understand and read the characters of others: witness, for example, his enthusiastic praises of Cicero's son on account of a few

brilliant hopes to which he had at first given rise, and he was quite unable to penetrate beneath the deceitful surface and to discover the young man's essential mediocrity.

His self-engrossed and meditative habits so isolated him from the outer world as to make him oblivious of the duties of friendship, for which Cassius gently reproached him (Act I, sc. ii.). The reason, however, was no lessening of affection on his part, only that—

‘Poor Brutus, with himself at war,
Forgets the shows of love to other men.’

In striking contrast with Henry V, who, on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, visited his soldiers to cheer and inspire them with the same courage and spirit that glowed within himself, Brutus was always reading and pondering. We see him in Shakespeare, on the eve of the battle of Philippi, seated in his tent, taking up a book and begging his servant to draw sweet strains from his instrument to soothe away his cares. In Plutarch, he is the same; on the day before the battle of Pharsala, when every one else thought only of the great struggle which was to decide the fate of the Republic and of the world, he was able to abstract his mind from all surrounding circumstances, and ‘wrote all day long till night, writing a compendium of Polybius.’

Men of this temperament are not the predestined leaders of a party, and Brutus would never of himself, or from the unassisted promptings of his own nature, have become the head of the conspiracy against Cæsar. He would have let things follow their course, silently grieving in his heart at the direction they were taking, but doing nothing to prevent it. When he hears the shouts of the people, he says calmly—

‘I do fear the people
Choose Cæsar for their king.’

Cassius, eager and impetuous, catches at the expression, exclaiming—

‘Ay, do you fear it?
Then must I think you would not have it so.’

But Brutus answers gently—

‘I would not, Cassius; yet I love him well.’

And in this melancholy regret and dreamy sadness Brutus, if left to himself, would have passed his days.

Brutus was an eminently lovable person, which is rarely the case with those who inspire very great respect, for men's hearts, it must frankly be confessed, are not, as a rule, attracted by moral perfection; it is, indeed, admired and venerated—but coldly and at a distance. The comparison is too humiliating for poor humanity to feel very great interest in the sight of irreproachable virtue; and so true is this, that Aristotle forbade the tragic poets to present blameless and altogether perfect heroes, lest they should weary their audience. But in order to bring the Brutus of history within this excellent rule, Shakespeare has no occasion to make any alterations; all he had to do was to clothe in the language of poetry the features of his character given by Plutarch.

Brutus was in reality a sensitive nature, gentle and tender-hearted as a woman; he had great apparent self-control, but it was due to his reason as a philosopher

which triumphed over his nature by an heroic effort of will, and this man of iron was, in truth, only a reed, and a reed that never grew so rigid as not at times to be felt to tremble. Nothing less resembles the real Brutus than the stiff, inexorable stoic of the school of Seneca that Voltaire has drawn with superficial eloquence in cold and rigid lines. He was beloved of the people and of his friends, 'because he was a marvelous lowly and gentle person,' as North has it.

MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 171). 'The force in Brutus's character is obvious: it is rather its softer side that some readers find difficulty in seeing. But this difficulty is in reality a testimony to Shakespeare's skill, for Brutus is a stoic, and what gentleness we see in him appears in spite of himself. It may be seen in his culture of art, music, and philosophy, which have such an effect in softening the manners. Nor is this in the case of the Roman Brutus a mere conventional culture: these tastes are among his strongest passions. When all is confusion around him on the eve of the fatal battle he cannot restrain his longing for the refreshing tones of his page's lyre; and, the music over, he takes up his philosophical treatise at the page he had turned down. Again, Brutus's considerateness for his dependents is in strong contrast with the harshness of Roman masters. On the same eve of the battle he insists that the men who watch in his tent shall lie down instead of standing, as discipline would require. An exquisite little episode brings out Brutus's sweetness of demeanour in dealing with his youthful page; this rises to womanly tenderness at the end, when, noticing how the boy, wearied out and fallen asleep, is lying in a position to injure his instrument, he rises and disengages it without waking him.

Brutus's relations with Portia bear the same testimony. Portia is a woman with as high a spirit as Lady Macbeth, and she can inflict a wound on herself to prove her courage and her right to share her husband's secrets. But she lacks the physical nerve of Lady Macbeth; her agitation on the morning of the assassination threatens to betray the conspirators, and when these have to flee from Rome the suspense is too much for her and she commits suicide. Brutus knew his wife better than she knew herself, and was right in seeking to withhold the fatal confidence; yet he allowed himself to be persuaded: no man would be so swayed by a tender woman unless he had a tender spirit of his own. In all these ways we may trace an extreme of gentleness in Brutus. But it is of the essence of his character that this softer side is concealed behind an imperturbability of outward demeanor that belongs to his stoic religion: this struggle between inward and outward is the main feature for the actor to bring out.

Brutus's nature is developed on all its sides; in his character the antithesis of the outer and inner life disappears. It reappears, however, in his action; for Brutus is compelled to balance a weighty issue, with public policy on the one side, and on the other not only justice to individual claims, but further the claims of friendship, which is one of the fairest flowers of the inner life. And the balance dips to the wrong side. If the question were of using the weapon of assassination against a criminal too high for the ordinary law to reach, this would be a moral problem which, however doubtful to modern thought, would have been readily decided by a stoic. But the question which presented itself to Brutus was distinctly not this. Shakespeare has been careful to represent Brutus as admitting to himself that Cæsar has done no wrong: he slays him for what he might do.

It is true that Shakespeare, with his usual 'dramatic hedging,' softens down this immoral bias in a great hero by representing him as both a Roman of the nation

which beyond all other nations exalted the state over the individual, and a Brutus representative of the house which had risen to greatness by leading violence against tyranny. But Brutus's own conscience being judge, the man against whom he moves is guiltless; and so the conscious sacrifice of justice and friendship to policy is a fatal error which is source sufficient for the whole tragedy of which Brutus is the hero.

J. M. BROWN (p. 114): In *Hamlet* Shakespeare showed how futile the thinker is when thrown into a sphere of action. In Brutus he reveals how great the influence of spotless probity may be before it enters into action, how vain it is amid the intricate cares of office and leadership. Apart from power, kept out of action 'his countenance like richest alchymy,' changes 'offence' to 'virtue and worthiness.' How gentle and considerate he is to his servants! He will not break the slumbers of his page Lucius even in the midst of his 'hideous dream' of assassination or in his sore tribulation before the great battle that is to decide his fate and Rome's. How humane he is in his relations with Portia! 'Musing and sighing,' 'staring with ungentle looks,' he will not answer her loving entreaties to have his confidence; but 'with an angry wafture of his hand' 'gives sign for her to leave him'; he had, to begin with, a mettlesome and moody nature, but he has brought it under control. She knows this and, kneeling, she tells him how she stabbed her thigh to show what she would endure for him. And in admiration of her courage he entrusts the dark secret to her. But nowhere is the depths of his tender love for her shown more than when he knows that she is dead. He has quarreled with Cassius and they have wept out a reconciliation. Then in talking over their anger he calmly says, 'O Cassius, I am sick of many griefs,' and on being reminded of his stoic philosophy, he adds, 'No man bears sorrow better. Portia is dead.' The question of his friend reveals the greatness of the loss: 'How 'scaped I killing when I crossed you so?' Nor will he be induced to speak of it more.

'With meditating that she must die once
He had the patience to endure it now.'

There is no outcry here, no melodramatic appeal; the grief is too stern for paltry words, 'too deep for tears.' 'Even so great men great losses should endure.'

How different is his conduct over Cæsar's body with the mark of his own dagger in it! That last upbraiding look and word of his great friend as he falls has pierced to his very heart, though he will not show the scar by word or sign. He becomes voluble in explanation and defence, he overflows in eloquence and action to stifle the rising pain of remorse. He is satisfied he did right, and yet that look. Hence the unreal ring that Shakespeare gives to his obituary eloquence compared with the manly heart-broken eloquence of Antony. It sounds like a lesson that has been conned. There is no genuine belief in it; he is only trying to persuade himself to believe, as he is trying to persuade the people. Thenceforth there comes upon him the fatalism of despair, whose voice he cannot stifle—

'That we shall die we know; 'tis but the time
And drawing days out that men stand upon.'

It reminds us of *Hamlet's* when he is driven to action.

And when he is not giving expression to this feeling that death is coming, the sooner the better, there is a falsetto note in his utterances. What painful melodrama is his command to bathe their hands in Cæsar's blood 'up to the elbows and

besmear their swords' and wave them o'er their heads! How monotonous is his appeal to the citizens! And at last he and Cassius 'ride like madmen through the gates of Rome.' Like true conspirators they come to quarrel, almost to blows, in camp before Sardis. Brutus is ethnically in the right, practically in the wrong. Against the will of Cassius he has punished an instrument because his hands were foul with bribery, and he demands money from Cassius to pay his soldiers because he would rather coin his heart's blood than 'wring from the hard hands of peasants their vile trash.' The man who could not do this was not fit to be the general of conspirators. He was too upright.

But in spite of his clinging to uprightness, there haunts him the sense that he has sullied it. That last look of Cæsar follows him wherever he goes; and to that outraged friendship seems to come defeat after defeat, sorrow after sorrow in revenge of it, and when the 'deep of night has crept upon their talk' and he sits alone and sleepless, that haunting vision fixes itself so vividly upon his mind that it seems to strike his eyeballs as the ghost of the dead Cæsar.

BERGER (p. 87): Cæsar is but a symbol, and so likewise is Brutus. His relation to Cæsar is identical with that of Judas to his Master. No psychological analysis—rather one of inclinations—is necessary to explain the underlying motives of Judas. The thirty pieces of silver do not explain his action. To Cæsar appertains the personification of power condensed in one man; Brutus belongs in the popular fancy of men who cannot endure such power; for this reason Dante has placed him together with Judas in the lowest circle of Hell. Shakespeare, ever sympathetic to his heroes under constraint of circumstance as an explanation of their motives, and to whom it suffices if we are sensible of the 'He must,' if we are unable to analyze the 'must,' Shakespeare has not expressed the last word in regard to Brutus. It lies unuttered in the depths of Brutus's noble and even spiritual being. Another has sought to put it in words, Friederich Nietzsche, whose penetrating glance here, as often before, seeks to force its way behind the scenes of popular psychology to the innermost secret places. . . . The passage, replete with hidden meaning, is found in the Aphorismus, *In Shakespeare's Honour*, p. 118 of *Joyful Wisdom* (*Fröhlichen Wissenschaft*), ed. 1887. I think it darts a ray of light into the very centre of Brutus's character; and it is thoroughly characteristic of Nietzsche himself, who discovers in the relation of Brutus to Cæsar a symbol of his own relations to Richard Wagner. [Berger quotes but a sentence from Nietzsche which is here given in *Italic*. The whole Aphorismus relates to Brutus, and, in Common's translation, is as follows]: 'The best thing I could say in honour of Shakespeare, *the man*, is that he believed in Brutus and cast not a shadow of suspicion on the kind of virtue which Brutus represents! It is to him that Shakespeare consecrated his best tragedy—it is at present still called by a wrong name,—to him and to the most terrible essence of lofty morality. *Independence of soul!—that is the question at issue! No sacrifice can be too great there: one must be able to sacrifice to it one's dearest friend, though he be also the grandest of men, the ornament of the world, the genius without peer,—if one really loves freedom as the freedom of great souls, and if this freedom be threatened by him:—it is thus that Shakespeare must have felt!* The elevation in which he places Cæsar is the most exquisite honour he could confer upon Brutus; it is thus only that he lifts into vastness the inner problem of his hero, and, similarly, the strength of soul which could cut *this knot!* And was it actually political freedom that impelled the poet to sympathy with Brutus,—and made him the accomplice of Brutus? Or was political freedom merely a symbol for

something inexpressible? Do we perhaps stand before some sombre event or adventure of the poet's own soul, which has remained unknown, and of which he only cared to speak symbolically? What is all Hamlet—melancholy in comparison with the melancholy of Brutus!—and perhaps Shakespeare also knew this, as he knew the other, by experience! Perhaps he also had his dark hour and his bad angel, just as Brutus had them! But whatever similarities and secret relationships of that kind there may have been, Shakespeare cast himself on the ground and felt unworthy and alien in presence of the aspect and virtue of Brutus: he has inscribed the testimony thereof in the tragedy itself. He has brought in a poet in it, and twice heaped upon him such an impatient and extreme contempt that it sounds like a cry,—like the cry of self-contempt. Brutus, even Brutus, loses patience when the poet appears, self-important, pathetic, and obtrusive, as poets usually are—persons who seem to abound in the possibilities of greatness, even moral greatness, and nevertheless rarely attain even to ordinary uprightness in the philosophy of practice and of life. "He may know the times, *but I know his temper*,"—away with the jiggling fool!" shouts Brutus. We may translate this back into the soul of the poet that composed it.—Book ii, § 98; ed. Levy, p. 131. —Berger thus concludes: 'Shakespeare, as an ingenious dramatist of the people, seeks in Brutus for the warm human motive behind the cold, republican love of freedom, and finds that which is indicated by Nietzsche in the foregoing.'

BOISSIER (p. 309, foot-note): A very curious statue of Brutus is to be seen at the Campana Museum. The artist has not tried to idealize his model, and seems to have aimed at nothing but a vulgar exactness; but we can very well recognize in it the real Brutus. We can trace in that low forehead and the heavy bones of the face a narrow mind and an obstinate will. The face has a feverish and sickly look; it is at once young and old, and is the case with those who have never really been young. Above all, we perceive in it a strange sadness, that of a man overwhelmed by the weight of a great and fateful destiny. In the fine bust of Brutus preserved in the Museum of the Capitol the face is fuller and handsomer. The sweetness and sadness remain; the sickly look has disappeared. The features exactly resemble those on the famous medal struck during Brutus's last years, and which bears on the reverse a Phrygian cap between two daggers, with the threatening legend, *Idus Martiæ*. Michael Angelo commenced a bust of Brutus, of which the admirable rough model may be seen at the Uffizi in Florence. It was not a fancy study, and we see that he had made use of ancient portraits while idealizing them.

GOLL (p. 74): If Brutus had possessed Antony's powers when he spoke to the people, if he had had Cassius's prudence before the battle, if he had been victorious, and, after victory, had led Rome forward to the golden age of which he dreamed—the act, the murder would, nevertheless, have been the same; but would history's judgment not then have been quite different? Is it not rather the qualities lacking in him: his political dilettantism, his doctrinaire short-sightedness, his lack of understanding of the age and its demands—is it not on these that the true premises of the judgment are based?

If, on the other hand, Brutus had possessed Antony's and Cassius's abilities, would he, then, have been Brutus, the hero of liberty? Would the murder not have been far more hideous had it been carried out—not by the Brutus, who, by virtue of his faults, is ruined by it, but by a Brutus who, through his political

sagacity, conquered the world through it? In this case would not the ethical judgment have been far more damning?

Here is a yawning gulf which it is not easy to overpass. Are we to let our own judgment be guided by that of history, the judgment of the world, which estimates the act and asks: What has the man done? Or are we to follow the judgment of ethics, which analyses the motives and asks: What did the man desire to do?

A universally binding answer cannot be given. Each one must here, according to his bent, choose for himself; possibly he is the more just who never quite forgets the man in the deed. That is the reason why Shakespeare does not allow history to speak the last word over Brutus. The ethical judgment utters softer and more consolatory words over the body of Brutus.

'This was the noblest Roman of them all:
All the conspirators save only he
Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar;
He only, in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was gentle and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man."'

This was a man! Yea, as surely as the splendid power of having a conviction and following it be man's greatest possession. Maybe a play of words is hidden in the last lines:

'His life was gentle and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man."'

This was a man—but no more. In him the elements of Nature were mixed, as they are in all human beings, however much he belonged to the best amongst them all. Brutus desired to be more than man: to be the judge and avenger of justice—he paid for it with his life, because he was only a man.

And this epitaph, which coincides accurately with Tolstoy's views of life, is perhaps also a fit and proper epitaph over the political offender himself.

MACCALLUM (p. 238): Brutus has no quarrel with Cæsar as a man, and no justification is given for the conspiracy in what Cæsar has done. On the contrary, his murderer stands sponsor for his character, acknowledges his supreme greatness, and loves him as a dear friend. But neither, on the other hand, is anything introduced that might divert our sympathies from Brutus by representing him as bound by other than the voluntary ties of affection and respect. And this is the more remarkable that in Plutarch there are two particulars full of personal pathos which Shakespeare cannot have failed to note, and which lend themselves to dramatic purposes, as other dramatists have proved. One of them, employed by Voltaire, would darken the assassination to parricide. In explanation of the indulgence with which Cæsar treated Brutus, Plutarch says:

'When he was a young man, he had been acquainted with Servilia, who was extremely in love with him. And because Brutus was borne in that time when their love was hottest, he persuaded himself that he begat him.'

And then follows what can be alleged in proof. . . .

This is a mere casual hint; but the other point finds repeated mention in the life, and is dwelt upon though explained away in the comparison. It is the circumstance that Brutus had fought on Pompey's side, and that thereafter Cæsar had spared him, amnestied his friends, and loaded him with favours.

'The greatest reproache they could make against Brutus was: that Julius Cæsar having saved his life, and pardoned all the prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he made request for, taking him for his frende, and honoring him above all his other frends, Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his blood.' (*The comparison of Dion with Brutus.*)

Plutarch, indeed, instances this as the grand proof of Brutus's superiority to personal considerations; but it looks bad, and certainly introduces a new element into the moral problem. At all events, though it involves in a specially acute form that conflict of duties which the drama loves, and was so used by Shakespeare's contemporaries as early as Muret and as late as Alexander, Shakespeare dismisses it.

Attention is concentrated on the single fact that Brutus felt it his duty to take the life of Cæsar, and no obligations of kinship or gratitude are allowed to complicate the one simple case of conscience.

The victim and the sacrificer are thus set before us, each with an unstained record, and in only those personal relations that arise from warm and reverent friendship.

Of their mutual attachment we are left in no doubt, nor are we ever suffered to forget it. Cassius, in talk to himself, bears witness that Cæsar 'loves Brutus' (I, ii, 317). Antony, in his speech to the people, appeals to this as a notorious fact:

'Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel:
Judge, O you gods, how dearly Cæsar loved him.'—III, ii, 185.

But the strongest testimony is Cæsar's own cry, the cry of astonishment and consternation, whether from the betrayed when the beloved is the traitor, or from the condemned when the beloved is the judge:

'Et tu Brute? Then fall Cæsar!'—III, i, 77.

Nor is less stress laid on Brutus's feeling. He avows it in the Forum as before he had assured Antony that 'he did love Cæsar when he struck him.'—III, i, 182. Cassius tells him:

'When thou didst hate him worst, thou lovedst him better
Than ever thou lovedst Cassius.'—IV, iii, 106.

But here, again, the most pathetic evidence is to be found in the assassination scene itself. When Brutus stoops in the guise of petitioner, we cannot suppose it is merely with treacherous adroitness:

'I kiss thy hand, but not in flattery, Cæsar.'—III, i, 52.

Knowing the man, do we not feel that this is the last tender farewell?

But, though all this is true, it cannot be maintained, in view of the soliloquy before the conspirators' meeting, that Shakespeare makes Brutus the mouthpiece of republicanism, as he makes Cæsar the mouthpiece of imperialism. The opposition of principles is present, but it is of principles on a different plane.

Cæsar, the spirit of Cæsar is, indeed, the spirit of Empire, the spirit of practical greatness in the domains of war, policy, organization: of this he is the exponent,

to this he is the martyr. Brutus's spirit is rather the spirit of loyalty to duty, which finds in him its exponent and martyr too.

He is lavishly endowed by nature with all the inward qualities that go to make the virtuous man, and these he has improved and disciplined by every means in his power. His standard is high, but he is so strenuous and sincere in living up to it that he is recognized as no less pre-eminent in the sphere of ethics than Cæsar in the sphere of politics. Indeed, their different ideals dominate and impel both men in an almost equal degree. And in each case this leads to a kind of pose. It appears even in their speech. The balanced precision of the one tells its own tale as clearly as the overstrained loftiness of the other, and is as closely matched with the part that he needs must play. Obviously, Brutus does not like to confess that he has been in the wrong. No more in the *σώφρων* than in the Emperor is there room for any weakness. After his dispute with Cassius he assumes rather unjustifiably that he has, on the whole, been in the right, that he has been the provoked party, and that, at worst, he has shown momentary heat. But even this slight admission, coming from him, fills Cassius with surprise:

Brutus. When I spoke that, I was ill-temper'd too.

Cassius. Do you confess so much? Give me your hand.—IV, iii, 116.

The Ideal Wise Man must not yield to anger any more than to other passions, and it costs Brutus something to own that he has done so. But he minimizes his confession by accepting Cassius's apology for his rash humor, and promising to overlook any future offences, as though none could be laid to his own door. We like him none the worse for this; his cult of perfection becomes the assumption and obtrusion of it.

There is a conflict in this sensitive and finely tuned spirit which, with all his acquired fortitude, betrays itself in his bearing to Cassius before any foreign suggestion has entered his mind, which afterwards makes him unlike himself in his behaviour to his wife, which drives sleep from his eyes for nights together, which so jars the rare harmony of his nature, in Antony's views his chief perfection, that he seems to suffer from an insurrection within himself. And it is not hard to understand why this should be. Morality is the guiding principle of Brutus's character, but what if it should be at variance with itself? Now two sets of moral forces are at strife in his heart. There are the more personal sentiments of love and reverence for Cæsar and of detestation for the crime he contemplates. Even after his decision he feels the full horror of conspiracy with its 'monstrous visage'; how much more must he feel the horror of assassinating a friend? On the other side are the more traditional ethical obligations to state, class, and house. It is almost as fatal to this visionary to be called Brutus, as it is to the poet to be called Cinna. For a great historic name spares its bearer a narrow margin of liberty. It should be impossible for a Bourbon to be other than a legitimist; it would be impossible for a Romanoff to abandon the Orthodox Church; it is impossible for a Brutus to accept the merest show of royal power. The memory of his stock is about him. Now Cassius reminds him of his namesake who would brook the eternal devil in Rome as easily as a king; now the admonition is fixed with wax upon Old Brutus's statue; now he himself recalls the share his ancestors had in expelling the Tarquin. If such a one acquiesced in the coronation of Cæsar, he must be the basest renegade, or more detached from his antecedents than it is given a mortal man to be. And in Brutus there is no hint of such detachment. The temper that makes him so attentive and loyal to the pieties of life, is the very temper that vibrates to all that

is best in the past, and clings to the spirit of use and wont. Let it again be repeated that Brutus reveals himself to Shakespeare very much in the form of a cultured and high-souled English nobleman, the heir of great traditions and their responsibilities, which he fulfills to the smallest jot and tittle; the heir also of inevitable preconceptions.

But in Brutus there is more than individual morality and inherited ethos: there is superimposed on these the conscious philosophic theory with which his actions must be spared. He has to determine his conduct not by instinct or usage, but by impersonal, unprejudiced reason. It is to this tribunal that in the last resort he must appeal; and in that strange soliloquy of his he puts aside all private preferences on the one hand, all local considerations on the other, and discusses his difficulty quite as an abstract problem of right and wrong.

CRITICISMS.

JOHNSON: Of this tragedy many particular passages deserve regard, and the contention and reconciliation of Brutus and Cassius is universally celebrated, but I have never been strongly agitated in perusing it, and think it somewhat cold and unaffecting compared with some other of Shakespeare's plays; his adherence to the real story and to Roman manners seem to have impeded the natural vigor of his genius.

VOLTAIRE (*Theatré de Corneille*, ii, 262), in order to demonstrate to his countrymen the superiority of Corneille to Shakespeare, made a translation of the first three acts of Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.*, and this he appended to Corneille's tragedy of *Cinna*. Since both pieces dealt with a conspiracy against a ruler, any person might thus compare the treatment of the same subject by the two authors. Voltaire asserted that his translation was absolutely literal; and as Antony excited the people by showing them Cæsar's rent robes and Cæsar's body marred by traitors, even so Voltaire attempted to arouse his readers by calling attention, in foot-notes, to the many offences against elegance in diction, and the wounds inflicted by Shakespeare upon the sacred body of classic tragedy. 'Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up,' cries Antony, and thereby excites them the more; Voltaire produces much the same effect upon his readers by adding to his translation a few words wherein he begs them to pity, rather than blame, a people for ignorance of what constituted good taste. He thus states his view of the situation: 'It is astonishing that a nation celebrated for its genius and its success in the arts and sciences can be pleased with so many monstrous irregularities, and hear with delight on the one hand Cæsar expressing himself in heroic terms, or like a captain in a farce; and on the other hand, carpenters, cobblers, and senators themselves talking like market people. Our surprise will be less when we realise that, for the most part, the pieces of Lopez de Vega and of Calderon in Spain are in the same style. We shall place a translation of the *Heraclius* of Calderon beside the *Heraclius* of Corneille; and shall see the same genius as in Shakespeare, the same ignorance, the same grandeur, similar marks of imagination, the same bombast, the same coarseness, a lack of consistency equally striking, and the same mixture of the cap and bells of Gilles and the tragic buskin of Sophocles. Assuredly, Spain and England, for more than a century, have not given the cue for applause for

pieces which revolt the other nations. There can, moreover, hardly exist a greater contrast than that between English nature and Spanish nature. How then did these two different nations join together in a taste so strange? There must be a reason, and this reason must be due to natural causes. In the first place, the Spaniards have never known anything better. Secondly, there is a depth of interest in pieces so bizarre and barbarous. I saw the *Julius Cæsar* of Shakespeare acted, and I must admit that from the first scene when I heard the tribune reproaching the people for their ingratitude to Pompey and their attachment to Cæsar, Pompey's conqueror, I began to be interested, to be moved. I did not see any conspirator on the stage who did not excite my curiosity; and, in spite of so many absurd incongruities, I felt that the piece held me. In the third place, there is much that is natural: that naturalness is often low, vulgar, and barbarous. These are no Romans who are talking; they are peasants of a past age conspiring in a wine-shop; and Cæsar, who invites them to drink a bottle with him, does not in the least resemble Julius Cæsar. The absurdity is outlandish, but there is no weakness. From time to time sublime points glitter and shine forth like diamonds scattered in the mire. I must admit that I like this monstrous spectacle more than long confidences of a cold love, or political discussions yet more cold. Finally, a fourth reason which, joined to the other three, has considerable weight: men in general love the spectacular; they wish to be spoken to by the eyes; the people are pleased with pomp and ceremony, . . . and, as has been said before, the people form a large part. The mind must be very cultured and the taste formed, as that of the Italians in the sixteenth century and the French in the seventeenth, in order to wish for nothing but that which is rightly and sagaciously written, and to insist that a theatrical piece be worthy of the court of the Medici or that of Louis XIV. Unfortunately, Lopez de Vega and Shakespeare were geniuses at a time when taste was quite unformed; they corrupted that of their compatriots, who for the most part were utterly ignorant. Had we been in the like case we should have resembled those nations.'—[LOUNSBURY (*Sh. and Voltaire*, p. 232) says in regard to this translation, which is not to be confounded with Voltaire's other tragedy, *La Mort de Césaire*: 'The version of *Julius Cæsar*, taken as a whole, was much nearer a travesty than a translation. The French word for the discharge of this function, as rendered by its corresponding etymological equivalent in English, expressed both its intention and its character. Shakespeare had been traduced, not translated. The version had been craftily calculated to mislead the reader ignorant of the original. But Voltaire was eminently satisfied with what he had done. He spoke of it both then and afterward with pride. He boasted constantly of the superiority of the methods he had followed to those of La Place, whose translation of Shakespeare was still the only one to which French readers had access. That translation he censured constantly for its unfaithfulness. To D'Argental he transmitted his own in August, 1762. "I believe," he wrote, "that you will be convinced that La Place is very far from having made known the English drama. Concede that it is well to become acquainted with the excessive intemperance of its extravagance."']—See, if needful, Mrs Montague, pp. 372 et seq., and for an exhaustive account and an analysis of Voltaire's translation, Lounsbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-239.—ED.]

HAZLITT (*Characters*, etc., p. 22): *Jul. Cæs.* is not equal, as a whole, to either of Shakespeare's other plays taken from the Roman history. It is inferior in interest to *Coriol.*, and, both in interest and power, to *Ant. & Cleo.* It, however, abounds

in admirable and affecting passages, and is remarkable for the profound knowledge of character, in which Shakespeare could scarcely fail. If there is any exception to this remark, it is in the hero of the piece himself. . . . Shakespeare has in this play and elsewhere shown the same penetration into political character and the springs of public events as to those of every-day life. For instance, the whole design to liberate their country fails from the generous temper and overweening confidence of Brutus in the goodness of their cause and the assistance of others. [See, also, Hazlitt's note, II, ii, 57.]

HALLAM (iii, 87): In [*Jul. Cæs.*] the plot wants even that historical unity which the romantic drama requires; the third and fourth acts are ill connected; it is deficient in female characters, and in that combination which is generally apparent amidst all the intricacies of his fable. But it abounds in fine scenes and fine passages, the spirit of Plutarch's Brutus is well seized, the predominance of Cæsar is judiciously restrained, the characters have that individuality which Shakespeare seldom misses; nor is there, perhaps, in the whole range of ancient and modern eloquence a speech more fully realising the perfection that orators have striven to attain than that of Antony.

SCHLEGEL (p. 240): In the term action, as understood by the ancients, we must include the resolution to bear the consequences of the deed with heroic magnanimity, and the execution of this determination will belong to its completion. The pious resolve of Antigone to perform the last duties of her unburied brother is soon executed and without difficulty; but, genuineness, on which alone rests its claim to be a fit subject for a tragedy, is only subsequently proved when, without repentance and without any symptoms of weakness, she suffers death as its penalty. And to take an example from quite a different sphere, is not Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.*, as respects the action, constructed on the same principle? Brutus is the hero of the piece; the completion of his great resolve does not consist in the mere assassination of Cæsar (an action ambiguous in itself, and of which the motives might have been ambition and jealousy), but in this, that he proves himself the pure champion of Roman liberty by the calm sacrifice of his amiable life. . . .

(P. 415): Cæsar is not the hero of the piece, but Brutus. The amiable beauty of this character, his feeling and patriotic heroism, are portrayed with peculiar care. Yet the poet has pointed out with great nicety the superiority of Cassius over Brutus in independent volition and discernment in judging of human affairs; that the latter, from the purity of his mind and his conscientious love of justice, is unfit to be the head of a party in a state entirely corrupted; and that these very faults give an unfortunate turn to the cause of the conspirators. In the part of Cæsar several ostentatious speeches have been censured as unsuitable. But as he never appears in action, we have no other measure of his greatness than the impression which he makes upon the rest of the characters and his peculiar confidence in himself. In this Cæsar was by no means deficient, as we learn from history and his own writings; but he displayed it more in the easy ridicule of his enemies than in pompous discourses. The theatrical effect of this play is injured by a partial falling off at the last two acts compared with the preceding in external splendour and rapidity. The first appearance of Cæsar in festal robes, when the music stops, and all are silent whenever he opens his mouth, and when the few words which he utters are received as oracles, is truly magnificent; the conspiracy is a true conspiracy, which in stolen interviews and in the dead of night prepares the

blow which is to be struck in open day, and which is to change the constitution of the world,—the confused thronging before the murder of Cæsar, the general agitation even of the perpetrators after the deed, are all portrayed with most masterly skill; with the funeral procession and the speech of Antony the effect reaches its utmost height. Cæsar's shade is more powerful to avenge his fall than he himself was to guard against it. After the overthrow of the external splendour and greatness of the conqueror and ruler of the world, the intrinsic grandeur of character of Brutus and Cassius is all that remain to fill the stage and occupy the minds of the spectators, suitably to their name, as the last of the Romans, they stand there, in some degree alone; and the forming a great and hazardous determination is more powerfully calculated to excite our expectation than the supporting the consequences of the deed with heroic firmness.

KNIGHT (*Studies*, p. 414): At the exact period of the action of this drama, Cæsar, possessing the reality of power, was haunted by the weakness of passionately desiring the title of king. Plutarch says: 'The chiefest cause that made him mortally hated was the covetous desire he had to be called king.' This is the pivot upon which the whole action of Shakespeare's tragedy turns. There might have been another mode of treating the subject. The death of Julius Cæsar might have been the catastrophe. The republican and the monarchical principles might have been exhibited in conflict. The republican principle would have triumphed in the fall of Cæsar; and the poet would have previously held the balance between the two principles, or have claimed, indeed, our largest sympathies for the principles of Cæsar and his friends by a true exhibition of Cæsar's greatness and Cæsar's virtues. The poet chose another course. And are we, then, to talk, with ready flippancy, of ignorance and carelessness—that he wanted classical knowledge—that he gave himself no trouble? 'The fault of the character is the fault of the plot,' says Hazlitt. It would have been nearer the truth had he said: the character is determined by the plot. While Cæsar is upon the scene it was for the poet, largely interpreting the historian, to show the inward workings of 'the covetous desire he had to be called king': and most admirably, according to our notions of characterization, has he shown them. Cæsar is 'in all but name a king.' He is surrounded by all the external attributes of power; yet he is not satisfied:

'The angry spot doth glow on Cæsar's brow.'

He is suspicious—he fears. But he has acquired the policy of greatness—to seem what it is not. To his intimate friend he is an actor:

'I rather tell thee what is to be fear'd
Than what I fear; for always I am Cæsar.'

When Calphurnia has recounted the terrible portents of the night—when the augurers would not that Cæsar should stir forth—he exclaims:

'The gods do this in shame of cowardice:
Cæsar should be a beast without a heart,
If he should stay at home to-day for fear.
No, Cæsar shall not: Danger knows full well
That Cæsar is more dangerous than he.
We were two lions littered in one day.
And I the elder and more terrible;
And Cæsar shall go forth.'

But to whom does he utter this, 'the boastful language,' which so offends Boswell? To the servant who has brought the message from the augurers; before him he could show no fear. But the very inflation of his language shows that he did fear; and an instant after, when the servant no doubt is intended to have left the scene, he says to his wife—

'Mark Antony shall say I am not well,
And for thy humour, I will stay at home.'

Read Plutarch's account of the scene between Decius and Cæsar, when Decius prevails against Calphurnia, and Cæsar decides to go. In the historian we have not a hint of the splendid characterization of Cæsar struggling between his fear and his pride. Wherever Shakspeare found a minute touch in the historian that could harmonize with his general plan, he embodied it in his character of Cæsar. Who does not remember the magnificent lines which the poet puts into the mouth of Cæsar?

'Cowards die many times before their deaths;
The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear;
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come when it will come.'

A very slight passage in Plutarch, with reference to other circumstances of Cæsar's life, suggested this: 'When some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would never consent to it, but said it was better to die once than always to be afraid of death.' We have already noticed the skill with which Shakspeare, upon a very bald narrative, has dramatized the last sad scene in which Cæsar was an actor. The tone of his last speech is indeed boastful:

'I do not know but one
That unassailable holds on his rank,
Unshaked of motion: and, that I am he,
Let me a little show it.'

That Cæsar knew his power, and made others know it, who can doubt? He was not one who, in his desire to be king, would put on the robe of humility. Altogether, then, we profess to receive Shakspeare's characterization of Cæsar with a perfect confidence that he produced that character upon fixed principles of art. It is not the prominent character of the play; and it was not meant to be so. It is true to the narrative upon which Shakspeare founded it; but what is of more importance, it is true to every natural conception of what Cæsar must have been at the exact moment of his fall.

GERVINUS (ii, 324): It appears that *Jul. Cæs.* was composed before 1603, about the same time as *Hamlet*. Not alone is this confirmed by the frequent external references to Cæsar which we find in *Hamlet*, but still more by the inner relations of the two plays. These are so remarkable that, if preponderating reasons had not determined us not to separate the three Roman plays, we must have discussed *Jul. Cæs.*, for the sake of its internal relationship, close by the side of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, because it was conceived and written in the same train of thought as these two pieces. If we enter at once upon the connection of these two works with

each other, we shall reach the object of our considerations upon Cæsar in the shortest way.

In *Hamlet*, the impassioned wavering hero looked with envy on the Roman character of Horatio, who, while he suffered everything seemed to suffer nothing, who was the slave of no passion, taking with equal thanks the buffets and rewards of fortune, his 'blood and judgment well co-mingled.' If we transport this character from Christian times into heathen ages, and from Denmark into the excited public life of Rome, we have the main features of Brutus who forms the chief character in *Jul. Cæs.* Of a phlegmatic temperament, calm and serious, indifferent to amusement and pleasure, unmoved by passion, 'a lamb that carried anger, as the flint bears fire,' Brutus is born to be a stoic, and practises the principles of that school which prescribes the passive use of life and enjoins the power of endurance. Of him, as of Horatio, it is said that none knew better how to endure than he, and Messala and Cassius acknowledge this with admiration. He possesses all the virtues which constitute a noble nature; he has strengthened in himself all the virtues which practical life ripens and brings to perfection; he has won for his own all the virtues which arise out of strength of will and the dominion of the mind over the passions. In his relations to his wife and servant he is tender and mild, amiable and full of kindly consideration; in all his relations to society and to the state he is unselfish, armed with probity, incapable of flattery, unbiassed by party spirit, perfectly upright, and careful for the common weal; in his relation to himself, in his condemnation of passion, he is discreet and circumspect, never rash in action or decision, but his resolution once taken, he is invincible in spirit and action, firm and steady in carrying out his plans, and a stern ruler over inward emotions. Standing between the unmanly irresolute Hamlet and the manly overstrained Macbeth, the elements are

'So mixed in him, that nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, This was a man!'

That man, whose nature Macbeth also originally possessed, that man, who does nothing more and nothing less than what becomes a man, and who proves his manhood, above all, by mastery over himself. Shakespeare has developed this distinctive feature in Brutus by great examples. He has endowed him with a nature as profound and with feelings as powerful and as excitable as Hamlet and Macbeth, but the poet has concealed the uncommon intensity of these emotions under the veil of heroic calmness, and behind the accepted character of the determined politician. We scarcely perceive the uneasiness which disturbs him within in those passages where, at the beginning of the conspiracy and towards the conclusion of it, he envies the careless sleep of his boy Lucius. Little adapted for dissimulation, he tells the conspirators to perform their parts steadily, like clever actors, and he sets them a good example. When they think their plans are betrayed by Popilius Lena, Cassius is about to kill himself, but Brutus calmly looks the suspected person in the face and observes that he is not dangerous. He conceals the project from his wife until he has heroic proof of her discretion. The early death of this beloved wife overwhelms him with 'grief and blood ill-tempered,' and makes him more ready to quarrel with Cassius than is his nature, but immediately after he is able to conceal Portia's death from Messala, that the tidings may not shake his courage. Over the body of Cassius nature demands her rights, but he puts off the debt of tears until another time that his personal anguish may not endanger the public cause. All these striking features of a sharply drawn char-

acter are without display and are almost silently indicated in the piece; no more laconic characterization has Shakespeare ever made use of than in this laconic Roman who performs the greatest deeds with the utmost simplicity, and uses the fewest words over the grandest actions.

The play under consideration is a most striking variation on the theme of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, and gives us a new and remarkable proof of the depth and many-sidedness with which Shakespeare thought out and elaborated any problem he had once seized upon. A deed of as great, nay greater, weight than that demanded of Hamlet or planned by Macbeth is laid on this pattern of a man,—the murder of a hero who had increased the greatness of Rome as much as he had endangered her freedom. It is a deed of a nature doubtful in itself which is required of him, not one decidedly right or decidedly wrong, like that to which Hamlet was called and to which Macbeth was tempted. The uncertainty, the doubt, the discord lay in the other instances in the men themselves, here it lies in the thing itself, and is only from thence transferred to an even, clear, and right-judging mind. Hamlet was urged to a just revenge, he was called to punish a wrong committed, he ventured not to take the first and only step, he scarcely desired the end, and the means still less. Macbeth feels himself tempted to murder and treachery, to the performance of a wrong not yet committed, he shudders at both end and means, but as soon as he is resolved, he takes with the first step all the ensuing ones; as soon as he is determined as to the end, he adopts the means also, grasping even more than is necessary. Brutus is persuaded by his friends to take part in a murder and conspiracy, as he himself calls it, for the restoration of freedom; his task is to prevent an injustice as yet only apprehended on Cæsar's part; he desires the end, but only the means most necessary for attaining it; he takes the first step, but not the second and third; whereas he should either not have taken the first, or he should also have taken others. With him it is not a disturbance of nature in consequence of an unequal temperament, and thus, resulting from this, a sin of omission, as with Hamlet; it is not a disorderly, exaggerated discord, and, after its removal, a crime, as with Macbeth, but after the quiet manly consideration of an equivocal task, it is a deed unrepented, but atoned for, which from the end in view and the means used was a fault, an error, and as such was revenged upon his own head.

If in *Hamlet* the aim of the poet was to treat the relation of the intellectual to the active nature in a thoroughly human sense, in the history of *Jul. Cæs.* the tendency is rather political: to depict the collision of moral against political duties. The struggle between the humanity of a noble and gentle nature and the political principles of an energetic character, between personal feelings and public duty, this is the soul of this play, and the most interesting point of the situation in which Brutus is placed.

RÜMELIN (p. 137): Among the Roman dramas, *Jul. Cæs.* is the most complete, and stands, moreover, in close proximity to the highest achievements of the Poet. It is not only rich in beautiful detail, but the action throughout is well constructed and intelligible. Few and far between are the indications that the Poet moved with a lack of sureness among classic surroundings. Thus, for example, in the first scene a Tribune of the People ordering them to return to their houses asks whether they are ignorant of the fact that workpeople must not walk upon a labouring day without the sign of their profession; such a police regulation in a republic of that time is inconceivable; likewise that Cicero in a popular gathering should speak in

Greek. The sketch of Cæsar himself may serve as an example that it is an unprofitable task—if not well-nigh impossible—to place upon the stage a character celebrated in history. Great historic achievements presuppose that a man in difficult situations, among many possible and plausible solutions, undeceived by conflicting counsels, chooses with judgment sure and swift and brings to completion that one which best serves the purpose he is pursuing. Such does not, however, lend itself to dramatic treatment, especially as it provides too much realistic detail, and the poet is not usually endowed with that class of intellect necessary for the purpose—he would hardly be a poet if he were. Thus it happens that great men are commonly shown on the stage using big words. These, however, usually sound but inflated and Thrasonical, and this especially applies to Shakespeare's Cæsar. That he refers to himself so often in the third person sounds offensively to us; likewise when he declares it beneath him that the Senate should be told that he cannot come; Decius must simply say: 'Cæsar does not wish to come.' He could not threaten to 'spurn as a dog out of his way' a Roman Senator who prayed pardon for a brother's banishment; when another repeats this request Cæsar could not have replied 'Wilt thou hold up Olympus?' Had the poet read but a single chapter of Cæsar's *Commentaries* he would not have assigned to his hero such ill-bred, bragging words. To us it is somewhat striking that two really great men, Frederic and Napoleon, did not admire Shakespeare's historic dramas; they knew only too well that a great victory is not won after the fashion of Henry V. at Agincourt, and that great men neither speak nor act as Cæsar, Antony, and Coriolanus. Furthermore, it will not pass for a portrayal and habit of that period, if the hostile generals personally encounter before the battle merely in order to abuse each other and make threats as did the Homeric heroes. In the celebrated tent-scene between Brutus and Cassius our final feeling is that the contention had gone too far to admit of a reconciliation quite so sudden. If one friend has accused another of base action and threatens chastisement, such words cannot be simply wiped out as with a sponge, and to set matters right again with family afflictions as an excuse one should be in a more depressed mood. Even here the full tide of feeling corresponding to the momentary aim compels the Poet, though submerged in details, to bring the conflict, each situation and each part, to fullest expression along the proper lines.

FREYTAG (p. 253): Let the judgments be tested which for a hundred years have been pronounced in Germany on the character of Julius Cæsar, and the glad approval with which our contemporaries accept the noble effects of this piece. Brutus, the warm-hearted youth, the noble, the patriotic, is hero; an honest commentator sees in Cæsar, the great, the immovable character, superior to all, a politician by profession, rejoices in the ironical, inconsiderate severity with which, from the introduction forward, the poet has treated Brutus and Cassius as impractical fools, and their conspiracy as a silly venture of incapable aristocrats. The actor of judgment at length finds in the same Cæsar, whom his commentator has held up to him as a pattern of the possessor of power, a hero inwardly wounded to death, a soul in which the illusion of greatness has devoured the very joints and marrow. Who is right? Each of them. And yet each of them has the notion that the characters are not entirely a mixture of incongruous elements, artfully composed or in any way untrue. Each of them feels distinctly that they are excellently created, live on the stage most effectively; and the actor himself feels this most strongly, even if the secret of Shakespeare's poetic power should not be entirely understood.

HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, p. 242): As a whole, this play is several degrees inferior to *Coriol.* Admirable as is the characterization regarded individually, still, in respect of dramatic composition, the play does not, to my mind, stand among the Poet's masterpieces. But it abounds in particular scenes and passages fraught with the highest virtue of his genius. Among these may be specially mentioned the second scene of the first Act, where Cassius lays the egg of the conspiracy in Brutus's mind, warmed with such a wrappage of instigation as to assure of its being quickly hatched. Also, the first scene of the second Act, unfolding the birth of the Conspiracy, and winding up with the interview, so charged with domestic glory, of Brutus and Portia. The oration of Antony in Cæsar's funeral is such an interfusion of art and passion as realizes the very perfection of its kind. Adapted at once to the comprehension of the lowest mind and to the delectation of the highest and running its pathos into the very quick of them that hear it, it tells with terrible effect on the people; and when it is done we feel that Cæsar's bleeding wounds are mightier than ever his genius and fortune were. The quarrel of Brutus and Cassius is deservedly celebrated. Dr Johnson thought it 'somewhat cold and unaffecting.' Coleridge thought otherwise. I am content to err with Coleridge here, if it be an error. But there is nothing in the play that seems to be more divinely touched than the brief scene of Brutus and his boy Lucius. The gentle and loving nature of Brutus is there out in its noblest and sweetest transpiration. [See note on IV, iii, 293.]

VON FRIESEN (iii, 218) refers to the view of Gervinus in regard to the similarity between the characters of Brutus and Hamlet and thus comments: 'There are to be found, in both great tragedies, points which will not permit the dismissal of the conjecture that Shakespeare carried both conceptions in his inmost being and, with but a short interval between, brought them both forth. The earlier date of composition for one as well as the other does not militate against this conjecture, and whether one were the older or younger is of no consequence. The principal similarity between Brutus and Hamlet lies, nevertheless, in their mutual inclination to regard all questions and circumstances of life from the ideal rather than the practical side. The depth of nature from which this habit arises exercises upon us a peculiar magic of attractive power. We feel and suffer with Brutus in the selfsame way as with Hamlet, although they both proceed from their natural dispositions and mode of action in complete contrast to each other. Inasmuch as Brutus condenses his overflowing thoughts and ideas by the energy of his will-power into short brief words, as though in accord with an inflexible resolution, he could not so lose himself as does Hamlet, who through a similar richness of thought and feeling is ever ready in wavering indecision for talk ingenious and profound, yet is not in the position to form an energetic resolution. The genius of Shakespeare has worked most wonderfully towards Nature's handicraft, he has brought out in the character of Brutus an ever-rising mildness and loveliness, a determined denial to bitterness and cruelty, in distinction to Hamlet who, with similar natural talents, loses himself in fanatical bitterness and acrimony, indeed, even in cruelty. In spite of this marked opposition of one individuality to the other, nevertheless the innermost source of tragic fate for both is one and the same. Had Brutus but looked upon the intrusive resolution, to free his country from tyranny, not merely from the ideal standpoint, the death of Antonius—probably also that of Octavius—would have seemed to him an unavoidable necessity. That this oversight bitterly revenged itself upon him, in the relinquishing of the interment to Antonius, Shakespeare might well have learned from Plutarch, but

the words are the work of his genius as also the conduct of Brutus directly after the assassination; his speech in the forum, and likewise the energy of his righteous indignation at the unworthy behaviour of Cassius.

DOWDEN (p. 285): In *Jul. Cæs.* Shakspeare makes a complete imaginative study of the case of a man predestined to failure, who, nevertheless retains to the end the moral integrity which he prized as his highest possession, and who with each new error advances a fresh claim upon our admiration and our love. To maintain the will in a fruitful relation with fact, that was what Romeo could not do because he brooded over things, as they reflected and repeated themselves in his own emotions; what Hamlet could not do because he would not or could not come into direct contact with events, but studied them as they endlessly repeated and reflected themselves in his own thinking. Henry V. had been a ruler of men because, possessing a certain plain genius for getting into direct relation with concrete fact, and possessing also entire moral soundness, his will, his conscience, his intellect, and his enthusiasms had all been at one and had all tended to action. Shakspeare's admiration of the great men of action is immense because he himself was primarily not a man of action. He is stern to all idealists because he was aware that he might too easily yield himself to the tendencies of an idealist. . . . But with his sternness there is mingled a passionate tenderness. He shows us remorselessly their failure, but, when they fail, we love them.

ULRICI (p. 195): In the historical drama the interest—if it is to be historical—must, above all things, be truly historical, then it will be truly poetic as well. History, however, in a certain sense does not trouble itself about persons; its chief interest is in historical facts and their meaning. Now in *Jul. Cæs.* we have absolutely only one point of interest, a true, but variously jointed unity. One and the same thought is reflected in the fall of Cæsar, in the deaths of Brutus and Cassius, and in the victory of Antony and Octavius. No man, even though he were as mighty as Cæsar and as noble as Brutus, is sufficiently great to guide history according to his own will; every one, according to his vocation, may contribute his stone to the building of the grand whole, but let no one presume to think that he can, with impunity, experiment with it. The great Cæsar, however, merely experimented when he allowed the royal crown to be offered to him, and then rejected it thrice against his own will. He could not curb his ambition—this history might perhaps have pardoned—but he did not understand her, and attempted that which he, at the time at least, did not yet wish. The consequence of this error which was entirely his own, the consequence of this arrogant presumption which the still active republican spirit, the old Roman love and pride of freedom, stirred up against him, proved his downfall. But Brutus and Cassius erred also by imagining that Rome could be kept in its glory and preserved from its threatening ruin simply by the restoration of the republic; as if the happiness, the power, and the greatness of a state depended upon its form, and as if a single man could repair a nation's demoralization by a mere word of command. And as Cæsar had thought life unendurable without the outward dignity of the royal throne, so they imagined life not worth having without the honour of outward freedom, for they confounded outward with inward moral freedom, or, at all events, omitted to consider that the former can exist only as the result and expression of the latter. They, too, experimented with history; Cassius trusted that his ambitious and selfish will, and Brutus, that his noble and self-sacrificing will,

would be strong enough to direct the course of history. For both felt that the moral spirit of the Roman nation had sunk too deep to be able in future to govern itself as a Republic; Cassius knew, Brutus suspected, that the time of the Republic was coming to an end. But in their republican pride and feeling their republican honour hurt, they thought themselves called upon to make an attempt to save it, they trusted to their power to be able, as it were, to take it upon their shoulders and so keep its head above water. This was the arrogance which was added to the error, and which spurred them on not only to unreasonable undertakings, but to commit a criminal act; and, therefore, they doubly deserved the punishment which befell them. Antony, on the other hand, with Octavius and Lepidus—the talented voluptuary, the clever actor and the good-natured simpleton—although not half so powerful and noble as their opponents, come off victorious, because, in fact, they but followed the course of history, and knew how to make use of it. Thus in all the principal parts we have the same leading thought, the same unity in the (historical) interest, except that it is reflected in various ways. But it also shines forth in the secondary parts in Portia's death, as well as in the fall of Cato, Cicero, and the other conspirators; Portia and Cato perish with the noble but erring Brutus, who desires only what is good; the others with the selfish Cassius, who thinks only of himself. All perish because they do not understand, but endeavoured arbitrarily to make history or, as arbitrarily, went round the problem which had to be solved in its own time and 'spoke Greek.' Thus history appears represented from one of its main aspects, in its inner autocratic, active, and formative power, by which, although externally formed by individual men, it nevertheless controls and marches over the heads of the greatest of them.

This is the general, ideal point of view from which history appears here to be conceived, and also to determine the fate of the dramatic characters. The special historical condition upon which the whole is founded is again one of the transition stages in political life, one of the most interesting points of history, both in a poetical and historical respect. As *Coriolanus* forms the transition from the aristocratic to the democratic form of government, here it is the transition from the republican to the monarchical, the latter being demanded by the historical circumstances as their stimulating and formative principle. This transition, according to its idea and the position of things, required an intermediate stage between the republican and the monarchical form, the oligarchical form which had been aimed at ever since the days of Sulla, but had hitherto not been able to obtain a legal existence. Regarded from this point of view, Cæsar's death was the necessary consequence of his antihistorical attempt to leap over his intermediate stage. Cæsar was, in reality, right; monarchy had become a necessity, an historical right. But history will not tolerate any bounds, and where such are made with violence, they are again corrected by retrogressions, so-called reactions. It was, accordingly, the oligarchical principle, represented by Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, that in reality gained the victory over Cæsar—the representative of the monarchy which was still a thing of the future—as well as over Brutus and Cassius, the representatives of the Republic which was already a thing of the past. It conquered because it had the right of the immediate present on its side.

But it may be asked, What is the meaning of the introduction of spirits into an historical drama? Does it not, in the present case, appear a mere dramatic *bonne bouche* for the multitude? Shakspeare found the ghosts in Plutarch, and retained them in accordance with his principle of following the historical tradition as faithfully as possible, but assuredly not merely out of regard for the historical subject-

matter, but doubtless also because it appeared to him to be an important symbol, a significant reference to the actual motive and leading thought in the historical events, and because it, at the same time seemed to indicate the point where the historico-political cause meets the ethical and moral cause. This is why Shakespeare makes the ghost—which according to Plutarch appears to Brutus 'as his evil genius'—assume the likeness of Cæsar; this is why—as in Plutarch—he makes it appear to Brutus and not to Cassius. Brutus is of a peaceful and tranquil disposition, truly noble in mind, devoted to the ethical principles of stoicism, desiring only the good and the welfare of his country, a worthy and faithful husband to his high-minded wife, a patriot ready for any sacrifice, but little inclined for energetic action and still less for political activity. Yet he nevertheless allows himself to be so far deluded by Cassius's seductive artifices and well-calculated eloquence, by the republican fame of his own race—which he thinks it his duty to maintain—and by his own pride in his dignity as a man—which will not bow to any single individual, not even to a Cæsar—that not only does he not see or ignore the evident signs of the times, but determines (even though after great inward struggles) to commit a deed the worth of which, in a political respect, is extremely doubtful, because extremely doubtful in its consequences, and which, from a moral point of view, is undoubtedly equal to a crime. For, apart from the fact that every delicate sense of moral feeling must revolt with horror from a treacherous murder (even though politically justifiable). Brutus, like Coriolanus, tramples upon the most natural and the noblest emotions of the human heart—the duty of gratitude, of esteem, and loyalty to Cæsar—for the sake of the phantom-honour of free citizenship. He murders a man who is not only politically great, but who, as a man, had always proved himself great and noble, and who had more especially overwhelmed him with kindness, with proofs of his affection and high esteem. On the other hand, Brutus was the soul of the conspiracy; if his mind became confused, his courage unnerved, the whole enterprise must inevitably collapse. And it did collapse because it was as much opposed to the moral law as to the will of history.

Accordingly, Shakespeare allows the ghost to play a part in the drama in order to point out this twofold crime. It appears but once and utters a few, pregnant words; but we continually feel that it is hovering in the background, like a dark thundercloud; it is, so to say, the offended spirit of history itself, which, in fact, not only avenges political crimes, but visits ethical transgressions with equal severity. This spirit, as it were, perpetually holds up before our view the moral wrong in the murder of Cæsar, as well as the political right which he had on his side owing to the necessity of the monarchy, and points to the fact that even the triumph of the oligarchical principle is but transitory, oligarchy itself but a transition stage. A similar intention induced Shakespeare to introduce the spectral apparitions in his *Richard III*, for both of these dramas occupy the same historical stage, both represent turning points in history, the end of an old and the beginning of a new state of things; they also exhibit a certain affinity from an ethical point of view.

SNIDER (ii, 240): This drama may be said to exhibit the Ethical World of Shakespeare in its highest form, as well as in its most accurate gradation. Three typical characters are brought before us participating in the revolution of a great epoch. Domestic life is placed in the remote background, where, however, in the person of Portia, it shines through the tempest of political strife with a divine beauty.

We now behold the Poet rising to the serenest elevation of historical insight, in which the nation is only a transitory element in the great movement of Universal History.

But first it would perhaps be well to enumerate some of the elements which belong to this Ethical World of Shakespeare. Those most obvious and most commonly recognized are the Individual, Family, and State. . . . For instance, a person may assert the right of individual conscience—a certain valid principle against the majesty of law, which is the command of the State; or, like Antigone, may prefer duty towards Family to obedience to civil authority; or, finally, there may be a still higher collision—that between the defenders of the State on the one hand, and the supporters of the World Spirit on the other. Such is the collision between nations struggling for independence and their conquerors. . . .

Now, it is just this collision which Shakespeare has presented in *Jul. Cæs.* For Cæsar is the representative of the World Spirit; he appears upon the stage of History as the destroyer of his country's liberties; hence the great conflict of his life was with the State. It is, indeed, this fact which has caused him to be calumniated by nearly twenty centuries of writers and speakers. But note that Shakespeare does not join in this cry of execration. To him Cæsar's career is not political, but world-historical; not limited to a single state, but having the World as its theatre. To him Cæsar stands at the head of that eternal and infinite movement in whose grasp the nations are playthings. But, on the other hand, let us not forget that this movement was nothing external to Rome—it was the movement of Rome herself; the Roman Constitution was sapped perhaps before the birth of Cæsar. He only carried out the unconscious national will; he saw what Rome needed, and possessed the strength to execute it, and this is his greatness—and, in fact, the only real political greatness. That one man can overturn the form of government permanently, against the will and spirit of a whole people, is preposterous. That such was not Shakespeare's view is shown by the termination of the play—the conspirators are overthrown and the supporters of Cæsar are unsuccessful.

There are three leading moments in the drama: First, Cæsar in the consummation of his world-historical career on the pinnacle of his power and glory; second, the reaction of the State against him, headed by Cassius; third, the negation of this reaction through the restoration and absolute validity of the Cæsarian movement. Hence we see that Cæsar is the real hero, and that the piece is justly entitled *Julius Cæsar*. We also see that the collision is between the World Spirit and the Nation, and that in this struggle three typical characters participate, forming a complete cyclüs of characterization. Cæsar represents the world-historical standpoint; Cassius, the political; Brutus, the moral. Cæsar perishes; the ancient national sentiment rises up for a moment and destroys the individual, for, being of flesh and blood, an assassin may rush upon him and stab him to the heart—but his thought is not thus doomed to perish. Next to him comes Cassius, whose great mistake was that he still had faith in his country—a pardonable error, if any, to mortals! He did not, and perhaps could not, rise above the purely political point of view; to him the State was the ultimate ethical principle of the Universe. Hence he did not comprehend the world-historical movement represented by Cæsar, but collided with it and was destroyed. He is, indeed, a painful, deeply tragic character; with all his greatness, devotion, and intelligent activity—still finite and short-sighted. The mistake of Brutus is that he had anything to do with the matter at all—that

he took a part—or, at least a leading part—in this revolution. The collision lay wholly beyond his mental horizon; hence he represents nothing objective—is the bearer of no greatest ethical principle, like Cæsar and Cassius. He presumed to lead when he was intellectually in total darkness, trusting alone to his own good intentions. We do not blame him because he was ignorant, but because he did not know that he was ignorant. Every rational being must at least comprehend its own limits—must know that it does not know. We may laud the motive, but lament the deed; still, man, as endowed with Reason and Universality, cannot run away from his act and hide himself behind his intention, but must take the inherent consequences of his deed in their total circumference.

Brutus is, no doubt, the sphinx of the play, and has given much trouble to critics on account of the contradictions of his character. He seems both moral and immoral—to be actuated by the noblest motives for the public good, yet can give no rational ground for his act. Indeed, we are led to believe that his vanity was so swollen by the flattery of Cassius that it hurried him unconsciously beyond the pale of his convictions. Still, Brutus was undoubtedly a good citizen, a good husband, and a good man. But any one of these three relations may come into conflict with the others. Which, then, is to be followed? If a man has not subordinated these spheres into a system—which can be done only by Intelligence—he cannot tell what course to pursue. Sometimes he may follow one, sometimes another, for in his mind they all possess equal validity. Hence such a person can only be inconsistent, vacillating, and contradictory in his actions; and such a person was Brutus—a good, moral man, who recognized all duties, but did not comprehend their limitations, and, hence, fell beneath their conflict.

STAFFER (p. 318): *Hamlet* and *Jul. Cæs.* stand to each other in a far closer relationship than that implied by stray reminiscences and details; they belong to the same current of reflections and ideas, and the poet's thought in each lies in the same direction. In the earlier one, Shakespeare has drawn a noble nature grappling with a duty enforced in no actual and binding category, and which, from its doubtful and uncertain character, deeply troubles the conscience of the hero, who questions and considers and weighs it over and over again. Brutus has a passionate love for justice, but is led astray by the exacting demands of a too delicate and lofty soul. In the other tragedy the same note is again struck, but with this considerable variation, that with *Hamlet*, although the duty is more imperious, yet his uncertainty is greater; he, too, thirsts after the Ideal, but with him the generous instincts of the heart are mingled with all the graceful refinements and superb disgusts, all the baffling turns of an oversubtle brain, and the end of his hesitations is a rapid moral decadence. Brutus, after his deliberation, acts resolutely; he greatly errs, but he preserves our esteem and sympathy to the end. *Hamlet*—always deliberating—errs in a far graver manner by never acting at all, and our respect for him finally goes. Both of them are men of meditative and studious nature, called by circumstances to a line of action repugnant to their whole character. But of this deep inner affinity that unites *Hamlet* with *Julius Cæsar*, there is none between *Julius Cæsar* and the two later Roman tragedies. *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, both written about the same time, proceed from an entirely new order of thoughts and reflections, their motive being the portrayal of selfishness, which in the one case presents itself in an amiable, open, and attractive character, and in the other in a proud and reserved one. All these plays are pre-eminently ethical studies, not historical sketches.

FLEAY (*Life of Sh.*, p. 215): The structure of this play is remarkable; the first three acts and last two have no characters in common except Brutus, Cassius, Antony, and Lucius; there are, in fact, two plays in one, *Cæsar's Tragedy* and *Cæsar's Revenge*. Contemporary plays by other dramatists were produced in a double pattern, e. g., Maston's *Antonio and Mellida*, in two parts; Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, in two parts; Kyd's old play of *Jeronymo*, in two parts. All these were on the stage at the same time as *Jul. Cæs.* Revⁿge-plays, with ghosts in them, were the rage for the next four years. That the present play has been greatly shortened is shown by the singularly large number of instances in which mute characters are on the stage, which is totally at variance with Shakespeare's usual practice. The large number of incomplete lines in every possible position, even in the middle of speeches, confirms this.

MOULTON (*Sh. as Dram. Art.*, p. 183): To catch the Grouping of Characters in *Jul. Cæs.* it must be contemplated in the light of the antithesis between the outer and inner life. In Brutus the antithesis disappears amid the perfect balancing of his character, to reappear in the action when Brutus has to choose between his cause and his friend. In Cæsar the practical life only is developed, and he fails as soon as action involves the inner life. Cassius has the powers of both outer and inner life perfect, and they are fused into one master-passion, morbid but unselfish. Antony has carried to an even greater perfection the culture of both lives, and all his powers are concentrated in one purpose, which is purely selfish. In the action in which this group of personages is involved the determining fact is the change that has come over the spirit of Roman life, and introduced into its public policy the element of personal aggrandisement and personal risk. The new spirit works upon Brutus: the chance of winning political liberty by the assassination of one individual just overbalances his moral judgment, and he falls. Yet in his fall he is glorious: the one false judgment of his life brings him what is more to him than victory, the chance of maintaining the calmness of principle amid the ruins of a falling cause, and showing how a Stoic can fail and die. The new spirit affects Cæsar and tempts him into a personal enterprise in which success demands a meanness that he lacks, and he is betrayed to his fall. Yet in his fall he is glorious: the assassins' daggers purge him from the stain of his momentary personal ambition, and the sequel shows that the Roman world was not worthy of a ruler such as Cæsar. The spirit of the age affects Cassius, and fans his passion to work itself out to his own destruction, and he falls. Yet in his fall he is glorious: we forgive him the lowered tone of his political action when we see by the spirit of the new rulers how desperate was the chance for which he played, and how Cassius and his loved cause of republican freedom expire together. The spirit of the age which has wrought upon the rest is controlled and used by Antony, and he rises on their ruins. Yet in his rise he is less glorious than they in their fall: he does all for self; he may claim, therefore, the prize of success, but in goodness he has no share beyond that he is permitted to be the passive instrument of punishing evil.

J. M. BROWN (p. 25): Though Shakespeare paid no attention to the unities nor consciously followed the rules of classical art, this play approaches more nearly to a Greek tragedy in its exclusion of humor, its introduction of the fury or spirit of revenge, its unfigurative strength of diction, and its statuesque art than any other of his tragedies. There is none of the exuberance of wisdom and poetry, none of

the overflow of thought and character, none of the tragic humor that we find in *Hamlet* or *Lear*. We see him holding the reign upon his imagination. His passion never overcomes him or leads him to heights whence he may contemplate all existence and its deeper problems. He was too absorbed in realising a state of society, and a form of character so different from what he knew and worked in, to give expression to the racking thoughts that were beginning to harass his nature. . . . [p. 77]: In no other play except *Coriol.*, which is also from Plutarch, has Shakespeare used his original with such reverence as to adopt almost all its features and tone. He has resorted to no other source for his material. He seems to have accepted it as entirely ready for the dramatic mould. And in history, without a doubt, the dramatist is at the mercy of the historian he reads if the historian is popular; he must retain the traditional facts and even views of the facts. His whole genius must be spent on the scenes so that they shall be vivid and easily represented, on the characters and their relations to each other, and on the wisdom and poetry he puts into their mouths.

And closely as we feel the incidents, and the characters, and even their speeches in the play follow the narratives of Plutarch, still we recognize that there is a wealth of genius spent upon it, that Shakespeare has written his undoubted sign-manual across the page. He has made it so noble and statuesque in its art that critics almost incline to place it in this respect above his other and greater tragedies. He has caught the spirit of the staunch Roman republican and interpreted his ideals so as to ennoble them. He takes the Brutus of Plutarch and, without seeming to change the spirit of the original, makes him 'the noblest Roman of them all,' he chisels out of the crude and sometimes inconsistent material a statue worthy to be placed in the shrine of the ages.

To begin with, the relations of Brutus to Cæsar are not altogether plain or satisfactory; if the conquerer is not his friend and adorer, then half the tragedy of the death is gone. In the narrative the would-be king is made to distrust Brutus, and to have his mind poisoned by tales against him; he fears 'these pale and lean men,' meaning both Brutus and Cassius. The poet rejects this feature and makes the friendship between the two of the noblest; into Cassius he gathers up the offensive touches of the picture; only to Cassius is the remark about lean men made to apply. And from some other source than Plutarch (probably Suetonius's lives of the Cæsars, where the expression is quoted in Greek), however, he introduces the striking phrase 'et tu Brute,' adding himself, 'then fall Cæsar'; who can measure how much this deepens the tragedy? It turns the assassination as far as Brutus is concerned from a vulgar conspiracy against an ambitious tyrant into the mistake of a lofty spirit after long spiritual struggle. The sleeplessness that haunts the patriot in the original, as only physical fatigue from constant exertion and trouble, is raised into new significance, it is the result of the conflict within him between friendship and patriotism. The last stroke that Brutus gives the victim is vulgarized in Plutarch; here it is spiritualized and greatness by the tragic surprise of the loyal friend disillusioned; here the last moments of the tyrant are made immortal by his willing surrender of a life that had not an unsullied friendship, a loyal Brutus in it.

MINTO (p. 304): There are passages in *Julius Cæsar* and *Coriolanus* almost as bombastic as anything to be found in Shakespeare's dramatic predecessors. Cæsar's bearing in the interview with the conspirators, when they beg the repeal of Publius Cimber's banishment, is not less lofty than Tamburlaine's inflation, though more calm and dignified:

'Know Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
Will he be satisfied.'

And the speech beginning,

'I could be well moved, if I were as you,'

may not be an offence against the modesty of nature, but, taken by itself, is an offence against the modesty of art. The boasts and brags of Coriolanus out-Herod the Herod of the mysteries. For example (I, i, 200),

'Would the nobility lay aside their truth,
And let me use my sword, I'd make a quarry
With thousands of these quarter'd slaves, as high
As I could pick my lance.'

And (IV, v, 112):

'Let me twine
Mine arms about that body, where against
My grained ash an hundred times hath broke
And scarr'd the moon with splinters.'

It is a noticeable circumstance that these inflated speeches—as well as one or two in *Antony and Cleopatra*—are put in the mouths of Roman heroes. I am not quite sure that this is not one explanation and justification of them; they may have been Shakespeare's ideal of what appertained to the Roman character. But apart from their being true to the Roman manner, they may be justified also on the principle of variety. It must have been a relief to Shakespeare's mind, ever hungry for fresh types of character, to expiate in the well-marked, high-astounding ideal; and it is equally a relief to the student or spectator who may have followed his career and dwelt with appreciative insight on his varied representation of humanity. This is the broadest justification; if we consider more curiously, other justifications make themselves palpable. The inflation of Coriolanus and Cæsar is not, like Tamburlaine's, presented to us as a thing unquestioned and admired by those around them, as being, for aught said upon the stage to the contrary, the becoming language of heroic manhood. The violent language of Coriolanus is deprecated by his friends, and raises a furious antagonism in his enemies. Side by side with Cæsar's high conception of himself, we have the humorous expression of his greatness by blunt Casca and the sneering of cynical Cassius. In the case of Cæsar, too, there is a profound contrast between his lofty declaration of immovable constancy and the immediate dethronement of the god to lifeless clay. We must not take the rant of Cæsar, Coriolanus, or Antony by itself simply as rant, and wish, with Ben Jonson, that it had been blotted out. We must consider whether it does not become the Roman character; we must remember that a varied artist like Shakespeare may be allowed an occasional rant as a stretch to powers weary of the ordinary level; and, above all, we must observe how it is regarded by other personages in the drama—in what light it is presented to the audience.

MABIE (p. 296): In point of style *Jul. Cæs.* marks the culmination of Shakespeare's art as a dramatic writer. The ingenuity of the earlier plays ripened in a rich and pellucid flexibility; the excess of imagery gave place to a noble richness of speech; there is deep-going coherence of structure and illustration; constructive instinct has

passed on into the ultimate skill which is born of complete identification of thought with speech, of passion with utterance of action with character. The long popularity of the play was predicted by Shakespeare in the words of Cassius:

‘How many ages hence
Shall this, our lofty scene be acted over
In States unborn and accents yet unknown.’

The great impression made by *Jul. Cæs.* in a field which Jonson regarded as his own probably led to the writing of *Sejanus*, which appeared two years later, and of *Catiline*, which was produced in 1611. A comparison of these plays dealing with Roman history brings into clear relief the vitalizing power of Shakespeare’s imagination in contrast with the conscientious and scholarly craftsmanship of Jonson. In *Sejanus* almost every incident and speech, as Mr Knight has pointed out, is derived from ancient authorities, and the dramatist’s own edition of the play was packed with references like a text-book. The characters speak with admirable correctness after the manner of their time, but they do not live. Brutus, Cassius, Antony, Portia, on the other hand, talk and act like living creatures, and the play is saturated with the spirit and enveloped in the atmosphere of Rome.

SCHELLING (ii, 23): *Jul. Cæs.* is one of the most regularly constructed of the tragedies of Shakespeare, excelling greater plays in the uniform adequacy of its diction and in the evenness and finish of its workmanship. Essentially ornate although the art of Shakespeare is, in this tragedy he seems to have caught by inspiration the atmosphere of dignity and restraint which we habitually associate with the republic of ancient Rome; and this even although his picture is made up at times of details open to stricture at the hands of the classical purist and specialist in archæology.

STAGE HISTORY.

That *Jul. Cæs.* was one of the most popular plays at the time of its composition we may infer from the manner in which Digges refers to certain passages in his commendatory verses in the Folio. As to its earliest recorded performance, Malone (*Var.* ’21, vol. ii, p. 450) says: ‘It appears by the papers of the late Mr George Vertue that a play called *Cæsar’s Tragedy* was acted at court before the 10th of April in the year 1613. This was probably Shakespeare’s *Jul. Cæs.* It being much the fashion at that time to alter the titles of his plays.’ Malone’s conjecture is, no doubt, borne out by circumstantial evidence, not only as to Shakespeare, but as to almost all other authors of that time. The extraordinary Diary kept by Philip Henslowe furnishes many examples of perversions and phonetic abbreviations of titles of plays and names of writers with whom he had dealings while proprietor of the Rose Theatre, between the years 1597 and 1603. A transcript of those parts of Henslowe’s *Diary* which Malone considered worthy of preservation is given in the *Variorum* of ’21 (vol. iii, pp. 294–328), and more recently the whole has been printed under the able editorship of W. W. Greg. Sir Henry Herbert was Master of the Revels from 1623 until the closing of the theatres in 1642, his roll of plays performed at court—although it does not cover every year—is a fair index to the popularity of those works publicly produced during that period. Under date 31 January, 1636, *Julius Cæsar* is entered as having been acted at St James; and this is the only play by Shakespeare recorded by Herbert within those nineteen years.

Among the fifteen old plays enumerated by Downes, the prompter, as forming the repertoire of the King's Company at the Theatre Royal between 1660 and 1830, *Julius Cæsar*, with one or two other of Shakespeare's plays, is mentioned. Downes also records that Bell acted the part of Cæsar, from which fact Genest (i, 339) argues that this play 'must have been revived about 1671.' It is much to be regretted that the Index to Genest's *Account of the Stage from 1660 to 1830* is very far from complete in its references to performances of plays recorded in the pages of that excellent work. The following list of dates is compiled from a page by page examination:

Theatre Royal.		1684, <i>Brutus</i> ...Betterton.
Haymarket.	Jan. 14, 1706,	<i>Brutus</i> ...Betterton; <i>Cæsar</i> ...Booth; <i>Calphurnia</i> ...Mrs Barry; <i>Portia</i> ...Mrs Bracegirdle.
Drury Lane.	Jan. 24, 1715,	<i>Brutus</i> ...Booth; <i>Antony</i> ...Wilks.
Lincoln's Inn Fields.	March 1, 1718,	<i>Brutus</i> ...Keen; <i>Antony</i> ...Quin.
Drury Lane.	Sept. 30, 1725,	
" "	Nov. 8, 1734,	<i>Brutus</i> ...Quin.
" "	April 16, 1736,	
" "	Jan. 19, 1738.	(See vol. iii, p. 526, for account of the cast.)
" "	April 28, 1738.	(For the Shakespeare Monument Fund.)
" "	Sept. 21, 1738,	2 nd <i>Citizen</i> ...Macklin.
" "	Sept. 10, 1739.	
" "	Jan. 17, 1740.	
" "	March 13, 1740.	
" "	Oct. 4, 1740.	
" "	Dec. 11, 1740.	
" "	April 3, 1741.	
Covent Garden.	Nov. 20, 1742.	
" "	Jan. 19, 1744.	
" "	April 18, 1774,	<i>Brutus</i> ...Sheridan.
" "	Oct. 31, 1744,	<i>Portia</i> ...Mrs Pritchard.
Drury Lane.	March 28, 1744,	<i>Antony</i> ...Barry.
" "	April 30, 1744.	
Covent Garden.	April 20, 1744.	
" "	Nov. 24, 1748,	<i>Portia</i> ...Peg Woffington.
" "	Oct. 19, 1749.	
" "	Nov. 24, 26, 27, 1750.	<i>Portia</i> ...Peg Woffington.
" "	Feb. 19, 1751.	
" "	March 29, 1754.	
" "	Jan. 28, 1755.	
" "	April 14, 1758,	<i>Antony</i> ...Barry.
" "	Jan. 31, 1766.	(See vol. v, p. 107; for account of cast.)
" "	April 25, 1767.	
" "	May 4, 1773.	
Drury Lane.	Jan. 24, 1780.	(Acted about six times.)
Covent Garden.	Feb. 29, 1812,	<i>Brutus</i> ...J. P. Kemble; <i>Antony</i> ...C. Kemble. [Eighteen performances.]
" "	Jan. 13, 1813.	
Bath.	Dec. 30, 1812,	<i>Brutus</i> ...J. P. Kemble.

Covent Garden.	From Feb. 4, 1814, to May 17, 1817, J. P. Kemble acted <i>Brutus</i> sixteen times; the later date is that of his last appearance in the character.
“ “	June 18, 1819, <i>Cassius</i> ...Macready (his first appearance in the part).
Bath.	April 21, 1819.
Drury Lane.	Dec. 7, 1820. <i>Brutus</i> ...Wallack; <i>Antony</i> ...Cooper; <i>Cassius</i> ...Booth (the first appearances of each in these parts).
Bath.	Dec. 18, 1821, <i>Brutus</i> ...Young. [Genest says: ‘No person living had seen so good a <i>Brutus</i> as Yung, and in all probability there never was a better.’—vol. ix, p. 121.]
Covent Garden.	April 22, 1822.
“ “	Dec. 22, 1823, <i>Brutus</i> ...Young; <i>Antony</i> ...C. Kemble.
“ “	May 23, 1825.
Bath.	Feb. 19, 1825.
Covent Garden..	Sept. 26, 1825. [Acted seven times.]
“ “	Oct. 2, 1826. <i>Brutus</i> ...Young.
“ “	Oct. 1, 1827.
Drury Lane.	Oct. 26, 1829, <i>Brutus</i> ...Young; <i>Portia</i> ...Mrs Faucit.
Covent Garden..	Spring of 1837, Charles Kemble played <i>Brutus</i> for last time.
Sadler’s Wells.	Nov. 6, 1862, Phelps acted <i>Brutus</i> for farewell performance.
Ireland:	
Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, season of 1749-50,	<i>Brutus</i> ...Sheridan; <i>Cassius</i> ...Mossop.
“ “ “	Dec. 2, 1763. [Receipts third largest in twenty-two nights; only exceeded by <i>Mer. of Ven.</i>]

SEILHAMMER records, as early performances in America, the following:

Charleston Theatre. April 20, 1774.

Southwark Theatre. Jan. 29, 1791.

New York Theatre. March 14, 1794.

In February, 1856, *Jul. Cæs.* was produced for the first time in Boston at the Boston Theatre. Among the numerous performances of this play recorded by T. A. BROWN (*History of New York Stage*) I have selected such as seemed worthy of special mention on account of prominence of actors, historic interest, etc. They are as here given:

Chatham Garden & Theatre. Nov., 1828, *Cassius*...J. B. Booth.

Bowery Theatre. Dec. 1, 1827, *Mark Antony*...Forrest.

“ “ Dec. 27, 1839, *Brutus*...C. Kean.

“ “ March 19, 1884, *M. Antony*...Barnay.

“ “ Nov. 16, 1891, Meiningen Co.

Winter Garden. Nov. 25, 1864, *Cassius*...J. B. Booth, Jr.; *Brutus*...E. Booth; *Antony*...J. W. Booth.

Academy of Music. Dec. 26, 1887, *Brutus*...E. Booth; *Cassius*...Barrett.

Booth’s Theatre. Dec. 25, 1871, *Antony*...Booth; *Cassius*...Barrett; *Cæsar*...F. Bangs.

“ “ Dec. 27, 1876, *Brutus*...Davenport; *Cassius*...Barrett; *Antony*...F. Bangs; *Cæsar*...M. Levick.

In 1898 H.*Beerbohm Tree acted *Mark Antony* in an elaborate production at Her Majesty's Theatre; two years later the play was reproduced at the same theatre with a slightly different cast. The scenery and costumes for these productions, designed by Sir L. Alma Tadema, were subsequently purchased by Richard Mansfield and were used in his revival of the play in America at the Grand Opera House, Chicago, on October 14, 1902. *Jul. Cæs.* is at present included in the Shakespearean repertoire of R. B. Mantell, wherein he acts the part of *Brutus*.

ACTORS.

L. TIECK in 1817 visited London and was present at several performances of Shakespeare's plays at Covent Garden Theatre, among which was *Jul. Cæs.*, wherein J. P. Kemble acted *Brutus*; Charles Kemble, *Antony*, and Young, *Cassius*. Tieck (*Kristische Schriften*, iv, 324) describes the production, but, it is to be regretted, in very general terms. This was evidently one of J. P. Kemble's last appearances in the rôle. Tieck's observation on the inadequacy of his voice in the quarrel scene is, therefore, hardly surprising. 'Charles Kemble acted the part of Antonius,' observes Tieck, 'with great intensity, except that his laughter, after the uprising of the people, was too mischievously exultant [zu schadenfro], whereby the intent of the poet was mistaken and misrepresented.' The scene of Cæsar's assassination is thus described: 'The stage was of great depth, and Cæsar sat upon a throne in the furthest background; as the petitioners approached and were repulsed, the conspirators ranged themselves, markedly enough, in the form of a pyramid, of which Cæsar was the apex, while Brutus stood at the left near the proscenium. Casca gave him the first blow, and Cæsar turned to the right and received from a second enemy a second wound; he staggered terrified again toward the left, and met another injury, likewise on the right; and now the space became much larger, and the agitated movements of the mortally wounded man less and more dexterous, but yet he staggered five or six times left and right in order to be stabbed by the conspirators who remained at rest, until he received the death-blow from Brutus, and with the words "Et tu, Brute?" fell to the ground. The whole scene thus arranged like a clever ballet, lost all value, and was rendered flat by its pretentious majesty. It was only impossible not to laugh.'

MACREADY (p. 129) says that the part of Cassius, which he acted in 1818 for the first time, was one in whose representation he had always taken 'peculiar pleasure, as one among Shakespeare's most perfect specimens of idiosyncrasy.' In the account of the season of 1822 Macready notes (p. 170): 'The season dragged its slow length along, but received an impetus from the performance of *Jul. Cæs.*, Young acting *Brutus*; myself, *Cassius*; C. Kemble, *Mark Antony*; and Fawcett, *Casca*. The receipt of the first night exceeded, it was said, £600, and the house was crowded to its several repetitions. On this occasion I entered *con amore* into the study of the character of *Cassius*, identifying myself with the eager ambition, the keen penetration, and the restless envy of the determined conspirator, which, from that time, I made one of my most real personations.'—In regard to the character of *Brutus*, which he later acted, Macready, under date 18th October, 1836, says: 'It is one of those characters that requires peculiar care which only repetition can give, but it never can be a part that can inspire a person with an eager desire to go to a theatre to see represented.'—Again: 'London, Nov. 18, 1850: Acted Brutus in my own opinion, in my own judgment, far beyond any performance I ever gave

of the character; it was my last to many, and I wished it to be impressive. I do not think the audience in the aggregate were equal to the performance; they applauded warmly the salient passages, but they did not seem to watch the gentle, loving, self-subdued mind of Brutus which I tried to make manifest before them. The gentle touches were done with great care, and, I think, with skill—the remonstrances with Cassius in third act about Caesar's funeral and, in the fourth, the quarrel.—In 1851 Macready retired from the stage; on January 24 of that year he acted *Brutus* for the last time, and thus records his own impressions of the performance: 'Acted Brutus as I never—no never—acted it before, in regard to dignified familiarity of dialogue, or enthusiastic inspiration of lofty purpose. The tenderness, the reluctance to deeds of violence, the instinctive abhorrence of tyranny, the open simplicity of heart, and natural grandeur of soul, I never so perfectly, so consciously, portrayed before. I think the audience felt it.'

WINTER (*Life and Art of E. Booth*, p. 216): [Edwin] Booth's *Cassius* was comet-like, rushing, and terrible—not lacking in human emotion, but coloured with something sinister. In *Cassius* he used the 'business' of his father's *Richard*, in the moment after the murder of *King Henry*,—the business, namely, of striding with heedless preoccupation across the head of the dead Caesar. [See note by Gould, III, i, 281.] It was an emblem replete with effect. As *Brutus*, on the other hand, Booth presented an ideal of character more dependent on its absolute truth than its electrical sympathy. . . . He discriminated between the parts with excellent discretion. The more his *Brutus* was seen, the more it was loved. His slender figure, so appropriate to *Cassius*, had not the massiveness usually associated with the mental and moral attributes of *Brutus*. The absence of lurid flash and of telling points lessened the effect of emotional excitement. But the actor's spirit was celestial and his art was superb. Booth's *Brutus* had little significance for the senses; it was full of loveliness for the soul. Booth's delivery of the fine Shakespearean periods was full of grave sweetness and melancholy beauty, and the touching effect of his melodious elocution was deepened by the exquisite grace of his demeanor and gesture, and by his aspect of wasting thought and almost haggard sorrow. One of the most striking qualities of his assumption of *Brutus* was the lofty and lovely chivalry of his manner toward *Portia*. . . . Booth depicted *Antony* as a person of politic, reckless, somewhat treacherous nature, yet resolute, strong, and fierce. . . . To the lighter and more winning qualities, and to the patrician nobility and refinement of *Antony*, Booth rendered the utmost justice. The darker shades of the character were judiciously repressed.

[The following account of Sir H. Beerbohm Tree's production of *Jul. Cæs.* and his portrayal of *Antony* is by Percy Simpson. It is given as an appendix in Mark Hunter's edition:]

Act I. to Act III, Scene i. made in Tree's version one long act of five Scenes, culminating in *Cæsar's* murder and *Antony's* coming to the Senate House; Act II. was the Forum Scene, ending with *Antony's* exulting cry—

'Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt.'

Act III, in two Scenes—'Brutus's tent' and 'Plains of Philippi'—ended with *Antony's* tribute over the body of *Brutus*, 'This was a man.' *Antony's* part at the close is slight, so the effect was to deepen the strong emphasis of the earlier acts

and correspondingly to depress the later. It disturbed still further the uneven balance of the play.

The scenery was an exquisite picture of vanished Rome. Sir L. Alma Tadema, who designed it, has no rival among living artists in portraying the antique. Temple and palace, street and forum were revealed aglow with Italian colour. . . . The 'Public Place' of the opening Scene (Scenes i. to iii. in the poet's text) was happily chosen for its associations with the great Dictator. It was the Forum of Julius with the Temple of Venus Genetrix seen through a vast arch of triumph spanning the front of the stage. Cæsar laid out this space at vast cost, and built the temple to the tutelary goddess of the Julian house which traced its descent from Iulus, the son of Æneas, the son of Venus. In the centre of the Forum stood a bronze statue of Cæsar 'decked with ceremony' and flanked by trees. In the background the roof of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus rose against the sky. The crowd was a many-coloured group, in which the sober tints of the workmen's tunics and short-hooded mantles set off the bright dresses of rich bystanders and the pomp of the imperial procession. Cæsar (played by Mr C. Fulton) entered in royal state, accompanied by guards and standard-bearers and the actual pageantry of a Roman triumph, by Senators in red and white togas, and by bands of lictors with the fasces (axes tied in bundles of rods, symbolizing the magistrate's power of life and death). He wore the kingly dress, which irritated the republican faction, a robe of claret red silk with an amethyst-coloured toga, and a laurel-wreath (used on the plea of hiding baldness),—and he carried an eagle-topped sceptre. Calpurnia had a robe of pale blue, and a sapphire 'palla' figured with gold lilies, and she wore a crown of roses. Antony in this scene was equipped as a runner for the Lupercalia with the goat-skin cincture, and had a dappled fawn-skin hanging from his shoulder. As the procession passed out on its way to the games, a girl from a house by the archway flung at Cæsar's feet a handful of red roses, and he started back at the omen of blood. It was a Roman touch, and not only recalled the tribune's anger at strewing

'flowers in his way
That comes in triumph over Pompey's blood,'

but it precluded very daintily Decius Brutus's comment upon Cæsar's being 'superstitious grown of late.' Antony, however, took the omen very differently. He caught a rose as he passed, and when the procession re-entered he came in caressing two girls, one of whom had flung him the rose. It was these two girls who afterwards induced the foremost of the mob to give him a hearing in the Forum scene.

Twice the procession crossed the stage, accentuating the dialogue of Cassius and Brutus in the interval. . . . During the dialogue with Casca the stage darkened, and the storm was vividly rendered, stray groups flying past to seek shelter while Cassius 'bared his bosom to the thunder-stone.' The dying away of the storm and the coming of morning were marked in the following scene, 'Brutus's orchard,' a lovely glimpse of garden seen from the end of a pillared court. Round a marble seat in the centre the conspirators gathered. Here, too, Mr Waller (Brutus) sat for the opening of the speech, 'It must be his death,' then rose as he continued it and leaned meditatively against a pillar. Action and utterance admirably expressed the philosophic type. They further marked off the quieter tone of dramatic elocution to-day from the 'sound and fury' of a bygone school of actors. Miss Millard played Portia movingly. Her dress was severely simple, as became the wife of Brutus—pure white, in which the only touch of colour was a turquoise and silver

clasp. In strong contrast with the setting of this scene was the gorgeous restoration of a Roman atrium in Scene iii, 'Cæsar's house.' Garlanded busts of the Hermes type (carved heads on square pedestals) stood against the pillared walls; in the centre was the impluvium or basin below the opening in the pannelled ceiling which served as a smoke-vent and drained off the rain-water from the roof; beyond was a view of the triclinium or dining room, and the peristyle or pillared court. Miss Hanbury acted well the suspense and agony of Calpurnia.

The 'Public Street' of Scene iv. was very beautiful. Pillared buildings in the foreground; then a row of shops with lowered sun-blinds led to a distant archway with Ionic pilasters and massive entablature. Across the street ran a line of those curious stepping-stones still to be seen at Pompeii, to enable passengers to cross in bad weather. The text of this scene was very neatly arranged. It opened with Portia's 'I prithee, Loy, run to the Senate-house,' and the pretty dialogue which follows, down to 'Sooth, madam, I hear nothing'; then lines 39-46, 'I will go in,' &c., and the entry of Artemidorus. He wore the soothsayer's dress—the pileus or skull-cap of felt and the trachea or augur's robe of bright scarlet stripes with a purple hem—and he carried the litmus or crooked wand which probably originated the medieval bishop's crozier. Portia left with the question whether Cæsar had gone to the Capitol; Artemidorus read his warning 'schedule,' and Cæsar's procession entered, the scene closing with Artemidorus's discomfiture.

It was thus a happy prelude to Scene v. 'The Senate House.' The curtain rose upon some senators seated in tiers of circular seats on either side, with a throne raised high and steps in the centre, and behind this a canopied and pillared balcony in which the archivists sat. Cæsar entered in procession, escorted by his murderers. They took their seats at the sides; then rose one by one and knelt before him, each moving nearer as he supported Cimber. When Casca struck, Cæsar sprang to his feet, then half-defending himself rushed down the steps, stabbed by each man as he passed, and meeting with outstretched hands Brutus who waited at the foot. Those not in the secret fled with a cry of horror. For the moment there was an impressive hush; then a rising murmur was heard in the street outside, the first sign of 'the people besides themselves with fear.' Gathering round the body, the conspirators reddened their hands in blood—a graphic touch usually omitted in acting copies, as its significance depends upon a hunting custom long obsolete. They turned to depart by the curtained entrance behind, but paused on meeting Antony, who passed through them, with signs of deep emotion, straight to the body. The double part which he has to act—accepting their overtures, but indicating his real feeling to the audience—was conveyed by strokes of byplay. As each man 'rendered him his bloody hand,' the blunt Casca wiped off the stains on Antony's wrist, and he repressed a rising look of horror. So his eyes flashed with a momentary gleam of passion as Cassius at the line, 'Brutus, a word with you,' stepped over Cæsar's body in his haste to move across. The scene ended with an unhappy inroad of modern sentimentality. Calpurnia, with a fold of crape thrown over her shoulders, rushed in and postured in speechless agony over the dead. Elizabethan tragedy was 'made of sterner stuff.' The lonely figure of Calpurnia in her widowed home brooding over the fulfilment of her presage stirs the imagination with depths of suggestion which surface-pathos leaves untouched. Moreover the improvised half-mourning bordered on the ludicrous.

The great scene in the Forum followed as Act II. On the spectator's right was the Temple of Concord with its outer gallery and the historic rostrum. The Temple of Saturn was on the left. The towering height of the buildings and the

vast surging crowd gave the impression of enormous space. The scene was performed in its historic setting. First, Brutus's short-lived triumph. His reception was friendly even in the 'We will be satisfied,' and he seemed to make his points, not because of his laconic pleading, but because he 'sat high in all the people's hearts.' The body was brought in, mourned by Antony, whose head was muffled in his toga. On Brutus's departure, he was ringed round by a sullen crowd who hissed and made signs of leaving when he turned to mount the rostrum. Two girls, with whom at his entrance in Act I, he had exchanged some smiling talk during the pause in the procession, stood near. He spoke a hurried aside to them now, and they stepped forward and induced some of the reluctant bystanders to wait. The great speech began. It was finely modulated and struck the emotional note distinctive of Antony. The mob became a storm-swept torrent. So far as mere stage management goes, this episode of the play stood out as singularly brilliant. With the cry 'We'll mutiny—we'll burn the house of Brutus,' they surged up the terraced steps in the background, to be recalled with difficulty till the will was mentioned. Opposite the rostrum was a shattered pedestal inscribed 'Cæsar'; the effigy had been destroyed, perhaps by the coryphæus of the mob, the First Citizen, who wielded a large hammer. Springing on this pedestal, Antony read the will. It was obviously impossible to represent the historic burning of the body in the Forum and the plucking of lighted brands from the pyre to fire the murderer's houses. But at the words 'Go fetch fire,' some of the crowd left to re-enter with flaming torches and head the final rush of the avengers.

Act III. began in Brutus's tent. Fine as the episode of the quarrel is, it was tame in comparison with the storm of passion which preceded. The catastrophe comes as it were in the middle of the play. It is the spirit and method of Greek rather than of Elizabethan drama. The modern playgoer calls it anti-climax. The scene was well rendered, keeping the sharp antithesis of the leading figures. The loss of Lucius's song is much to be regretted. Mr Tree uses the traditional substitute, 'Orpheus with his lute,' borrowed from *Henry VIII.*

The scene of Philippi—a picturesque ravine with a level space of foreground—closed the act. From the rocks on either side the opening parley took place. The battle is, as usual in Shakespeare, a series of loose excursions and alarms sufficient to convey the suggestion of fighting. A seventeenth century audience, unaccustomed to luxurious mounting, took the hint and

'made imaginary puissance

With four or five most vile and ragged foils

Right ill-disposed in brawl ridiculous.'

But in the conditions of the modern stage, the aimless rush and clatter of fighting groups striking each other's shields and a moiety of them simulating death bring no illusion. Cassius's suicide at sunset was dramatic for the contrast of the Roman with the dark Eastern figure of the skin-clad Pindarus. The only marked departure from the text occurred at this point. There was no Titinius, and, therefore, no crowning of dead Cassius with the wreath of victory. The fact that Cassius inspires sufficient affection for his friend to follow him in death is of vital significance, and gives point to Brutus's tribute—

'The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!

It is impossible that ever Rome

Should breed thy fellow.'

Brutus' death was also changed. . . . At the words 'Hence! I will follow,' Brutus was left alone; he knelt, unbuckled the shoulder-clasp of his armour, and killed himself with the cry, 'Cæsar, now be still!' Octavius's army entered, and the epitaph on 'the noblest Roman of them all' was spoken at once by Antony, conspicuous in rich armour and the general's scarlet cloak amid the plainly-accentred soldiery. It was a moving end, but it was impossible not to feel the lowered note of these later scenes. The very success of the play was on that account an eloquent tribute to the power and beauty of the representation; it ran an even course from January to June, and public interest in it was keen to the last.

WINTER (*Art of Mansfield*, ii, 160): All around *Brutus*, from first to last, there is an atmosphere of omen that betokens peril, anguish, and death. In that spirit Richard Mansfield apprehended the character, and because of his diffusion and sustaining of that poetic ideal—making *Brutus* almost spectral, in spiritual conflict, fanatical self-absorption, and silent, patient, majestic misery—the embodiment took its place among the most thoughtful achievements of the modern stage. . . . The potent charm of the impersonation was in its atmosphere, in its tremor of conflicting emotions, and in its sad isolation—the awful loneliness of a great soul fated to disaster. In the scene of the quarrel with *Cassius* Mansfield wisely followed the good precedent long ago established by Barton Booth, probably the most original performer of *Brutus* ever seen upon the stage, and so he made the embodiment impressive by innate authority, restrained demeanor, intense feeling, and penetrating tones. [See Notes IV, iii, 43; IV, iii, 70.] It was in the Garden Scene; the moment after the assassination of *Cæsar*; the Ghost Scene; and the Death Scene that he wrought his best effects. The spectral haggard, ravaged figure of *Brutus*, in those imaginative passages—and more especially in presence of the phantom—being the consummate image of a haunted mind, predestined to error, misery, and ruin. Mansfield's embodiments of *Brutus* differed from previous presentations of the character that are still vividly remembered, in its strong accentuation, at first of fanatical monomania, and afterward of the self-contained agony of remorse. His aspect, upon his first appearance, was that of a man intensely preoccupied, almost dazed, with the conflict of distracting, harrowing thought. The face was pale, the eyes were sunken and hollow. In the Garden Scene the voice was peculiarly tremulous and distressful, till at the close of that trying ordeal, and again in the Senate Scene, it became stern and solemn, as if with a terrible resolution, the access of fanaticism. When striking at *Cæsar* he delivered a perfunctory stroke, and momentarily seemed to recoil from the deed—in that particular following the precedent of Edwin Booth. His aspect, immediately after the assassination, became that of a man absolutely insane. His delivery of the vindictory speech to the people was colloquial, and it was cleverly contrived; loud shouts were made to follow the words, 'Hear me for my cause,' and the next were spoken as a check to the shouting, 'And be silent that you may hear.' In appearance . . . he looked, indeed, the noble Roman, closely resembling certain paintings of Roman worthies that imaginative skill has framed.

The latest production of *Jul. Cæs.* in America is that given at Buffalo, New York, October 12, 1912, under the direction of William Faversham, who acted *Marc Antony*; with Tyrone Power as *Brutus*; Frank Keenan as *Cassius*; Fuller Mellish as *Julius Cæsar*; Julie Opp as *Portia*; Jane Wheatley as *Calphurnia*.

JAMES O. BENNETT (*Chicago Record-Herald*, Oct. 20, 1912) gives the following account of the performance: In the past it has been agreed that the right scenic treatment of *Julius Cæsar* demands spaciousness and the degree of opulence that is consistent with dignity. In the new production there is a radical departure from tradition in this respect. The scenes are ablaze with color. This is not the Rome of white marble, if there ever was such a Rome, but a city recalling the vivid hues and abrupt contrasts of Pompeian frescoes. The forum scene is framed in a mighty double arch of brown stone that is nearly as high as the proscenium arch of the theater, and that rises close to it. In the background the temples and obelisks that overlook the forum mount high against the deep blue sky of Italy. The scene is radiant with white sunlight. In the whole scheme of decoration the color of that oriental influence which was permeating Rome, and which ultimately was to work its destruction, is felt.

This opening scene is riotous with the merry-making of the participants in the Lupercalian games and of the thronging onlookers. Dancing girls and acrobats flash across the stage. Music sounds, and troops of soldiers, some of them clanking in armor and some hooded in undressed skins of beasts, escort notables to the games.

Laughter, ribaldry, and monkey tricks usher in the tragedy. This note of decadence is authentic, as every reader of Mommsen knows, but the emphasis Mr Faversham lays upon it is jarring. We weary in a few seconds of this carnival-of-Venice kind of clamor, and we are thrown out of key with the austere business so soon to occupy our minds. But the picture is effective, and the movement, save for too much bobbing about, is well maneuvered.

The senate chamber is another stupendous picture. To the left of the stage as you face it is the throne of Cæsar, overshadowed by the statue of Pompey. To the right the benches of the senators rise in four lofty tiers, and when the chamber fills those benches are occupied by more than three score white-robed figures. Pillars of richly hued marble stand sentinel around the room. In the background are vistas of courts and corridors bright with gilding and flaming with color. The far-flying eagles of Rome look down from gorgeous panels and bending standards. Clouds of incense float beneath the ponderous ceilings. The stage trembles under the tread of soldiers and the senators visit in animated groups pending the coming of Cæsar.

To command silence for the hearing of the petitions an officer of the senate strikes thrice upon metal with a mallet. That detail is worth while, for it adds a curious touch of reality to the scene.

Another detail, more calculated and, right or wrong, far more important, is the entrance of Calpurnia into the silent and deserted senate chamber after the assassination. Antony and the messenger who has brought tidings from Octavius are standing in the remote background. They withdraw a little farther and avert their faces as Calpurnia, her aspect that of dumb incredulity that has not yet broken in woe, descends the marble steps to the floor of the chamber, her step slow, her gaze wide with horror, her eyes fixed in awful fascination upon the body of Cæsar. Over her head she has thrown a long black scarf that sweeps nearly to her knees. Reaching the body, she bends over it and a low note of wailing escapes her. The prostrate body and the crouching, weeping woman seem pitifully huddled and impotent amid the blazing magnificence of the chamber. Antony and the messenger have drawn still farther off. The mourner is alone with the imperial dead, and on that eloquent, simple tableau the curtain slowly descends. Austere classicists may pronounce this business only bizarre. To the writer it finds complete excuse in its

enormous effectiveness. If other justification for it is demanded, record may be made of the fact that Miss Wheatley performs it beautifully.

The rich, mysterious setting of the tent scene deserves a word of praise. It is severe, but it is most imaginative. The massive folds of the tent fill the entire width and height of the stage with color that shifts with the movement of the touches from a Gobelin hue to deep, illusive green. The effects of night, of seclusion, of a haunted place, and of a time of impending doom are created not by resort to clap-trap, but by masterly painting, and the skilful, subtle, reserved manipulation of lights. The play contains no finer picture than Mr. Faversham and his artists have here devised. The Roman lamps burning with languid, bluish flames, the gleam of burnished armor and crimson trappings and the compact group of generals poring over their dispatches combine to produce an historical painting of the highest impressiveness. The note of grandeur is here sounded as nowhere else in the play.

With the marvelous rapidity which marks all the scenic changes of this production the tent scene vanishes and an entrancing picture of the plains of Philippi, overlooked by the steep heights of Pangæus that glow with the rose tints of the dawn, is revealed. The foreground of this scene is rugged and wild; the distant peaks are touched with a soft, ineffable beauty at once mournful and consoling. The pure heights seem to breathe benediction upon the closing episodes of woe and glory. The symbolism is so delicate that it is best let alone; to dwell upon it is to render it obvious and so to cheapen it.

Speaking of Faversham's interpretation of *Antony*, Bennett says that 'the portrayal is less a study than a lyric flight; spectacular in its grace and frankly demagogic in its fluency and its cunning. It is ardent, loving, joyous, wild with youthful spirit, instantly capable of rising to and revelling in an emotion. Here is the fop, but here also is the passionate hero-worshipper, who can bend in awed grief, that is no less genuine because it is luxurious, over the body of Cæsar, pouring forth in tremulous tones and with wet eyes his rhapsody of woe. Such rapture and such splendor as Mr Faversham here summons up turn his declamation to pure gold. It will be recalled that Antony's speeches provide a succession of lyric climaxes, and Mr Faversham rises to them not once, but three and four times. And still he avoids the effect of anti-climax as surely as the poet does. This because his crescendos, without seeming to be, still are most carefully graduated.

The funeral oration he gave not as a flight in elocution, but as a means to an end, which, of course, is what it is. He wrestles with the mob, wrestles with every phrase, and with the phrases he slowly beats down the mob—beats it with rhetorical questions and swift, argumentative thrusts, the inspiration for which he seems to find in the upturned faces. Always he is wary, always beneath the fluency is anxious calculation of the effect upon the crowd. This complex treatment is sustained until victory is sure, and then the reins are thrown away and the words 'Here was a Cæsar!' are released in a wild, exultant cry.

DRAMATIC VERSIONS.

T. M. PARROTT (*Modern Lang. Review*, Oct., 1910, p. 438) gives a list of all those 'plays on Julius Cæsar of which we have any knowledge.' Their titles are as follows: *Julius Cæsar*, performed at Court, 1 Feb., 1562. (See Collier, *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, i, 180.) *The Third Blast of Retreat from Plays* (1580) mentions 'the life of Pompeie and the martial affaires of Cæsar' as among the histories which were

represented upon the stage (Hazlitt, *English Drama Documents*, p. 145). In 1580 a play called *The Storie of Pompey* was played before the Queen at Whitehall on Twelfth Night by the children of Paul's (Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels*, p. 336; and Schelling, ii, 21). *The History of Cæsar and Pompey*, mentioned by Gosson, *Playes Confuted*, 1581 (see Note by Malone, I, i, 1). *Epilogus Cæsaris Interfecti*, by Richard Eedes, or Gedes, performed at Christchurch, Oxford, 1582 (see note by Steevens, I, i, 1). Henslowe's *Diary* mentions '*sescer and pompeie*' as first performed by the Admiral's Men on Nov. 8, 1594, and '*The 2 P^{te} of sesore*' on June 18, 1595; and under the date May 22, 1602, he records the advance of a sum of five pounds 'to give unto Antony Munday, Michael Drayton, Webster, Middleton, and the rest in earnest of a book called Cæsar's Fall (*sescers ffalle*).' No record exists of this play's production or publication. *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar* by Sir William Alexander, probably composed between 1604 and 1606 and published in 1607 (see note by Malone, I, i, 1).

In reference to this Academic tragedy AYRES (p. 221) gives the following extract from an unpublished dissertation by Dr T. A. LESTER: *Connections between the Drama of France and Great Britain, particularly in the Elizabethan Period*, 1900: 'In general it may be said that Alexander follows Grévin [*César*], availing himself not only of Grévin's original scenes, but also of Grévin's non-Plutarchian order. . . . There can be little doubt that Alexander's *Julius Cæsar* is nothing but Grévin's *César*, rewritten and enlarged.'—'This is,' remarks Ayres, 'I think just, and, on the whole, rather more than I had myself noticed; for Alexander has added so much from the *Cornelia* [of Kyd] and from Plutarch (I think Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar* could be almost reconstructed complete from his play) and rewritten it all in such a parenthetically diffuse style that the outlines of Grévin's play are fairly obscured. So far as the character of Cæsar is concerned, however, Alexander owes to Grévin hardly more than the monologue [p. 366, *supra*], in which Cæsar expresses his vague fears of impending disaster. On the whole, his conception of Cæsar's character . . . depends directly on Garnier and the Senecan tradition inaugurated by Muret.'

The Tragedie of Cæsar & Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge, Anon., 1607.

Cæsar and Pompey: A Roman Tragedy, by George Chapman, published 1631, but written, as the author says in the dedication, 'long since.'—SCHELLING (ii, 22) records also that 'the manuscript of a Latin *Julius Cæsar* by Thomas May is still extant, and may be identical with a late *Julius Cæsar*, acted privately by students of Trinity College, Oxford, it is not recorded when.'

Julius Cæsar, a droll, or puppet-show, mentioned by Marston in 1605, and Jonson in 1609.

Cæsar's Tragedy, mentioned in the Vertue MS. [See Malone: *Stage History*, *supra*.]

D. E. BAKER (*Biographia Dram.*) records a version, or alteration, of Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.* by D'Avenant and Dryden dated 1719, for an account of which see notes on IV, iii, 357.

GENEST (iii, 89): Sheffield Duke of Buckingham left behind him two Tragedies—*Julius Cæsar* and *Marcus Brutus*, both founded on Shakspeare's play—they were published in 1722—the Prologue to *Julius Cæsar* begins with—

'Hope to mend Shakspeare! or to match his style!

'Tis such a jest would make a Stoick smile.'

Then why attempt it?

Act 1st. All the low Comedy of the 1st scene is omitted—Antony offers Cæsar the crown on the stage—the scene between Brutus and Cassius—and that between Cassius and Casca are no. materially altered, but several unnecessary changes are made.

Act 2d. Brutus's Soliloquy and the scene with the Conspirators are altered for the worse—that between Brutus and Portia is turned into a contemptible love dialogue—Brutus in love!!!

Act 3d consists of the scene at Cæsar's palace badly altered—Calpurnia is omitted, and two Priests relate the ill omens that have happened.

Act 4th consists of the Senate scene considerably altered for the worse.

Act 5th is the scene in the Forum—Brutus's address to the Citizens is turned into blank verse with additions—one line deserves to be quoted—

‘And when a grieving parent whips his child.’

—Then follows the remainder of the scene not materially altered—with this the play ends.

Marcus Brutus—His Grace having but 2 acts of the original play to spin out into 5, was obliged to introduce some new characters—thus we have Junia wife to Cassius and sister to Brutus—Dolabella—Varius a young Roman studying at Athens, &c.

The first three acts are entirely the Duke's—in the first Dolabella is most absurdly introduced with a message from Antony to Brutus, requesting him to take the sovereign power on himself—in the 3d act Junia says—

‘But Rome's at stake.’

To which Varius replies—

‘And well it would be lost,
For staying here one night within these arms.’

Cassius is almost of the same opinion.

The substance of the 4th and 5th Acts is taken from Shakespeare, but the words are the Duke's—the quarrelling scene is not badly written, but it is vastly inferior to the original—Cassius says—

‘From a superior my Stars defend me!’

This is quite wrong, as Cassius was an Epicurean and did not believe in planetary influence.

After Cassius has stabbed himself, Brutus comes on before Cassius dies—Cæsar's Ghost appears to Brutus at the close of the 3d act, and again just as he is going to kill himself.

Brutus some few hours before his death looked up to heaven and quoted a line from the *Medea* of Euripides—‘O Jupiter, forget not who is the author of these wrongs.’ Shakspeare met with this circumstance in Plutarch, but did not insert it in his play, which is a pity.

Both the Duke's plays have a Chorus at the end of each act—those at the end of the 1st and 2d acts of *Marcus Brutus* were written by Pope at the command of his Grace—in *Marcus Brutus* the scene lies at Athens in the first three acts, and near Philippi in the last two—for this violation of the unity of place his Grace apologizes in the Prologue, but to satisfy us that he has preserved the unity of time, we are studiously informed that the play begins the day before the battle of

Philippi and ends with it—consequently Brutus and Cassius with their attendants must have gone from Athens to Philippi in one day—this absurdity is rendered the more glaring as Cassius in act 2d says—

‘I must immediately haste to our friends
Who all assembled in the fields of Sardis
Wait there for me and Brutus.’

In the next scene Junia says that her husband is gone to Sardis—however he rides post, and arrives at Philippi considerably within the 24 hours—into such disgraceful inconsistencies does the Duke fall from the silly affectation of appearing to preserve the unity of time.

In fact Brutus and Cassius met at Sardis—from thence, and not from Athens, they went to Philippi—their meeting was after a considerable interval, and several grounds of mutual complaint had occurred—but in the Duke’s play they had only been parted some few hours, nor had any cause for an angry expostulation taken place.

The Duke’s plays are, on the whole, a very bad alteration of *Jul. Cæs.*, but it would be doing him great injustice not to allow that his additions are very superior to the stuff sometimes mixed up with Shakspeare’s plays. [These adaptations were never acted, and were not published until after the Duke’s death.—ED.]

IBID. (iii, 94): In 1753 Aaron Hill published his *Roman Revenge, a Tragedy written on the death of Julius Cæsar*—it had been acted at Bath—it has some good lines in it, but on the whole it is superlatively dull—Hill has grossly misrepresented the characters of Cæsar—Brutus—Cassius and Servilia—he makes Calphurnia and Portia sworn friends from their childhood—but the greatest absurdity of all is, that he introduces Trinovantius, a British Tribune, who styles himself Cæsar’s old Soldier, proposes to protect him from the Senate by his Britons, and afterwards threatens to avenge his death, and guard Britannia’s liberty—which no one but his friend Cæsar had at that time ever attacked—Cæsar on his part politely tells him—

‘I thought the sons of Thames had felt no fears.’

Hill’s object in writing this play was evidently to set Cæsar’s character in the fairest point of view—he says of him in the Prologue—

‘And Cæsar had a soul without one stain.’

IBID. (iii, 95): Voltaire’s *Death of Cæsar* is, in every respect, very inferior to Shakspeare’s play—he speaks of Scipio very improperly, and makes Doiabella call himself an old soldier—to preserve the unity of place he falls into much the same absurdities that Addison does in *Cato*—in Shakspeare the Conspirators meet in Brutus’s orchard, and before it is light—in Voltaire’s play they settle their measure in the day time, and at the Capitol—Cæsar also holds his confidential discourse with Brutus in the same public place—Hill and Voltaire both make Cæsar killed behind the scenes—Voltaire concludes his Tragedy with Antony’s address to the Citizens, which is in a considerable degree borrowed from Shakspeare.

From the intrigue between Cæsar and Servilia, the mother of Brutus, a story has been raised that Brutus was Cæsar’s son, tho’ in fact Cæsar was but 15 years older than Brutus—(Dr Middleton)—this story Hill and Voltaire have eagerly seized on for the sake of depreciating Brutus—in both their plays Cæsar discovers himself

to Brutus as his father—Brutus is distressed at the discovery, but perseveres in his intentions—in the *Duke of Guise*, Brutus is said to have stabbed his father, &c.—this no doubt at the time produced a thundering clan—the same thing is said in the Prologue to *Love in a Forest*.

Suetonius tells us that Cæsar was more in love with Servilia than with any other woman, but does not give the slightest hint that Brutus was his son; and as he dwells more on the private transactions of the Emperors than any other historian, he would in all probability have noticed the report if he had ever heard it. [For an account of Voltaire's translation of *Jul. Cæs.*, see Appendix: *Criticisms*.—Ed.]

THE ACADEMIC TRAGEDY: *Cæsar & Pompey*.

T. M. PARROTT (*op. cit.*, p. 440): It seems to me almost incredible that the College Play [*The Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey*] which has come down to us should be identical with Henslowe's '*Seser and pompeie*.' We know, to be sure, nothing about this latter besides its name, except the date of its first performance and the company that produced it. But these two facts enable us to hazard some conjecture as to its probable type. The Admiral's Company in 1594 stood under the leadership of Alleyn, and were, in their choice of tragedies, dominated by the tradition of Marlowe. A glance through the pages of Henslowe's *Diary* for 1594 shows us what sort of tragedies they preferred; from June 3, 1594, to March 14, 1595 we have an unbroken series of plays. . . . '*Seser and pompeie*' stands well up among other plays, with a record of seven performances between Nov. 8, 1594, and March 14, 1595, and was revived once more in connection with a less successful second part on June 25, 1595. This mention of a second part, by the way, is itself an argument against the identity of the Admiral's play with that of Trinity College. The latter, as we shall see, exhausts its subject so that no continuation is possible. Now, if we may argue from the known to the unknown, have we not reason to suppose that the Admiral's play was a vigorous chronicle of the wars of Cæsar and Pompey with plenty of action to tickle the groundlings, and, I fancy, a fine mouth-filling part for Alleyn as Cæsar? Is the Trinity College play anything of this kind, or does it at all resemble the sort of play that could have been performed with a fair measure of success before such an audience as frequented the Rose in 1594? A brief analysis of the play will, I think, show the contrary.

[I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr Parrott for the following analytical outline of this old tragedy; it would be but presumption on my part to hope to improve upon, or even equal, his careful work.—Ed.]

The Tragedy opens in the approved academic fashion by the entrance and soliloquising prologue of a supernatural figure, Discord, who informs the audience as to the war between Cæsar and Pompey and the former's victory at Pharsalia. As Discord leaves the stage a number of fugitives from the battle, Pompey himself, Titinius, and Brutus enter and discuss the situation. Pompey resolves to seek aid in Egypt; Brutus remains, and in the next scene is taken prisoner and pardoned by Cæsar. In the third scene Cæsar, in debate with Antony, Dolabella, and a Lord, expresses his remorse for having precipitated civil war, but is still of a mind to pursue Pompey. In the next scene Cato laments the loss of Roman liberty. In the fifth we get the parting between Pompey and Cornelia, and in the last scene of the act the meeting of Cæsar with Cleopatra, who seeks his aid to restore her to the throne of Egypt. Cæsar falls in love with her, and so also does Antony, who is present at the interview.

Discord appears again to open the Second Act with a rhetorical soliloquy, and gives place to Achillas and Sempronius, who meet and murder Pompey on the Egyptian sea-shore. In the second scene Cornelia laments Pompey's death and kills herself. In the third Cæsar pronounces sentence on the murderers and departs to feast with Cleopatra; Antony remains to soliloquise on his hopeless passion for the Egyptian. Then Brutus brings the news of Pompey's death to a group of Roman nobles who are persuaded by Cicero to submit to Cæsar; and in the last scene of the act we have a long dialogue between Cato and his son, closing with the suicide of Cato.

Discord opens the Third Act with a summons to Brutus and Cassius to slay Cæsar. Cassius enters to avow his purpose of killing the Dictator. The second scene introduces Cæsar's triumph. Antony remains on the stage to lament his separation from Cleopatra. His Bonus Genius appears to rebuke his folly and to prophecy his ruin through Cleopatra. He thereupon resolves to 'wake from idle dream.' The third scene consists of a dialogue between Brutus and Cassius, in which the former takes an oath to slay Cæsar. The fourth represents the festival of Lupercalia, Antony's repeated offer of a crown to Cæsar, and Cæsar's repeated refusal. This scene, not the first scene of Act II, as Collier (*Annals of the Stage*, vol. III, p. 124, n.) states, contains a flagrant plagiarism from the *Faerie Queen*. Compare:

'The restless mind that harbours sorrowing thoughts,
And is with child of noble enterprise,
Doth never cease from honor's toilsome task,
Till it brings forth Eternal glories brood.'

with Spenser's lines:

'The noble hart, that harbours vertuous thought,
And is with child of glorious great intent,
Can never rest, until it forth have brought
Th' eternall brood of glorie excellent.'—*Faerie Queen*, I, v, 1.

The fifth scene represents the meeting of the conspirators, Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cumber (*sic*), and Trebonius. In the last scene of the act Calpurnia seeks to keep Cæsar from the Senate by reciting her ominous dream, an augur brings in bad omens, and Cæsar decides to remain at home. He is, however, overpersuaded by Cassius, who enters at this moment. The scene then shifts, without any division in the text, to the Senate house, where Cæsar is attacked by the conspirators. He defends himself by a long speech until Brutus, who has been detaining Antony outside, enters and stabs him, whereupon he falls and dies. Antony enters to lament his death and vow revenge, and bears off the body in his arms. One of the murderers, by the way, bears the name of Bucolian, a fact which seems to point to Appian's *History*, *Bell. Civ.*, II, 113, 117, as a source.

The Fourth Act opens with the usual soliloquy of Discord, who introduces the remaining action by foretelling the revenge of Cæsar at Philippi. Octavian then laments the death of Cæsar, whose funeral is now performed, accompanied by Antony's oration. It is worth noting that this oration does not bear the slightest resemblance to the speech in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*. This play, it is true, was not printed till 1623, but if so unscrupulous a plagiarist as the author of Cæsar and Pompey had ever seen it performed, he could hardly have refrained from introducing some reminiscence of it into his own play.

The second scene of this act shows Brutus and Cassius at the head of an army,

to whom Titinius, playing the part of a Senecan *runtius*, reports the disturbances in Rome. The leaders decide to levy more troops and to meet in Thessaly. The third scene opens with a monologue by the Ghost of Cæsar; Antony and Octavian enter at swords' points, but are persuaded by the affable familiar Host to renounce their quarrel and unite in a vow of revenge upon his murderers.

The Last Act consists of one long undivided scene. Discord opens it by calling up the 'Stygian fiends' to make a hell on earth. Brutus and Cassius enter at the head of an army, boasting of their conquests in the East, but Brutus is troubled by forebodings of approaching death, and by remorse for the murder of Cæsar. After the departure of the others the Ghost of Cæsar enters to Brutus and warns him that he shall die that day by his own hand. The battle of Philippi is now supposed to be fought off the stage. Cato's son enters wounded, tells of the battle, and dies. Cassius sends Titinius for news of Brutus and in his absence kills himself. Titinius returns and kills himself. Brutus enters, dogged by the Ghost of Cæsar, and kills himself. The revenge being accomplished in this satisfactory fashion, the play closes with a dialogue between the Ghost and Discord quite in the manner of the last scene of *The Spanish Tragedy*. A passage from the last speech of the Ghost will give some notion of the author's old-fashioned versification and of his partiality for classical allusions:

' I will descend to mine eternal home
Where everlastingly my quiet soul
The sweet Elysium pleasure shall enjoy,
And walk those fragrant flowery fields at rest:
To which nor fair Adonis bower so rare
Nor old Alcinous gardens may compare.
There that same gentle father of the Spring
Mild Zephyrus doth odours breath divine,
Clothing the earth in painted bravery,
The which nor Winter's rage nor scorching heat
Or Summers sun can make it fall or fade,
There with the mighty champions of old time
And great Heroës of the Golden Age
My dateless hours I'll spend in lasting joy.'

It is evident from the above analysis, I think, that the Trinity College play is as unlike what we may fairly assume the Admiral's play to have been as could well be expected. It has no central dominating rôle in which Alleyne could have found scope for his powers. It is, indeed, entirely without that power of characterization which gives life and interest even to some of the crudest and most formless plays of the time. It has, in spite of the enormous amount of matter which the author has dragged in, curiously little action. Most of the scenes consist of detailed reports of actions off the stage, or of long tirades in which the speakers express their grief for the past or avow their determination for the future. There is no plot, in the proper sense of the word, nor any attempt at dramatic construction, but scene follows scene in purely chronological order. This is a method of dramatic composition that we are accustomed to associate with the popular rather than the academic Senecan drama; but Churchill and Keller (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, vol. xxxix, p. 257) have shown that a number of academic tragedies followed the lines of the popular chronicle plays rather than the stricter Senecan form. Finally, there is not the slightest trace in this play of the broad realistic humour which is so fre-

quent, not to say constant, in the early popular drama, and which we may reasonably assume to have appeared in the Admiral's play.

The Trinity College play, then, fully deserves the name by which it is commonly known, the 'Academic Tragedy' of *Cæsar and Pompey*. It is modelled on the Senecan imitations so popular at the Universities and Inns of Court, but shows also the influence of the popular drama. I fancy the author's favourite play must have been *The Spanish Tragedy*, which itself represents this popularization of Seneca. The stiff and monotonous blank verse reminds one far more of Kyd than of Marlowe or Shakespeare. It is, indeed, curiously archaic to have been written in 1606, a fact which may, perhaps, suggest that it was composed by an elderly Don rather than by an undergraduate. It is crowded to a most unusual degree with classical allusions such as would appeal to an academic audience. If the dates in MS. on the title-page refer to performances of this play, it must have been a marked favourite at Oxford, and this conjecture is corroborated by the fact that two printed editions were called for, whereas the majority of academic tragedies remain in manuscript to the present day. But we can by no stretch of imagination conceive of it as successful to the degree of seven performances in four months at the Rose.

We may then assert pretty positively that the Trinity College play has no connection whatever—beyond a similarity of name—with the lost play of *Cæsar and pompey*, mentioned by Henslowe. Nor has it any connection with Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, which precedes it, nor with Chapman's *Cæsar and Pompey*, which follows it in date. The one play with which it may possibly have had some connection is the lost *Julius Cæsar* of Eedes. Dull in itself, it is yet of interest historically as the first known example of a tragedy written in English on a classical theme which was performed at either of the Universities.

CHAPMAN'S *Cæsar & Pompey*.

The following is a transcript of the title-page of Chapman's Tragedy as given in Pearson's reprint of the first edition: CÆSAR | and | POMPEY: | A ROMAN TRAGEDY, DE- | CLARING THEIR WARRES. | *Out of whose euent is euicted this* | Proposition. | *Only a iust man is a freeman.* | BY GEORGE CHAPMAN. | LONDON: | Printed by THOMAS HARPER, and are to be | sold by *Godfrey Edmondson*, and *Thomas Alchorne*. | M. DC. XXXI. | In the dedication to the Earl of Middlesex Chapman says that this History 'yet never toucht it at the Stage' although written 'long since.' An analysis of this composition more elaborate than the following outline is, I think, unnecessary. Act I, sc. i. Cato, Athenodorus, Statilius, and Porcius discuss the situation which confronts the citizens of Rome, owing to the rivalry of Cæsar and Pompey; Cato describes the approach of the rabble surrounding Cæsar, and is warned of Cæsar's opposition to him in the Senate; Cato declares that all is nothing to one who places faith in his own integrity. As they depart Cæsar and Metellus enter at the head of a procession of Senators, soldiers, and people. The Consuls take their places, and Cæsar sounds Metellus as to winning Cato to their side; Metellus assures him that such is impossible and they must use all means to keep him from the bench, wherein Cæsar acquiesces. They take their places; Pompey and his followers enter and after them Cato with Statilius and Porcius; after some slight opposition Cato places himself between Cæsar and Metellus, the people encouraging him so to do. Metellus presents his requests that the army of Pompey be allowed to enter Rome, for the better guarding of the people against Cataline's conspirators, some of whom are now in prison, but others at large. Cato at once

replies that in such a case it were better to put to death those in prison than to incur the greater danger of increasing Pompey's power. Cæsar in a long speech rehearses all his services to the state and his exploits in arms, urging that if it be but for protection that Pompey's army be needed, that his own soldiers are quite as competent to that end. To which Pompey replies in an equally long harangue that his services to the state should not be overlooked, and denies any intention of using the army to his own advantage. Metellus then attempts to read the law allowing Pompey to admit his army; he is prevented by Cato, and Cæsar rebukes Cato for his interference, threatening him with imprisonment, whereat Pompey replies that Cæsar's threat is far worse than Cato's act; this at once leads to a scene of mutual recrimination between the two leaders: Pompey declares that Cæsar's malady of the falling sickness is a just visitation by the gods as a punishment for his many excesses; Cæsar replies that were punishments thus inflicted Pompey would be the more deserving of the two, and proceeds to relate some of the scandals attached to Pompey's name. Cato remonstrates at this undignified quarrel, and Pompey, exclaiming 'Away, I'll hear no more,' adds, 'All you that love the good of Rome, I charge ye, follow me; all such as stay, are friends to Cæsar and their country's foes.' The Act ends with the *Ruffians* exclaiming 'War! War! O Cæsar,' and the Senators replying 'Peace! Peace! worthy Pompey.'

Act II. Fronto, a ragged beggar, in a soliloquy tells of his wretched state and his knavery, and is about to hang himself; to him appears a strange monster from the infernal regions who gives his name as Ophioneus, one of the fallen angels; he urges Fronto to desist from his purpose since the present is 'the only time that ever was for a rascal to live in.' They are interrupted by the sudden entry of Pompey and his family in hurried flight. Ophioneus bids Fronto to 'drink with the Dutchman, swear with the Frenchman, cheat with the Englishman, brag with the Scot, and turn all this to religion.' (Which is perhaps not more anachronistic than the appearance of Bottom and his companions at the court of Theseus.) Fronto accedes and becomes a follower of Ophioneus. It is somewhat difficult to understand the purpose of this whole scene, as neither of these characters appear again, and it merely retards the action. *Nuntius*, as chorus, then tells how Pompey has fled from Rome and Cæsar is in pursuit; and how Pompey turned and attacked his pursuer. Cæsar enters with his officers and to him enters Antony with Vibius taken prisoner; he asks pardon of Cæsar for his desertion; it is granted and Cæsar bids him return to Pompey with offers of peace and the mutual bestowal of their armies in garrison. Vibius departs on this errand. Cæsar decides to await no longer for word from Sabius, but to set out for Brundisium. Crassinius and Acilius endeavor to dissuade him, urging as a reason for his not going by sea that the vessels to convey him are not safe. Cæsar remains unmoved, declaring that 'suspicions are worse than assured destructions through thoughts.' With further asseverations on this point the scene closes. The next shows Pompey after his first encounter with Cæsar, who has been repulsed with loss of two thousand men. Cato bids him not to boast of this as they were his own countrymen, and begs that he will ever be mindful of this in future battles and sieges of cities under Roman rule. He assures Pompey that he doubts not 'there will come humble offer on Cæsar's part of honor'd peace.' Pompey begs Cato not to expose himself to danger by leaving the safe refuge in which he now is. To which Cato replies that he is sent by the Senators to visit both Pompey's army and Cæsar's in order to curb the stragglers puffed up with conquest on either side, and that he is now on his way to Utica. Pompey, with many affectionate words, commits him to the care of

Porcius and Statilius and Cato departs. The two Consuls enter, leading Brutus between them; he assures Pompey that it is but his love for his country and not regard for his personal safety that now brings him. Pompey gladly receives Brutus. To them enter the Kings of Iberia, Thessaly, Cilicia, Epirus, and Thrace to vow fealty and aid to Pompey. The air is suddenly darkened and a violent storm with rain and thunder descends; in the midst of this Cæsar enters disguised, still firm in his determination to set out for Brundisium; the Master of a ship endeavours to dissuade him from embarking, to his remonstrances Cæsar replies:

'Launch, man, and all thy feares freight [Qu. *straight*] disavow
Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune now.'

and with this Act II. closes.

Act III. begins with a scene between Pompey, the Five Kings, Brutus, Demetrius, and Gabinius, wherein Pompey declares that the coming fight at Pharsalia is to be the touchstone of his fortunes, and that all shall share in whatever success he obtains, but that he alone must suffer for any failure, in which event his ill fortune, not he, must be blamed. The others contribute each his comment on such noble sentiments; Pompey enquires as to the fate of Vibius; Gabinius recounts how Vibius was taken, and while he is thus telling, the man himself appears; Pompey marvels that Vibius should so soon return, but the latter assures him that it was Cæsar's grace and not a ransom that thus set him free. Pompey rather doubts Cæsar's disinterestedness, which he thinks inconsistent with his other acts; Vibius informs him of Cæsar's offer of peace, in which Pompey is at first disposed to trust; but Brutus warns him that this offer may but hide a snare; Pompey is at once suspicious and declares that he will sooner 'take hell mouth for a sanctuary' than put trust in Cæsar's offers, resolving to hazard all in the approaching battle, though regretting that he must thus act contrary to the counsel of Cato in shedding so much innocent blood; he invokes the gods to be propitious to the justice of his cause, since he fights against the self-love of Cæsar. They depart; then enter Cæsar, Antony, a Soothsayer, Crassinius, Acilius, with others. The Soothsayer tells of the sacrifice just made and interprets it as favourable to the success of Cæsar, since the sacred blaze is seen shining above the camp. Two Scouts enter and corroborate the fortunate hour for battle, as they have noted a strange confusion in the camp of Pompey; Crassinius also tells of a prodigy occurring in an adjacent temple wherein a palm tree miraculously grew and with its topmost leaves crowned a statue of Cæsar. To all of this Cæsar, while admitting the divine power thus shown, declares that their own strength must determine the issue; on this point Crassinius reassures him, and Cæsar bids them hang out his crimson coat of arms to give the soldiers 'that ever-sure sign of resolu'd-for fight.' [See note V, i, 18.] The signal is hung out; Cæsar calls upon the heavens to be propitious, and that he may no longer be spoken of as a tyrant, but as the preserver of his country; with this Act III. closes.

Act IV. opens with a scene between Pompey and Brutus. Pompey rails in good set terms against fortune, declaring that there can be no cause for this sudden confusion in his army other than his judgement against enforcing the fight. Brutus begs him to trust to his own clearer insight and desist from battle, as the advice of Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio is but prompted by their own selfish desires. Pompey is unmoved in his determination to incur no longer the imputation of fear, and bids Brutus at once to prepare for battle. The battle takes place with alarums and excursions. The Kings enter and tell how the battle was lost even before it

was fought. Crassinius enters mortally wounded. Cæsar and Pompey enter fighting; Pompey gives way, Cæsar pursues him and entering 'from another door' finds Crassinius dead; he laments the death of so brave a soldier; pronounces his epitaph, and with the help of others bears away the body. Pompey and Demetrius enter with black cloaks and hats; Pompey declares that he should have foreseen this defeat from the overweening confidence of his soldiers which was so fallacious; and laments his downfall after so many years of fortune; declaring that all his past services to his country will be forgotten and cancelled by this one defeat. He resolves to abandon all men save Cato, to whom he now turns, and will also 'visit and comfort' Cornelia. They disguise themselves and depart. Cæsar and Acilius enter with their forces; Cæsar mourns over the loss of so many of his own countrymen, but especially that Brutus should be among those slain. Brutus enters and submits his life and fortunes to Cæsar, who receives him joyfully, and tells him he is on his way to join Cato at Utica; Brutus is accompanying Cæsar they depart. The scene now changes to Utica, the house of Cato. Porcius enters and takes down a sword which he finds hanging by his father's bed; Marcius, who follows him, enquires the reason for this, and Porcius informs him that he fears that Cato will attempt suicide rather than yield to Cæsar now that Pompey is defeated. He begs Marcius to keep the news of this from Cato and also all weapons that may aid him to take his life; to this Marcius assents. Cato, with a book in his hand, enters accompanied by Statilius and Athenodorus. Cato asks the meaning of the suspicious looks of those about him, and whether they fear his attempting suicide. Athenodorus assures him that Cæsar would consider his own life strengthened by preserving Cato's. Cato indignantly refuses to condescend so far as to ask aught of Cæsar, who has slaughtered the loyal subjects of Rome, and declares that rather than accept life from Cæsar he would make a beast his 'second father.' To this Statilius replies with the question: 'Why was a man ever just, but to be free, 'gainst all injustice?' On this theme Cato waxes eloquent, and the remainder of this Act is devoted to a discussion of this. (It will be remembered that this is the proposition enunciated on the title-page of the Tragedy, and the proof of which is to be demonstrated.) Applauding Cato's masterly exposition of his belief in immortality, they go in 'to sup,' and await the coming of Cæsar.

Act V. begins with Cornelia and the children of Pompey anxiously awaiting tidings. Lentulus bids her enquire of a Sentinel, placed on a promontory, whether any ship is yet in sight. The Sentinel replies that he sees but two travellers approaching along the shore on foot; but presently announces that he sees a single ship approaching the haven; and now men armed with pikes are disembarking. Pompey and Demetrius enter disguised in their long cloaks and black hats. Lentulus points them out to Cornelia as two Thessalian Augurs, and begs that she ask them for news of Pompey. Not penetrating the disguise, Cornelia puts a series of questions to Pompey, who, in order to test her fidelity, disparages himself and asks her if she could submit herself to her husband even though he were fallen; to this Cornelia replies: 'If he submit himself cheerfully to his fortune.' Pompey flings off his disguise and folds her in his arms, crying: 'O gods, was I ever great till this minute.' They both joyfully accept the change in fortune, resolving to rise above adversity. Achilles, Septius, and Salvius enter with messages from Ptolemy to Pompey, bidding him to withdraw and hear the words of the King. Pompey goes followed by Achilles and Septius with their swords drawn, this causes apprehension to Cornelia; Pompey returns wounded, the murderers follow and drag him off in order to 'take his head for Cæsar.' Cornelia swoons and is borne away by the

two Lentuli and Demetrius, who have also been wounded in defending Pompey. The scene changes again to Utica, the house of Cato. Cato, with a book in his hand, moralises upon the right of man to take his own life; he notices the absence of the sword which Marcius had removed, and demands of Marcilius that it be restored. Marcilius does not immediately return; Cato summons Decius Brutus and asks that his sword be brought; Brutus does not respond, and Cato bids them send for Porcius that he may return the sword. Athenodorus enters with Porcius; he and the others kneel and beseech Cato to think of his wife, his children, and his country, and their great need of him. Cato again indignantly asks that his sword be replaced. He appeals to Porcius by his paternal duty to him and his affection always shown; Porcius unwillingly acquiesces and they leave. Cato thus left alone meditates upon death and the after life of the soul. A Page enters with a sword; Cato bids him lay it upon the bed and leave him. He falls upon his sword, exclaiming: 'Now wing thee, dear soul, and receive her, heaven!' Porcius and others rush in; they endeavor to save the life of Cato, he repulses them and 'plucks out his entrails,' saying as he dies: 'Have he my curse that my life's least part saves. Just men are only free, the rest are slaves.' Cæsar, Antony, Marcus Brutus, and the Citizens of Utica enter; Cæsar laments his delay in coming too late, declaring that all his conquest is now as nothing since Cato is gone. Achilles and Septius enter with Pompey's head, which they present to Cæsar; he is overcome with horror at their act, and orders them to death. Brutus intercedes for them, and Cæsar mitigates the sentence; he orders a sumptuous tomb to be erected for Cato upon some eminent rock, whereon shall be placed his statue holding a sword, and 'where, may to all times rest His bones as honor'd as his soul is blest.' And with this the Tragedy concludes.

The source of nearly all the incidents in Chapman's Tragedy is to be found in the lives of *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Cato the Younger*, as given in North's Plutarch. It is not necessary to piece together the fragments in order to show Chapman's skill, but one or two illustrations of his use of his material is, perhaps, interesting:

'Act I, sc. ii. *Enter Pompey, Gabinius, Vibius, Demetrius with papers. Enter the Lists, ascend and set. After whom enter Cato, Minutius, Athenodorus, Statilius, Porcius.*

Cat. He is the man that sits so close to *Cæsar*,
And holds the law there, whispering; see the Cowherd
Hath guards of arm'd men got, against one naked.
He part their whispering virtue.

1. Hold, keepe out.

2. What? honor'd *Cato*? enter chuse thy place.

Cat. Come in;

He draws him in and sits betwixt Cæsar and Metellus.—Away unworthy groomes.

3. No more.

Cæs. What should one say to him?

Met. He will be Stoicall.

Cat. Where fit place is not given, it must be taken.

4. Doe, take it *Cato*; feare no greatest of them;
Thou seek'st the peoples good; and these their owne.

5. Brave *Cato*! what a countenance he puts on?
Let's give his noble will, our utmost power.'

The basis for this is from the *Life of Cato the Younger*: 'Cato, when he saw the temple of Castor and Pollux encompassed with armed men, and the steps guarded

by gladiators, and at the top Metellus and Cæsar seated together, turning to his friends, "Behold," said he, "this audacious coward, who has levied a regiment of soldiers against one unarmed naked man"; and so he went on with Thermus. Those who kept the passages gave way to these two only, and would not let anybody else pass. Yet Cato, taking M'natius by the hand, with much difficulty pulled him through along with him. Then going directly to Metellus and Cæsar, he sat himself down between them, to prevent their talking to one another, at which they were both amazed and confounded. And those of the honest party, observing the countenance and admiring the high spirit and boldness of Cato, went nearer, and cried out to him to have courage, exhorting also one another to stand together, and not betray their liberty, nor the defender of it.'

Again in Act III, scene ii, before the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar thus speaks to Antony:

'O Marc Anthony

I thought to raise my camp, and all my tents,
Tooke downe for swift remotion to *Scolus.a.*
Shall now our purpose hold?

Anth. Against the gods?

They grace in th' instant and in th' instant we
Must adde our parts, and be in th' use as free.

Crassinius. See Sir, the scouts returne.

Enter two scouts.

Cæs. What newes, my friends?

1 Scout. Arme, arme, my Lord, the vovard of the foe
Is rang'd already.

2 Scout. Answer them, and arme:

You cannot set your rest of battell up
In happyer houre; for I this night beheld
A strange confusion in your enemies campe,
The souldiers taking armes in all dismay,
And hurling them againe as fast to earth.
Every way routing; as the alarme were then
Given to their army. A most causeless feare
Disperst quite through them.

Cæs. Then twas *Iove* himselte

That with his secret finger stirr'd in them.

Crass. Other presages of successe (my Lord)
Have strangely hapn'd in the adjacent Cities,
To this your army: for in *Tralleis*,
Within a Temple, built to Victory,
There stands a statue of your forme and name,
Neare whose firme base, even from the marble pavement,
There sprang a Palme tree up, in this last night,
That seemes to crowne your statue with his boughs
Spred in wrapt shadowes round about your browes.

* * * * *

Cæs. Hang out of my tent
My Crimsine coat of armes, to give my souldiers
That ever sure signe of resolu'd-for fight.

Crass. These hands shall give that signe to all their longings.

Exit Crass. . . . *The Cote of Armes is hung out, and the Souldiers shout within.*

An. Hearn, your souldiers shoute
For ioy to see your bloody Cote of Armes
Assure their fight this morning.'

The basis for this is in the *Life of Pompey*: 'Now Cæsar having designed to raise his camp with the morning and move to Scotussa, whilst the soldiers were busy in pulling down their tents, and sending on their cattle and servants before them with their baggage, there came in scouts who brought word that they saw arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and heard a noise and running up and down, as of men preparing for battle; not long after there came in other scouts with further intelligence, that the first ranks were already set in battle array. Thereupon Cæsar, when he had told them that the wished for day was come at last, when they should fight with men, not with hunger and famine, instantly gave orders for the red colors to be set up before his tent, that being the ordinary signal of battle among the Romans. As soon as the soldiers saw that, they left their tents, and with great shouts of joy ran to their arms.'

The prodigy of the palm tree is thus given in the *Life of Cæsar*: 'Cæsar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battle, but the notablest of all others that happened to him was in the city of Tralles. For in the temple of Victory, within the same city, there was an image of Cæsar, and the earth all about it very hard of itself, and was paved besides with hard Stone: and yet some say that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same image.'—§ 33; (ed. Skeat, p. 84).

The 'proposition' which is evicted from the play is enunciated in the *Life of Cato the Younger*, with but the change of one word: 'After supper, the wine produced a great deal of lively and agreeable discourse, and a whole series of Philosophical questions was discussed. At length they [Cato and his friends] came to the strange dogmas of the stoics, called their Paradoxes; and to this in particular, That the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves.' Plutarch's word for 'good man' is here ἀγαθός; Chapman was too good a Greek scholar to have mistaken this for δίκαιον, just; and his change is, I think, intentional; that is to say, if he consulted the original and not North's translation. (For a further exposition of this subject, see KOEPPPEL, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Chapman's*, pp. 67 et seq.)

Chapman says, in the dedication to the edition of 1631, that this Tragedy was written 'long since,' and from a slight point of internal evidence I think we may assign its date of composition to a period between 1594 and 1598. In Act II, sc. i, Fronto, the ragged thief, says: '—as if good clothes Were knacks to know a knave,' which seems to be a reference to the title of the comedy *A Knack to Know a Knave*, acted by Alleyn's players, and published in 1594. The comedy is of unknown authorship, but its alliterative title doubtless caught the fancy of the town and made it thus become a stock-phrase. I am fully aware how fallacious such hypotheses are, particularly in regard to a date of composition, but offer this merely as a suggestion. The other limiting date, 1596, is that of Chapman's earliest extant play, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, first printed in 1598; had *Cæsar & Pompey* been subsequent to this, I think that it would have 'touched it at the stage,' which Chapman declares was not the case. Fleay (*Chron. History*, i, 64) thinks the play as we now have it is in part a revision of an older play, which Chapman 'had on his

hands when he left stage-writing in 1608, or perhaps in 1604. . . . This early play may have been by Chapman; if so, he intended to rewrite the whole.' Fleay is lead to this conclusion since certain passages were allowed to remain in prose. Ward (ii, 426) says: 'The last Act [of *Cæsar & Pompey*], both as developing Cato's philosophy and as exhibiting with some dramatic force the anxieties of Pompey's wife Cornelia and her fleeting recovery of the husband she is to lose forever, seems to me superior in execution to the rest of the play, which shows much unevenness in the treatment of its theme.'

To both these statements I willingly assent; I am even disposed to add the Fourth Act also. The marked improvement in the versification; in the poetic thought and its expression, to those of Acts I, II, and III, seem to mark the last two Acts as the work of the mature poet; one who had learned how to handle his material. Possibly this was the case, and the first three Acts belong to a period earlier than the last two, which also agrees in part with Fleay's conjecture. Ward (ii, 427), in concluding his criticism, says: 'Remarkable in the main neither for historic insight, nor for commanding power of style, and not on the level of its author's best works, even in beauty of versification, *Cæsar & Pompey* must have been created by Chapman's genius when in a tame mood, and was probably never subjected by him to a thorough revision.'

The text shows this lack of revision on almost every page. Fleay remarks that the tragedy 'has never been competently edited'; but as the author himself evidently shirked this 'dull duty of an editor' shall we of later date be blamed when we follow his example?

An account of the Latin Tragedy, *Julius Cæsar*, by Marc Antoine Muret, as far as the character of Cæsar is concerned, has already been given. [See Ayres: *Character of Cæsar*, ante.] Muret's work was first published in 1553, though probably composed nine or ten years before that; among those Cæsar-Tragedies which have survived, it is the oldest. G. A. O. COLLISCHONN has made an exhaustive examination of this work in its relations to the *César* of Jacques Grévin, Voltaire's *Mort de César*, and Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæs.* He gives the following analyses:

MURET'S TRAGEDY: *Julius Cæsar*; GRÉVIN'S: *César*.

In the first Act a speech assigned to Cæsar gives an introduction to the general situation of the Period in which the Drama opens. At the same time, allusion is made to the conspiracy; while Cæsar mentions the warnings of the Soothsayers and his friends against secretly conspiring enemies, but at the same time rejecting fear as being unworthy of a Cæsar.

The Chorus philosophizes about the uncertainty of fate, proving it from various instances in Roman history.

The conspiracy pointed out in Act I. draws gradually on in Act II. Brutus appears, and decides to free his country from Cæsar's tyranny, trying to reason out that the duty charging him with the care and welfare of his fellow-citizens confronts him also at the same time with the duty for Cæsar's benevolence. Cassius appears, rejoicing that the time has come at last in which tyranny shall fall. Brutus rejects the murder of Antonius, as proposed by Cassius. They separate to prepare for action. The Chorus praises the love of one's country and the sacrifice for the Republican liberty, as practised by Harmodios.

No progress seems to be made in Act III. Calpurnia tells her dream to her

nurse, explaining the fear she attaches thereto, etc. The nurse consoles her, inviting her to render sacrifices to the gods. Calpurnia makes up her mind to hold Cæsar back from visiting the Senate.

The Chorus prays for the blessing of the Gods during the Lupercalian Festival.

In Act IV. the crisis reaches its height. At first, Cæsar yields to his wife's entreaties to stay away from the Senate assemblage; but, later, after the persuasion of Decius Brutus, he acts contrary to his promise. This seals his fate.

The Chorus blames the contempt shown for a wife's advice.

Act V. shows Cassius and Brutus, who, after the murder is completed, stimulate the people to freedom.

Grévin's *César* was first published in 1561; though probably written a year or two earlier. It was reprinted in the following year, together with two Comedies and some Lyric poems; and again separately in 1606.

Let us now see how Grévin treats the material as found in Plutarch:

Act I. Cæsar makes his appearance, but seems frightened at the rebellious spirit of the Romans. But he recalls to mind his own worth and greatness in order to banish this fear, telling Rome that she owes him, who represents the principles of monarchy, her present grandeur (which is important to notice); he prophesies its end and curses the hypothetical murderers. Here Mark Anthony appears, who is entirely absent in Muret's work. With great propriety he is introduced in the first act as he is the one to carry out Cæsar's idea, and after his death is an important character in the drama.

Antonius is trying to instil courage in Cæsar, reminding him of the service rendered unto him and also promising him to revenge his death. They then make an appointment for the Senate. The Chorus, composed of Cæsar's soldiers, desires war, signifying 'glory' as the greatest incentive for a soldier.

Act II. Here Grévin follows Muret's footsteps. But he independently introduces Decius Brutus in this Act, with a view that he is to play an important rôle in the next one. In this Act the actions to follow are shown under motives which actually unite this Act with the third.

Brutus enters, arguing about Rome's oppression by Cæsar, the example of former tyrannicides, the secret request of his fellow-citizens, the tradition of his own family, and, finally, the glory that shall be his by doing away with a tyrant. Thus he decides in favor of action. Thereupon Cassius enters with Decius Brutus; both declare themselves ready to revenge on Cæsar Rome's liberty. They agree to meet in the Senate, after Brutus has refused to entertain the idea of killing Antonius.

The Chorus praises Cæsar's power, his glorious deeds, reflecting upon the changes of fortune, illustrating these by instances from history, and finally expressing fear for Cæsar's own fate.

Act III, contrary to the third Act of the Latin tragedy of Muret, immediately leads to the crisis of the play. Grévin, in his third Act, concentrates into one Act Muret's third and fourth Acts (in Muret's the crisis occurs in the fourth Act). First, Calpurnia enters with her nurse, relating her dream to her, whereupon Cæsar with Decius Brutus appears. Calpurnia beseeches Cæsar to stay away from the Senate. Decius Brutus, however, persuades Cæsar to go (as was determined in the last Act by the conspirators); thus the crisis reaches its height.

The Chorus speaks again of 'the change of fortune great men have to undergo, of the rumor of a conspiracy, concluding that it is futile for Cæsar to reject Calpurnia's advice.

Act IV, unfortunately, does not show any progress. It merely contains the announcement of Cæsar's death, which in the foregoing Act we saw was unavoidable. But this announcement in no way connects with anything that would lead to real action; the fundamental thought of the tragedy, or to bring matters to a focus, or a final goal. The *peripeteia*, and with it a progression beyond the crisis is not reached before the Fifth Act. In the Fourth Act Calpurnia merely laments the death of her husband, and then retires to her apartments. The messenger curses the assassins. The Chorus philosophizes over the fate of the great, praising the lot of the common soldier, for whom a change in the reforms of the State seems to work indifferently.

The action of the play, in consequence of this, becomes more full in Act V. The *peripeteia* [the reversal of fortunes] is now brought to a focus, but does not solve the conflict completely, since it does not carry out the action to its end. Nevertheless, it shows a marked progress in the action and a clear view of those occurrences which must of necessity result in the future action of the Tragedy, the continuation of the contest between the monarchical and the republican principles and the indication that the former would conquer is clearly shown, and the Chorus is silent after the address of the assassin (which, after all, is in conformity with Plutarch's tradition), while Anthony's speech is listened to with approval and applause, and the soldiers follow him for revenge.

This Act primarily sees the appearance of Brutus, Decius Brutus, and Cassius: it is emphasized by their addresses to the public, announcing Cæsar's death and proclaiming liberty. Thereupon, Anthony appears; he, too, harangues the people and carries them away with him; of course, the Chorus cannot deny themselves one more small, philosophic observation (now for the fourth time) about the fate of rulers, summing up with these words: Verse 1102, '*ceste mort est fatale aux nouveaux inventeurs de puissance royale*,' which, though they close the drama, yet do not express the fundamental principle of the play.

The conclusion to which Collischonn arrives is that Grévin used Muret's work as the basis of his tragedy, but amplified the material thus furnished by extracts from other lives by Plutarch, viz.: those of Brutus and Antony (Muret had but consulted the *Life of Cæsar*). Voltaire has apparently taken some few passages here and there from Grévin's work, and with a slight alteration incorporated them in his *Mort de César*. This was a very easy form of plagiarism, if such it could be really called, as Grévin's tragedy was familiar to but a few at that time. Collischonn finds no evidence of Shakespeare's indebtedness to either of these French authors. The only points common are those which may be accounted for by the fact that their sources were identical. As Appendices to his essay Collischonn reprints both Muret's and Grévin's tragedies.

TIME ANALYSIS.

DANIEL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1877-79, p. 200) gives the following analysis of the duration of the action:

Time of this play, 6 days represented on the stage; with intervals.

- Day 1. Act I, scenes i. and ii.
Interval—one month.
 “ 2. Act I, sc. iii.
 “ 3. Acts II. and III.
Interval.
 “ 4. Act IV, sc. i.
Interval.
 “ 5. Act IV, scenes ii. and iii.
Interval—one day at least.
 “ 6. Act V.

The COWDEN-CLARKES (*Sh. Key*, pp. 176-184) have collected, and quote in full, all those passages in *Jul. Cæs.* which seem to indicate ‘short time,’ and also those which seem to show a longer duration. See also: *Legerdemain with Time in Jul. Cæs.* ANON. *Poet Lore*, vol. xi, p. 276.

THE END.

PLAN OF THE WORK, Etc.

In this Edition the attempt is made to give, in the shape of TEXTUAL NOTES, on the same page with the Text, all the VARIOUS READINGS of *Julius Cæsar*, from the Second Folio down to the latest critical Edition of the play; then, as COMMENTARY, follow the Notes which the Editor has thought worthy of insertion, not only for the purpose of elucidating the text. but at times as illustrations of the History of Shakespearian criticism. In the APPENDIX will be found criticisms and discussions which, on the score of length, could not be conveniently included in the *Commentary*.

LIST OF EDITIONS COLLATED IN THE TEXTUAL NOTES

<i>The Second Folio</i>	[F ₂]	....	1632
<i>The Third Folio</i>	[F ₃]	....	1664
<i>The Fourth Folio</i>	[F ₄]	....	1685
<i>Quarto</i>	[Q]	....	1691
N. ROWE (First Edition)...	[Rowe i.]	....	1709
N. ROWE (Second Edition).....	Rowe ii.]	....	1714
A. POPE (First Edition).....	[Pope i.]	....	1723
A. POPE (Second Edition)	[Pope ii.]	....	1728
L. THEOBALD (First Edition).....	[Theob. i.]	....	1733
L. THEOBALD (Second Edition).....	[Theob. ii.]	....	1740
SIR T. HANMER.....	[Han.]	....	1744
W. Warburton.....	[Warb.]	....	1747
E. CAPELL.....	[Cap.]	(?)	1761
DR JOHNSON.....	[Johns.]	....	1765
JOHNSON and STEEVENS.....	[Var. '73]	....	1773
JOHNSON and STEEVENS.....	[Var. '78]	....	1778
JOHNSON and STEEVENS.....	[Var. '85]	....	1785
J. RANN.....	[Ran.]	....	1787
E. MALONE	[Mal.]	....	1790
GEO. STEEVENS	[Steev.]	....	1793
REED'S STEEVENS.....	[Var. '03]	....	1803
REED'S STEEVENS.....	[Var. '13]	....	1813
BOSWELL'S MALONE.....	[Var.]	....	1821
S. W. SINGER (First Edition).....	[Sing. i.]	....	1826
C. KNIGHT (First Edition).....	[Knt i.]	(?)	1841
J. P. COLLIER (First Edition).....	[Coll. i.]	....	1842
S. W. SINGER (Second Edition).....	[Sing. ii.]	....	1856
A. DYCE (First Edition).....	[Dyce i.]	....	1857
J. P. COLLIER (Second Edition).....	[Coll. ii.]	....	1858
H. STAUNTON.....	[Sta.]	....	1860
R. G. WHITE (First Edition).....	[Wh. i.]	....	1861
CAMBRIDGE (First Edition, W. G. CLARK and W. A. WRIGHT).....	[Cam. i.]	....	1865

J. O. HALLIWELL (Folio Edition).....	[Hal.]	1865
T. KEIGHTLEY.....	[Ktly]	1865
C. KNIGHT (Second Edition).....	[Knt ii.]	1865
A. DYCE (Second Edition).....	[Dyce ii.]	1866
H. N. HUDSON (Second Edition).....	[Huds. ii.]	1871
A. DYCE (Third Edition).....	[Dyce iii.]	1875
J. P. COLLIER (Third Edition).....	[Coll. iii.]	1877
W. A. WRIGHT (<i>The Clarendon Press Series</i>).....	[Cla.]	1878
H. N. HUDSON (<i>School Shakespeare</i>).....	[Huds. iii.]	1879
R. G. WHITE (Second Edition)	[Wh. ii.]	1883
CAMBRIDGE (Second Edition, W. A. WRIGHT).....	[Cam. ii.]	1891

W. HARNES		1830
GLOBE (CLARK and WRIGHT)	[Globe]	1864
N. DELIUS.....	[Del.] Elberfeld	1869
REV. JOHN HUNTER (<i>Longman's Series</i>).....		1869
F. A. MARSHALL (<i>Henry Irving Edition</i>).....		1869
A. D. INNES (<i>Warwick Shakespeare</i>).....		1893
H. C. BEECHING.		1895
A. W. VERITY (<i>Pitt Press Shakespeare</i>)		1895
J. M. D. MEIKLEJOHN.		1896
K. DEIGHTON		1899
MARK HUNTER (<i>College Classics</i>).. . . .		1900
T. PAGE (<i>Moffat's Shakespeare</i>)		1900
T. PARRY (<i>Longman's Modern Classics</i>).....		1900
R. RUTHERFORD (<i>Helps to Study</i>)		1900
D. FORSYTH (Swan Edition)		1901
J. LEES.....		1901
M. MACMILLAN (<i>Arden Shakespeare</i>)		1902
PORTER and CLARK (First Folio Edition)		1903
W. J. ROLFE (Revised Edition)		1903
C. H. HEREFORD (<i>Eversley Shakespeare</i>)		1906
G. S. GORDON.		1909
F. H. SYKES (<i>Scribner's English Classics</i>)		1911
W. DENT (<i>Junior School Shakespeare</i>)		n. d.
I. GOLLANCZ (Temple Edition)		n. d.
S. NEIL (<i>Collins English Classics</i>)...		n. d.

These last twenty-five editions I have not collated beyond referring to them in disputed passages, and recording, here and there in the *Commentary*, the views of their editors.

Within the last twenty-five years—indeed, since the appearance, in 1864, of the *Globe Edition*—the text of Shakespeare is become so settled that to collate word for word the text of editions which have appeared within this term would be a fruitless task. When, however, within recent years an editor revises his text in a second or third edition, the case is different; it then becomes interesting

to mark the effect of maturer judgement. The present TEXT is that of the First Folio of 1623.

In the TEXTUAL NOTES the symbol *ff* indicates the agreement of the *Second*, *Third*, and *Fourth Folios*.

I have not called attention to every little misprint in the Folio. The *Textual Notes* will show, if need be, that they are misprints by the agreement of all the Editors in their corrections.

Nor is notice taken of the first editor who adopted the modern spelling, or who substituted commas for parentheses, or changed ? to !.

The sign + indicates the agreement of ROWE, POPE, THEOBALD, HANMER, WARBURTON, JOHNSON, and the *Variorum* of 1773.

When in the *Textual Notes* WARBURTON precedes HANMER, it indicates that HANMER has followed a suggestion of WARBURTON.

The words *et cel.* after any reading indicate that it is the reading of *all other* editions.

The words *et seq.* indicate the agreement of all subsequent editions.

The abbreviation (*subs.*) indicates that the reading is *substantially* given, and that immaterial variations in spelling, punctuation, or stage-directions are disregarded.

When *Varr.* precedes *Steev.* or *Mal.*, it includes the *Variorums* of 1773, 1778, and 1785; when it follows *Steev.* or *Mal.*, it includes the *Variorums* of 1803, 1813, and 1821.

An emendation or correction given in the *Commentary* is not repeated in the *Textual Notes* unless it has been adopted by an editor in his text; nor is *conj.* added in the *Textual Notes* to the name of the proposer of the conjecture unless the conjecture happens to be that of an editor, in which case its omission would lead to the inference that such was the reading of his text.

COLL. MS refers to COLLIER'S copy of the Second Folio, bearing in its margin manuscript annotations.

In citing plays or quoting from them, the Acts, Scenes, and Lines of the *Globe Edition* are followed, unless otherwise noted. Of course, all references to *Julius Cæsar* refer to the present text.

LIST OF BOOKS

To economise space in the foregoing pages, as a general rule merely the name of an author has been given, followed, in parentheses, by the number of volume and page.

In the following LIST, arranged alphabetically, enough of the full titles is set forth to serve the purposes of either identification or reference.

Be it understood that this LIST does not include those books which have been consulted or used in verifying references; were these included, the list would be many times longer.

ABBOTT, E. A.: <i>Shakespearian Grammar</i>	London, 1870
APPIAN: <i>History of Rome</i> (translated by H. White).....	“ 1899
BADHAM, C.: <i>Text of Shakespeare</i>	Cambridge, 1856
BAILEY, S.: <i>The Received Text of Shakespeare</i>	London, 1862

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 BAKER, H. B.: *London Stage*..... London, 1889
 BARNETT, T. D.: *Notes on Julius Cæsar*..... " n. d.
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 BAYNES: *Shakespeare Studies and Other Essays*..... " 1896
 BERGER, A. FREIHERRN VON: *Studien und Kritiken*..... Wien, 1896
 BIRCH, W. J.: *Inquiry into the Religion and Philosophy of Shakespeare*..... London, 1848
 BOAS, F. S.: *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*..... New York, 1896
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 BOTTCHEr, H.: *Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar*..... Graudenz, 1889
 BRADLEY, A. C.: *Shakespearian Tragedy*..... London, 1905
 BRANDES, G.: *William Shakespeare*..... New York, 1900
 BROWN, J. M.: *Julius Cæsar: A Study*..... London, n. d.
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 CARTWRIGHT, R.: *New Readings in Shakespeare*.... London, 1866
 CASSIUS, DION: *Annals of the Roman People* (translated by H. B. Foster)..... Troy, 1906
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 CHATELAIN, CHEVALIER DE: *Julius Cæsar, traduit en vers Français*..... " 1866
 CIBBER, C.: *Apology*, etc..... " 1740
 CICERO, M. TULLIUS: *Orations Against Marc Antony* (translated by C. D. Young)..... New York, 1881
 " *Letters* (translated by E. Shuckburgh)..... London, 1909
 CLARKE, C. C.: *Shakespeare's Philosophers and Jesters* (Gentleman's Magazine, March)..... 1873
 CLARKE, C. C. & M.: *Shakespeare Key*..... " 1879
 COLERIDGE, H.: *Essays and Marginalia*..... " 1851
 COLERIDGE, S. T.: *Notes and Lectures*.... " 1874
 COLLIER, J. P.: *History of Dramatic Literature*.. " 1831
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 COLLISCHONN, G. A. O.: *Grévin's 'Cæsar' in ihrem verhältniss zu Muret, Voltaire und Shakespeare*..... Marburg, 1886

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